Harland Tuttle

EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGE

EUROPE

IN

THE MIDDLE AGE

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AND

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With Maps and Charts

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PREFACE

THE authors have attempted to prepare in the present work a serviceable text-book of the History of the Middle Age for the use of the freshman and sophomore classes in the American college. This end has subjected them to certain conditions and limitations: it has restricted the scope and compressed the contents of the book; it has controlled the topical arrangement and determined the method of presentation. It is fair to request that in forming an opinion about the book this fact should be kept in mind.

There is a large number of books on the Middle Age in existence, and, apparently, it is somewhat superfluous to add another to the list. But a closer inspection will show that these histories generally address themselves to one of two classes, to students of the High School or to specialists; that they are by virtue either of their summary treatment or their minute expansiveness unfit for use in college classes; and, further, that the small remainder which might be regarded as eligible for the college public is almost uniformly cumbersome in arrangement and antiquated in matter. However, the last few years have brought to light a number of really excellent books, which, in their way, deserve all praise and are not without an appeal to the undergraduate world. We refer especially to the works of Professor Adams and Professor Emerton. But it cannot be denied that the valuable history of the former is rather of the nature of an essay for advanced and educated

readers, while the "Mediæval Europe" of the latter, though an excellent presentation of the period which it covers, only partially deserves its title. The present book can, in its own class, therefore, even put forth some claim to novelty.

It may avoid misunderstandings to add a word about the compass of the book. The term Middle Age is necessarily vague. There was no reason, therefore, why it should not be employed in its traditional sense as including roughly the period between 350 and 1500 A.D. Other considerations enforced this view. The authors have been engaged for some years in the instruction of General European History at the University of Chicago. The study of European History has been laid down by the authorities as required work, and two courses are regularly devoted to it every quarter. It has been found after repeated trial that both the requirements of the system and the aims of teaching are best served by a division of the work, after the accepted manner, into Mediæval and Modern History. The present book had its origin in the needs of the class-room work organized in accordance with the above requirements. To satisfy those needs more fully the authors hope to publish soon another volume, similar in character to this, upon the Modern Period.

For various reasons it has been thought unnecessary to add an extensive bibliography. We have taken it for granted that the teachers who may use the book are acquainted with the best literature on the period and will be able to direct the reading of their classes. The students for whom we are writing would be confused rather than helped by long lists of books, unless each book were accompanied by a discriminating estimate of its character and value. Bibliographies are easily attainable in such works as Adams's "Manual of Historical Literature" (1888) and Heath's "Methods of Teaching History" (1889). The book of Professor Emerton as well as that of Lavisse and Rambaud also give excellent lists of authorities.

The following works on the History of the Middle Age may be mentioned here for the benefit of those who have no access to the above-mentioned authors:

Emerton: An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages, 1891.

Emerton: Mediæval Europe, 1894.

Adams: Civilization During the Middle Ages, Especially in Relation to Modern Civilization, 1894.

Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire.

Hallam: A View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages. Somewhat antiquated.

Assmann: Allgemeine Geschichte des Mittelalters. Second edition, by Meyer, now appearing. An excellent handbook; contains many references to the original sources and brief quotations from them.

Leo: Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters, 2 vols.

Lavisse et Rambaud: Histoire générale du IV^e^. siècle à nos jours. To be complete in 10 vols. The first four volumes deal with the Middle Age. In many respects the best history of the Middle Age that has yet appeared.

Rehm: Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters, 4 vols. 1821–39.

Gibbon: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Still unequalled in narrative impressiveness.

Pflugk-Hartung: Geschichte des Mittelalters, 3 vols. 1886–91.

Schroeck: Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche, 45 vols. The principal feature of this work is that it contains in paraphrase nearly all of the most important documents touching the history of the Church, the Papacy, and the Empire. Valuable to those who have not the sources at hand.

Gieseler: The History of the Christian Church, 5 vols. Especially valuable because of its many foot-notes, which consist very largely of quotations from the original sources. It is a library of sources in itself.

Symonds: Renaissance in Italy, 6 vols. Unnecessarily drawn out, but well written, and full of sound information on the period.

We gladly acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. Thompson, Assistant at the University of Chicago, for the liberal manner in which he has given us help and advice, especially in the preparation of the maps and charts. Mr. Fertig, Fellow of the Department of History, has kindly prepared the Index.

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EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGE

INTRODUCTION

THE whole course of history is very conveniently divided into three periods—the Ancient, the Mediæval, and the Modern. Generally, fixed dates have been assigned for the beginning and end of each of these. They have then been further divided and subdivided, and each division has received a particular name. While this has been more or less convenient and justifiable, the divisions have often been treated so mechanically as to make a totally wrong impression, especially on the minds of students who are just beginning the study of history. But if there is anything that is firmly held by all good historians to-day, it is the continuity of history. There are no real breaks in its course. Every age is a preparation for, and an introduction to, the next. One period grows into another so gradually and naturally that the people who lived in the time of transition were often utterly unconscious of the fact that a new period was beginning. Certain events may well be said to be epoch-making, but in spite of that their full effect is not felt at once. They slowly modify the existing order of things, and the old is gradually displaced by the new. The world is never actually revolutionized in a day.

The continuity of History.

It is not wholly wrong to separate history into such periods, for different interests prevail at different times, and, therefore, one period may have a very different character from that of another. But in making all such divisions two things should be carefully guarded against: fixed boundaries should not be assigned to them, and

But divisions are convenient and justifiable.

they should not be treated as if their predominant interest were their only interest. No one interest can absorb the whole life of a period. For several centuries the life of Europe has been too complex to admit of its being adequately treated from only one point of view.

The terms "Mediæval" and "Middle Age" have been used simply because of their convenience. That which brought about the great change in Europe was the invasions of the Barbarians, and these began on a grand scale in the fourth century. The end of the period is not perhaps so easily determined, but the period from 1450 to 1550 is marked by such movements as the great religious revolution which involved all western Europe and was productive of many changes, the growth of absolutism in Europe, the changes in the practical government of many of the countries, the birth of political science, the multiplication of international relations, and the extension of industry and commerce, so that we may safely say that the Middle Age should end somewhere about that time. At any rate, a convenient place may there be found where one may stop and mark the failing of old, and the appearance of new, tendencies and characteristics.

Limits of the period.

A comparison of the map of Europe in the fourth century of our era with that of the same country in the sixteenth century will give the best idea of the changes that took place there during the Middle Age. Such a comparison would suggest that all these changes could be grouped under four heads, namely, the changes in the political system, in language, in religion, and in civilization.

Europe 350 A.D., compared with Europe 1500 A.D.

The first map would show but two grand political divisions, the Roman Empire and the Barbarians. On the second, the Barbarians have almost disappeared, and the Empire, while it has a nominal existence, is not at all what it was. In their stead there are many separate and independent states and different nations. One asks instinctively, What has become of the Empire?

Evident changes; questions suggested thereby.

Where are the Barbarians? How did these new states arise? What is the origin of these new nationalities?

The linguistic changes suggested by the maps are quite as striking. Latin and Greek were the only languages in existence in Europe in the earlier time. The rude dialects of the Barbarians were not regarded as languages, and were unfit for literary purposes. In the sixteenth century Greek was spoken in a limited territory, and Latin had become the language of the educated only; although still spoken, it was practically a dead language. The barbarian tongues have been developed into literary languages. Each nation has its own speech, and there are at least the beginnings of those rich literatures which treasure up the world's best thought.

Religiously, the changes are sweeping. At the beginning of the fourth century Europe was still prevailingly heathen. Christianity was widely spread, but its adherents were largely in the minority. But in the sixteenth century heathenism was nominally, at least, almost destroyed in Europe. In its stead we have Christianity in two great types, the Roman Catholic and the Greek, while a third new type, to be known as Protestantism, was about to be produced. Besides Christianity we find a part of Europe under the domination of Mohammedanism. How were the Barbarians of Europe Christianized? How were the different types of Christianity produced? What separated the Greek from the Latin Church? What was the origin of Mohammedanism? What are its tenets and character? How did it spread, and what has been its history? What influence has it had on Europe? And what have been the relations between Christianity and Mohammedanism?

The changes in civilization are also radical. Territorially there has been great progress. Civilization has passed far beyond the Rhine and the Danube, and there are already indications that its centre is soon to be changed from the south to the north. Italy, Spain, and southern France were still leading in the sixteenth century; but England, France, and Germany

were showing the characteristics which would eventually enable them to assume the leadership in art, science, literature, manufactures, and in nearly all that goes to make up the highest and best civilization. They are to furnish the ideas that shall rule the world. What did the rest of Europe receive from Greece and Rome? How was this inheritance transmitted? How has it been increased and modified? How were the Barbarians influenced by the art, literature, architecture, law, customs, modes of thought, and life of the Greeks and Romans? What new ideas and fresh impulses have been given by the various barbarian peoples that have successively been brought in as factors in the progress and development of Europe?

The Middle Age is the birth-period of the modern states of Europe. We shall study the successive periods of decay and revival in the Empire; its ineffectual efforts to carry on the work of Rome in making all the world homogeneous, to destroy the sense of difference in race, to make all Europe one people, and its bitter struggle with its new rival, the Papacy, which ended practically in the destruction of both. We shall follow the Barbarians in their migrations and invasions, and watch them as they form new states and slowly learn of Rome the elements of civilization. We shall see these different barbarian peoples come to national self-consciousness, exhibiting all the signs of a proud sense of nationality, gradually but stubbornly resisting interference of both Emperor and Pope in their national affairs, and, finally, throwing off all allegiance to both, becoming fully independent and acknowledging their responsibility to no power outside of themselves. Along with this national differentiation goes the development of the barbarian dialects into vigorous languages, each characteristic of the people to which it belongs.

General mention of important topics.

Empire. Papacy.

Nations and states.

We shall study the spread of Christianity, its ideals and institutions, Monasticism and the Papacy. The monks of the

west played a most important part in Christianizing and civilizing the peoples of Europe, and the Bishops of Rome came to look upon themselves as the successors, not only of Peter, but also of the Cæsars; they claimed all power, both spiritual and temporal. The Church is, therefore, a prominent factor in the history of the Middle Age.

The Church.

Mohammedanism was for some time a formidable opponent of Christianity even in Europe. It set for itself the task of conquering the world. It made many determined efforts to establish itself firmly in Europe. The Eastern Question was an old one, even in the Middle Age, and the invasions of the Mohammedans into Europe and the counter-invasions of the Christians (the Crusades) are all so many episodes in its history.

Mohammedanism.

By invading and settling in the Empire the Barbarians came under the schooling of the Romans. They destroyed much, but they also learned much. The elements of Græco-Roman civilization were preserved; its art, laws, and ideas were slowly modified and adopted by the invading peoples. We shall see how this rich legacy was preserved and gradually made the property of all the peoples of Europe. We shall study the progress which these peoples have made in civilization.

Progress in civilization.

These are some of the problems with which the history of the Middle Age is concerned; they will be treated in their appropriate places. We shall first take a kind of inventory of the factors in these problems. The factors are Europe (the land itself in its physical and climatic features), its peoples, and the Christian Church.

CHAPTER I

EUROPE, ITS PEOPLES, AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

1. EUROPE

THE general contour of Europe has greatly influenced its history. It is, therefore, necessary to study its mountain systems, its plains, its coast and river systems, and its climate.

On the east, and coinciding in general with the boundary between Asia and Europe, are the Ural Mountains. They, with the Caucasus Range between the Black and Caspian Seas, form a barrier to easy communication between the east and the west, and so have forced travel and commerce, as well as invading peoples and armies, to follow certain well-defined routes. The Alps and the Pyrenees have served much the same purpose in the south. They have prevented the fusion of the peoples to the north with those to the south, and have made futile all the many attempts to bring and keep them under one government. They have been important factors in the differentiation and spread and development of the various nations about them. Their passes being few and difficult, they have hindered intercourse and have prevented interference. Each people has been left more exclusively to itself to work out its own character and destiny.

The influence of mountain ranges.

Even in the small physical divisions of Europe, mountains have done much to isolate and divide those whom everything else has sought to fuse and unite. They have helped perpetuate tribal and racial differences in Scandinavia, in Germany, in Austria, and especially in the Balkan Peninsula, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. The present difficulties among the peoples of

these countries are the result of unequal development, caused in part by the conditions in the local physical and geological forms. There can be no doubt that the mountains of these countries still make the problems of their respective governments more difficult. Grave doubts are expressed by the best authorities on this subject about the possibility of the people of Italy ever becoming homogeneous because of the separating effect of its many mountains. They have been constant and efficient barriers to the formation of extensive states and governments in western Europe.

The plains of Europe.

On the other hand, the great central plains offer every opportunity for the development of peoples into homogeneity and for the formation of governments with extensive sway. They determined the earliest occupations of the people, being adapted to the occupation of grazing, agriculture, and similar pursuits. So long as the number of inhabitants was small, their great extent favored the continued separation of the nomadic tribes that wandered over them. With increasing population the peoples were more easily brought together and subjected to the influence of the same ideas, whether political, social, or religious.

Coast line and inland seas.

Turning to the study of its coast we note that Europe itself is almost a peninsula, and is besides deeply indented by arms of the sea, so that it has a large extent of coast line. Its two great inland seas offer, because of their calmness, excellent opportunities for the growth of commerce. It is not accidental that European commerce developed first, and had its chief seats, around the Mediterranean and the Baltic; in primitive times it was far more easy and inexpensive to travel by sea than by land.

Rivers.

As if to facilitate communication, Europe is traversed from north to south by many rivers, which in the Middle Age were the highways of travel and commerce. By a short portage the Rhine and the rivers of France are connected with each other and with the Rhone and its

tributaries; the Rhine, the Main, the Elbe, and the Oder, with the Danube; the Vistula, the Niemen, and the Duna, with the Dniester, the Dnieper, the Don, and the Volga. In this way nature has done much to promote intercourse in Europe. A radically different arrangement of the rivers of Europe would have affected its history in a corresponding way. Especially the districts about the mouths of the rivers were likely to be hastened in their development because of their greater opportunities for traffic and the advantages to be derived therefrom. The national existence of Portugal, Holland, and Belgium is due in some measure to the fact that they lie about the mouths of great rivers.

Climate.

The climate of a country influences its people in many ways. Europe is in this respect fortunate, for she has the greatest possible variety in her climate. Long and cold winters make the conditions of life in the north much more difficult than in the south, where nature does almost everything unaided. In this way the habits of the people, their dress, social life, architecture, public as well as private, are greatly influenced by the climatic conditions that prevail in the various parts of Europe.[1]

2. THE PEOPLES

A. THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Its extent.

In the third century the Roman Empire extended from the Atlantic in the west to the Euphrates in the east; from the Sahara in the south to the Danube, Main, and Rhine in the north. Britain also (the modern England) had been added to this territory. Since the beginning of the Christian Era, the boundaries of the Empire had

[1] For a full treatment of the subjects, which are only suggested here, see Ritter's Europa. An excellent set of relief maps, made by G. Roggero, is published by G. B. Paravia & Co. (Florence and Rome). They cost only about twenty-five cents each, and are invaluable in the class-room.

not been greatly enlarged. The task of defending the frontiers was rapidly becoming more difficult and left successive Emperors little time to think of foreign conquests.

In the year 27 B.C. Octavius usurped the power by concentrating in himself the most important offices which, up to this time, had been elective. He did not change their character, for the officers of the Republic, although elected, exercised absolute power during their term of office. The state delegated to them this power. According to Roman conceptions the power of the state was absolute; the highest ideal of the people was obedience, not liberty. This power the Emperor seized and vested in himself, though, in theory, it was regarded as simply delegated to him. He had the power—military, judicial, legislative, executive, financial, and religious. He indeed divided the provinces with the Senate, but this was merely formal since he controlled the Senate and the officers placed over the provinces by it. The Senate's actual powers were gone. Though many forms of the Republic were still observed the Emperor was supreme. He was the state. Disobedience to his will was an offence against the majesty of the Roman people, and consequently punished with death. He was the head of the state religion with the title of Pontifex Maximus. He took on a sacred character, being worshipped while living and receiving the honors of apotheosis at his death. Temples and altars were erected to him, sacrifices offered in his name, and a rich ritual developed. An offence against his person was sacrilege, and hence a capital crime.

The change from a Republic to an Empire.

This change in the government was in many respects beneficial. The last years of the Republic had been filled with wars and seditions. The Emperor restored peace and order. He policed the Empire and made it safe. He put down brigandage and piracy. He compelled those who were over the provinces to rule justly, and the cities received many favors

The influence of the earlier Emperors on legislation.

at his hands. As legislators the earlier Emperors made excellent use of their powers, introducing a humane spirit into their laws. Up to this time the law had taken only men into account. Women, children, and slaves were almost without its protection. The Emperors forbade abortions and the exposure of children, gave wives and mothers more protection against the cruelty and caprice of their husbands, and mitigated in many ways the hard conditions of slaves. Illegitimate children and those of criminals were no longer compelled to share the heavy penalties visited upon their parents. The Emperors made less use of torture in the examination of witnesses, recognized the right of the accused to trial, and declared that it was worse to punish an innocent person than to let a guilty one escape.

Civilization.

The policy of Rome had been to Romanize her subjects. She endeavored to lift them all up to her level by giving them her civilization. This work the Emperors took up and prosecuted with great zeal. The progress made in this direction under them was very great. In the year 215 A.D. Caracalla issued an edict making all the free inhabitants of the Empire citizens of Rome.

Religion.

The Republic had made shipwreck of its religious faith. Its last days had been godless and atheistic. The Emperors headed and promoted an earnest revival in religion and morals, which in the course of the next three centuries became general among all classes. Under its influence, monotheistic ideas and conceptions became common, being supported also by the philosophy of the times. Such ideas as the unity of the human race and the brotherhood of man were not unknown, for philosophers, such as Seneca and Epictetus, taught them. It was a period, therefore, in which civilization made great progress and the conception of humanity grew broader and higher.

Naturally the Emperor was surrounded by a crowd of people who assisted him in the work of governing, but he was at first

without a "court." His life was comparatively simple and free. During the first three centuries little change was made in the administration of the government. The cities were left undisturbed in the exercise of their liberties and local self-government. The provinces were ruled by officers of the Emperor who appointed and paid them. They represented him, and in his name commanded the troops, collected taxes, and administered justice. He kept a sharp watch over them and guarded the interests of the people. Many provinces had an annual assembly, or parliament, which, however, was in the hands of the Emperor and served him as a part of the machinery for administering the affairs of government.

Comparative simplicity of the early Empire.

A fatal mistake was made in that no law of succession was established. Theoretically the people of Rome were supposed to have the right to elect the Emperor, but practically the army disposed of the imperial crown. No fixed qualifications were required of the candidate, consequently any one might aspire to be Emperor. For some time there was little trouble about the succession, but in the third century bloody contentions for the possession of the crown arose and the whole Empire was disturbed. From 180 to 284 A.D. there were over thirty actual Emperors, and more than that number of would-be usurpers. By acclamation the soldiers made their favorite general Emperor, or sold the crown to the highest bidder. In any case they were influenced solely by the desire for plunder. Diocletian (284–305) endeavored to put an end to this by increasing the number of Emperors and surrounding each one with a court. According to his scheme there were to be two Emperors, one in the east and the other in the west. Each of these was to have an assistant called a Cæsar. The term of office was fixed at twenty years. At the end of this period the Emperors were to resign, the Cæsars were to take their places as Emperors, and to appoint other Cæsars as their assistants. To

Diocletian's reform.

An Imperial Court established.

render the persons of the Emperors still safer, each was to have a court modelled after the eastern courts. He was to be surrounded with many attendants and officers, and a great show of pomp and ceremonies.

For the support of these courts large sums of money were necessary. Diocletian, therefore, reformed and extended the system of taxation and reduced the government to a bureaucratic form. In this process he destroyed local liberty and self-government, and so oppressed the people with taxes that the inevitable result was universal bankruptcy. All of Diocletian's reforms may be said to have taken root except his plan of having four joint rulers. Within a few years this was found to be impracticable because even twenty years of absolute rule could not satisfy the ambition of some men.

Ruinous taxation.

The reforms of Diocletian did away with the last traces of republican rule. The old titles of the various offices which Augustus had vested in himself as Emperor were now omitted. The Senate had no power at all. The Emperor was "Lord and God" (Dominus ac Deus; præsens et corporalis Deus). Not only he, but his house, his bedchamber, and his treasury were regarded as sacred. His word was law. He was the living law on earth (Lex animata in terris). He was the highest judge, and might, if he wished, call before him all cases. He was the source of law, judicial authority, and justice. The finances of the Empire were wholly in his hands. He assessed all taxes and tolls.

Diocletian the founder of the later Empire.

The old prætorian guard was replaced by a guard of the palace and a body-guard. The Emperor had a council (consistorium sacrum), composed of some of his principal officers, which served him in all the work of governing. For the private and the public service of the Emperor there was a vast crowd of employees under the most various titles. They were arranged in groups, each under the control of an officer who was made directly responsible to the

The Court.

Emperor. A complete bureaucratic system was developed which has served as model for more than one of the modern governments of Europe.

Under the Emperors the character of the army changed rapidly. The Romans gradually lost their love of war, and consequently it was difficult to keep the ranks of the legions full. Great inducements were offered the volunteer, but with less and less success. It soon became necessary to make drafts by force and to accept even slaves for military service. The large land-owners were compelled to furnish slaves for the army in proportion to the value of their lands. The difficulties encountered by the state in such a method of procedure, and the poor quality of the soldiers thus obtained, led to the enrolment of Barbarians in ever-increasing numbers. Native troops were replaced by mercenaries, who were without patriotism. They cared only for money, and made and unmade Emperors simply for the sake of the gift which custom compelled every Emperor to make to the army at the time of his coronation. Intrigues, plunderings, revolts, and rebellion on the part of the army became frequent. The army, which was supposed to be the protection of the Empire, became its bane.

The Army became barbarian.

The inhabitants of the Empire were divided into four classes —slaves, plebs, curiales, and senators. Within each of these four great classes there were various grades and shades of difference. The lot of the slaves was gradually growing better. In the country it now became customary to enroll the slaves, thus attaching them to the soil from which they could not be separated. They were bought and sold with the land. Masters were forbidden to kill their slaves or to separate a slave from his wife and children. The class of slaves called "coloni" was rapidly increasing. These closely resembled the "villein" of the Middle Age. They were attached to the soil, but had a right to the products of it.

The people divided into classes.

Slaves.

They owed their master certain taxes, rent, and services of various kinds.

To the class of plebs belonged all the free common people, whether small freeholders, tradesmen, laborers, or artisans. The freeholders were diminishing in numbers. Their lands were consumed by the taxes and they themselves either became coloni or ran away to the towns. The majority of the inhabitants of the cities and towns were free, but had no political rights.

Plebs.

All who possessed twenty-five acres of land, or their equivalent, were regarded as "curiales." On these fell the burdens of office-holding and the taxes, for the collection of which they were made responsible. In order to escape from this crushing load they strove to pass into some other class; but the Emperor forbade this and the son of a curial was forced to retain the rank of his father.

Curiales.

The ranks of the senatorial class were constantly increasing by the addition of all those who for any reason received the title of senator or who were appointed to one of the high offices by the Emperor. The honor was hereditary. The senators were the richest people of the Empire, having in their possession the most of the soil. As they enjoyed exceptional privileges and immunities, the lot of the curiales was made more grievous.

Senators.

For the support of his army, his court, and the great number of clerks made necessary by the bureaucratic form of government, the Emperor must have immense sums of money, for the purpose of raising which many kinds of taxes were introduced. Taxes were levied on both lands and persons; on all sorts of manufacturing industries; on heirs, when they came into possession of their estates; on slaves when set free; and on the amount of the sales made by merchants. Tolls were collected on the highways and at bridges, and duties at the city gates and in the harbors. Besides direct taxes, there were many kinds of special taxes, bur-

Taxes.

dens, and services, such as food, clothing, and quarters for the army; horses and wagons for the imperial use whenever demanded; and repairing of the roads, bridges, and temples. Worst of all, perhaps, was the dishonesty of the officers, who often exacted far more than even the very high sums which the Emperor required.

It was impossible that this should not bankrupt the Empire. The cities suffered most quickly. In 364 A.D., Valentinian permitted each city to appoint a "defender," whose duty it was to protect it from these exactions and wrongs. As the senatorial class, the army, professors of rhetoric, and the clergy were largely freed from taxation, the whole burden fell on the curiales, who became oppressors in order to collect the vast sums demanded of them. Finally, when they were exhausted, they attempted in every way to escape from their class. Some of them succeeded in rising into the senatorial ranks, but many of them deserted their lands and became slaves or coloni, or entered the army or the church. The Emperors tried to prevent this, and often seized the curial who had run away and compelled him to take up his old burden again. The curial was forbidden by law to try to change his position, but in spite of this many of them surrendered their lands to some rich neighbor and received them back on condition of the payment of certain taxes, and the rendering of certain services. This was a form of land tenure and social relation very similar to that common in feudalism of a later day.

Effects on the curiales.

The free citizens, the great middle class, were disappearing. There was no political life in the Empire, for there was no freedom. The people had no part in the control of the affairs of state, and consequently lost all political interest.

Decay of public spirit.

B. THE KELTS

In the fourth century B.C. the Kelts occupied Gaul (modern France) and the islands of Great Britain. Four or five

hundred years before Christ, they had extended as far east as the Weser in the north, and occupied much territory in the centre of Europe. The Boii gave their name to the district now known as Bohemia; the territory of modern Kaernthen and Steiermark was called by the Romans Noricum, because it was occupied by the Norici. The Vindelici held the Tyrol, while almost the whole of Switzerland was inhabited by other Keltic tribes. They were driven to the Rhine by the Germans, though we do not know exactly when or under what circumstances. They made three great invasions into the south; one, in the sixth century B.C., into Spain, another under Brennus, about 390 B.C., into Italy, and the third, under the same leader, a few years later, into Greece. It is probable that these three invasions were caused by the attacks of the Germans pressing on them from the east.

Kelts at one time east of the Rhine.

The Kelts were never all united in one great state, but continued to exist in separate tribes. Each tribe formed a state and was governed by an aristocracy. The people had no part in the government, but were treated by the ruling class as slaves. The nobility was divided into two classes, the religious and the secular. The latter spent their time principally in fighting. The Druids formed the religious nobility. They were a caste of priests who controlled all sacrifices, both public and private. They were also judges and final authorities in all matters. Their word was law, and whoever refused them obedience was put under their interdict, which had almost exactly the same meaning as the Papal interdict a few centuries later. They had many gods, to whom they offered human sacrifices.[1]

Tribal government.

They had large, strong, and beautiful bodies, as may be seen from the famous statue in Rome, "The Dying Gaul" (formerly known as the "Dying Gladiator"). They were brave, dashing warriors, fond of music, especially of the shrill martial

[1] Cæsar, B. G., vi., 11–19, gives a good description of the Kelts.

kind, with which they went into battle. They were easily moved by fine speech and had a love for poetry. Their language was well developed and capable of expressing a wide range of thought and emotion. They loved bright and gay colors, and were noted for the liveliness rather than for the persistency of their feelings and emotions.[1] They were restless, sprightly, full of activity, and capable of the greatest enthusiasm for, and devotion to, a popular leader. But they were fickle and unreliable if their ardor was once quenched by disaster. At the beginning of our period the Kelts who occupied Gaul and Britain (the present England) were thoroughly Romanized. To a great extent they had forgotten their language and spoke Latin. Many cities had sprung up which were well supplied with temples, baths, and theatres, and were in all respects thoroughly Roman. But the Kelts of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were still barbarian, and hostile to Rome.[2]

Keltic characteristics.

C. THE GERMANS

At the beginning of our period the Germans occupied Scandinavia, and nearly all the land between the Rhine and the Vistula, and the Baltic and the Danube. Since the times of Cæsar and Tacitus many changes had taken place among them. Some of them had changed their location, new groups had been formed, and they were known by new names. A process of consolidation was going on among them, the many tribal names mentioned by Cæsar and Tacitus had disappeared and the groups were larger. The Goths had left the Vistula and were now spread over a great stretch of territory to the north of the Black Sea and the lower Danube. Other tribes were moving or spreading out in the same direction. Great masses of Germans and other peoples

Their location.

[1] It would not be difficult to show that these characteristics have lived on and still mark the Kelts of France and Great Britain.

[2] Many of their tribal names have been preserved in geographical names, *c.f.* Paris, Bregentz, Soissons, Tours, etc.

were crowded together along the whole northern frontier of the Empire, and the danger of a barbarian invasion was rapidly growing greater.

Tacitus ("Germania," ii.) says that the Germans were divided into three great branches: the Ingævones, who lived nearest the ocean; the Hermiones, who lived in the "middle;" and the Istævones, who included all the rest. These three names had now been replaced by others, such as Franks, Suevi, and Saxons. Neither these names nor those used by Tacitus actually included all the Germans. They formed rather the great division which may be called the West Germans. Besides these there were those of the north, afterward known as the Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, and those of the east, the Goths, Vandals, and others.

Divisions.

In their government they were democratic. The North Germans had kings, whom they elected from one family. There was no fixed law of succession, but the most suitable man was chosen. The West Germans probably had only leaders in time of war. They had a well-defined system of local self-government. There were three political divisions: the whole tribe, or nation; the Gau, or county (in England this was called the hundred); and the village. All matters that concerned only the village were discussed and settled by all the freemen of the village in a public meeting. Likewise the affairs of the Gau were administered by the freemen of the Gau, and matters that concerned the whole nation were decided by an assembly of all the freemen of the tribe. In social rank, there were three classes—nobles, free men, and slaves. The nobles had certain advantages, but in the assemblies the vote of a freeman equalled that of a nobleman. The slaves were of two kinds; some were attached to the soil and could not be removed from their lands, while others were personal slaves and were treated as chattels.

Their government.

It was customary among the Germans for the young men to attach themselves to some man of tried courage and military

ability (the comitatus or Gefolge). They lived with him and accompanied him on all his expeditions. Such warrior chiefs were proud of having a large number of young men about them, for it added to their dignity and increased their power in many ways. The relation between a leader and a follower was entirely voluntary, and consequently honorable to both. It might be terminated whenever either party failed in his duties.

Gefolge.

The religion of the Germans was a kind of nature worship, connected with various natural phenomena and objects, such as groves, trees, caves, and the forces of nature. They had no priest caste. The father of a family was its priest, and it seems that any one might be chosen to serve as priest on public occasions. They lived by cattle-raising, agriculture, and hunting. The labor was performed principally by slaves and women. It was characteristic of them that they were unwilling to live in compactly built towns. Their houses were generally some distance apart, forming a straggling village. The Romans were impressed with the great size and power of their bodies, the ruddiness of their faces, and the light color of their hair.

Religion and occupations.

They had some very prominent faults, such as the too great love of war, of the cup, and of the dice. Their time was wholly taken up with these. They became so infatuated with gambling that, after losing all their property, wife and children were staked, and if these were lost, they risked even their own liberty. The Germans boasted of their faithfulness to every obligation. So true were they to their word that if they lost their freedom in gambling they willingly yielded to their new master, and permitted themselves to be reduced to the position of slaves.

Their qualities.

D. THE SLAVS

The Slavs occupied a large belt of territory east of the Germans, and extended far into Russia. As the Germans with-

drew to the west and south, the Slavs followed them and took possession of the land thus vacated. In this way they finally came as far west as the Elbe, and may be said to have held nearly all of the territory from the Elbe to the Dnieper. A large part of what is now Prussia, Saxony, and Bohemia became wholly Slavic.

Their location.

The Slavs, as well as the Kelts and Germans, were broken up into many tribes having no political connection with each other. They seem to have had a patriarchal form of government. At any rate, great reverence was shown the old men of the tribe, who, by virtue of their age, had a controlling voice in the management of affairs. They probably had no nobility at first. They elected their leaders in war. So strong was the democratic spirit among them that they were never able to produce a royal line. They always imported their kings. This fact greatly weakened them and led to constant internal wars among those who were ambitious for power and leadership.

Government.

Their religion was a low form of idolatry. They had many priests, who were consulted on all matters, both political and religious, and had almost unlimited influence over everything. They were tame and unwarlike, hence have never been conquerors. Yet they had powerful frames and impressed the Romans with their size. Their location was favorable to the occupations of cattle-raising and agriculture. They did not possess a strong national feeling, but were easily assimilated by other peoples. Large numbers of them were Germanized from the ninth century on.

Character.

E. THE LETTS

In the ninth century still another Indo-European people came into history. We meet with the Letts on the shore of the Baltic, from the Vistula to some distance beyond the Niemen. They were closely related to the Slavs, but formed an independent family of the Indo-European race. They were

divided into Lithuanians and Prussians. It is curious to note that the name of this non-German people (the Prussians) has, in the process of time, come to be applied to the leading German state of to-day.

F. THE URAL-ALTAIC PEOPLES

Besides these Indo-European peoples which we have just discussed there were others, who are usually called Ural-Altaic or Finnic Turkish tribes. "Turanian" is also applied to them. They were to be found in northern Scandinavia and in the northern, northwestern, and eastern parts of Russia. They were the Finns, the Lapps, the Esthonians, the Livonians, the Ugrians, the Tchuds, the Permians, the Magyars, the Huns, and many others. They were related to the Turkish Mongols. During the Middle Age, at least, they in no way advanced the interests of civilization, but rather played the part of a scourge. They have been destroyers rather than builders.

Basis of above classification philological, not recognized by ethnologists.

The division followed above is linguistic. Philologists first discovered the similarity between the languages of the Greeks, the Romans, the Kelts, the Germans, the Slavs, the Letts, the Persians, and the ancient inhabitants of India. On the basis of these resemblances in language, these peoples were classed together as one great race. It was inferred that because their languages were akin the people themselves must have been of the same original stock. The modern science of Anthropology or Ethnology does not recognize the validity of such an argument, but declares that these peoples do not belong to the same race, although their languages are related. Ethnologists now use other tests to discover the racial relations of peoples. Prominent among these are skull measurements.[1]

[1] A convenient book on this subject is Taylor's Origin of the Aryans, though some of its statements are too strongly made and its conclusions are not altogether justifiable.

3. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

In the fourth century Christianity was well scattered over the Empire, and there were Christians even among the Barbarians. It had begun in Palestine as a brotherhood, but had slowly developed an organization which at this time was fairly complete. It was modelling its government after that of the Roman Empire. Its clergy had much of what we might call "esprit de corps." The Christian Church, as a whole, was friendly to the Roman state, and desired that it might be preserved and perpetuated. This was due in part to certain commands in their sacred writings that they should honor the king and obey the powers that be, and in part, also, to the belief that so long as the Roman government should remain intact the "Antichrist" would not come. In the mysterious passage, 2 Thess. ii. 3–12, mention is made of "one that restraineth," and the appearance of the "lawless one" (*i.e.*, the Antichrist). This "one that restraineth" was very early believed by the Christians to be the Roman Empire. Consequently we find that the early Christians desired the long continuance of the Empire.

The Church friendly to the State.

This friendly feeling of the Church was not reciprocated by the state. To the heathen the congregations of the Christians seemed to be secret societies, most of which were forbidden by the state because of their supposed political character. Eastern religions were also forbidden in the western part of the Empire; Christianity was eastern in its origin and by that very fact forbidden. To be a Christian, therefore, was to be a criminal in the eyes of the law. It was impossible for the Christians to perform their duties as citizens, for all such duties were connected with idolatrous rites and practices. Neither could they sacrifice to the gods or take any part in the great religious festivals and celebrations. In an age when nearly everything was attributed to the direct

The State hostile to Christianity.

agency of the gods, it was unavoidable that the Christians should be blamed for all calamities. It would be said that the gods were angry at those who despised them. The result was that the Christians were persecuted and annoyed, more or less, for three hundred years. These persecutions were local, however, until 249 A.D., when Decius ordered the first general persecution. Even then the persecution did not extend over the whole Empire. In 303 A.D. the last great persecution was begun under Diocletian, though the responsibility for it is to be laid on his Cæsar, Galerius. After about eight years of struggle the first edict of toleration was published, in April, 311. Through this and the later efforts of Constantine, Christianity was made a legal religion.

Constantine and the Church.

It was the policy of Constantine to further Christianity. In 313 he released the Catholic clergy from many political duties which were ordinarily regarded as burdensome. In 315 he freed the Church from the payment of taxes such as tribute and the "annona." Probably in 316 he made legal the manumission of slaves which took place in churches. In 321 churches were granted the privilege of receiving legacies. In 323 he forbade the compulsory attendance of Christians at heathen worship and celebrations. Up to 323 the coins which he struck bore the images and inscriptions of various gods; after that time his coins had only allegorical emblems. But, on the other hand, Constantine never in any way limited or prohibited heathenism. He retained the office and performed the duties of Pontifex Maximus. In 321 he issued an edict commanding that officials should consult the Haruspices (soothsayers). After the year 326 he permitted a temple to be erected to himself, and allowed himself to be worshipped. After his death he was enrolled among the gods and received the title of Divus. It is evident from this that the famed conversion of Constantine was political rather than religious. His principal interest was centred in the unity of the Church, which he wished to use as a tool in the work of

governing the Empire. He did not make Christianity the state religion. He merely made it a legal religion.

The Emperors Gratian (375–383) and Theodosius (379–395) went one step farther and made orthodox Christianity the only legal religion. They withdrew state support from heathenism and restricted the heathen worship. They also persecuted all heresies. They attempted to make citizenship depend upon orthodoxy. It is evident, therefore, that the Christian Church will be one of the most important factors in the history of the Middle Age. It might be said that the future belonged to the Church and to the Germans.

Gratian and Theodosius made Christianity the only legal religion.

Longitude West 10° from Greenwich.
0°
10°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Caledonia
Hibernia
GERMAN SEA
Scandina
Jutes
Angles
Elb
BRITANNIA
London
Saxons
Lombards
Ripuarian Franks
Rhine
Burgundians
50°
Seine R.
Lutetia (Paris)
Marcomanni
Danube
Alamanni
VINDELICIA
RHAETIA
NORI
GALLIA
Cantabrian Sea
Milan
Rhone
ROMAN
ITALY
Ravenn
Rom
Corsica
40°
HISPANIA
Tagus R.
Baleares
Sardinia
MEDITER
Sici
MAURETANIA
NUMIDIA
GAETULIA
30°
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.
0°
10°

East 20° from Greenwich.
30°
40°
50
EUROPE
350 A. D.
SHOWING THE
ROMAN EMPIRE AND BARBARIANS.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Slavs
Goths
Vends
Vistula R.
Vandals
Volga R.
Dnieper R.
Huns
Don R.
Huns
Ant
Prut R.
East Goths
Jazyges
Tiscia
West Goths
Danube River
DACIA
MOESIA
BLACK SEA
THRACIA
Constantinople
PONTUS
MACEDONIA
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
EPIRUS
Aegean Sea
ASIA MINOR
ACHAIA
Athens
PAMPHYLIA
CILICIA
MESOPOTAMIA
Cyprus
Crete
SEA
SYRIA
Jerusalem
ARABIA
CYRENAICA
MARMARICA
EGYPT
20°
30°

CHAPTER II

THE MIGRATIONS OF THE NATIONS

HAVING seen where these various tribes were located in the fourth century, we are now ready to take up the remarkable movements known as the "invasions of the Barbarians," or the "migrations of the nations." Beginning about the middle of the fourth century these migrations lasted for nearly one hundred and fifty years. Taking with them all their possessions, whole tribes left their homes and passed over into the Roman Empire, where they either took by force or received as gifts large areas of land. There they set up their own government, lived according to their own laws, and attempted to preserve their nationality. To their rule the Romans were compelled to submit.

General statement.

It seems strange that it should have been possible for these barbarian tribes to invade, conquer, and rule a people so much more civilized than themselves. But the Romans had lost their warlike spirit. Their legions had once been regarded as irresistible, but now their armies were no longer Roman. They were composed largely of Barbarians. The inhabitants of the interior were unacquainted with war because nearly all disturbances were on the frontier. The change in the government and the existence of a standing army had destroyed the patriotism of the Romans. They no longer took an intelligent and enthusiastic interest in the affairs of government, and were cringing and spiritless. They looked to the Emperor for protection and defence. Success in battle depended largely on personal prowess, and in this respect the Barbarians were far superior to the Romans.

The Romans no longer warlike.

The migrations began in the last half of the fourth century, although during the preceding centuries there had been what we may call a prelude to the movement. Many bands of Germans crossed the frontier for the purpose of plunder, or to ask for lands, and to offer in return for them their service in war. Many tracts of land in the Empire had in this way been occupied by Germans. The army was almost Germanized, so large was the number of Germans in the legions.

Causes of the migrations.

The causes of the migrations were often complex. By the writers of the period hunger was assigned as one of the principal causes of this movement. The Germans probably had only very small areas under cultivation. Their agricultural implements and methods were of the most primitive sort and the variety of their crops was limited. They depended to some extent on their cattle, which might be carried off by a pest. A scarcity of game would be a grievous blow.

We have evidence from contemporaneous writers that the Germans were a hardy, vigorous race, that was multiplying rapidly. Ammianus Marcellinus (died *c.* 380) says that the Germans were so numerous that one might suppose that death never visited their land. This increase in population would make the conditions of life among them more difficult, and a famine would be more quickly felt. As a proof of the rapid increase, it is said that within sixty years the tribe of the Aduatici increased in numbers from six thousand to fifty-nine thousand. Sometimes one tribe set another in motion. Thus under Probus (276–280 A.D.) the Bastarnæ, being driven out by the Goths, were allowed to settle on Roman soil, and in 375 A.D. we know that the Huns drove the West Goths from their homes and started them on their new period of wandering. The movement was contagious, for if a tribe had once been set in motion it was joined, if not by whole tribes, at least by many bands from other tribes through whose territory it passed.

The Germans also migrated often, driven by a desire for plunder and lands. For some centuries the Barbarians had been making predatory incursions into the Roman territory and had carried off much spoil. They knew that the lands in the south were richer than their own and consequently coveted them. The Germans, especially, asked, first of all, for lands. They had a good deal of knowledge about the south through traders, captives, soldiers, and marauding tours. They had learned about the wealth of the south and the easier conditions of life in those more favored districts where nature does almost everything for the inhabitants. The material advantages of the south had great attractions for them.

The Goths were the first tribe to break over the boundary in great numbers and begin the migrations on a grand scale. When we first learn of them they were on the Baltic, east of the Vistula. They had a tradition that they had come from Scandinavia. They early left their home on the Vistula and slowly moved to the south. Their line of travel is not known with certainty. They set out about 150 A.D., and within fifty years had reached the Black Sea and the lower course of the Danube, where they settled in two groups. The tribe was thereby divided, and, from their relative positions the two divisions came to be known as the East and the West Goths. The latter were also called Thervingi, and the former Greutungi. About the middle of the third century, probably from 238 on, owing to the weakness of the Emperors, they caused the Empire great damage by making many rapid raids into its territory. Sailing across the Black Sea, or following around its coast, they plundered many towns, and even ventured to go several miles into the interior. Within a few years they took and sacked Trapezus, Chalcedon, Nicæa, Apamea, and many other towns. About 262 they burnt the temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus, and overran even Cappadocia, Thrace, Macedonia, Achaia, and Illyria; the whole

The Goths move from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Their invasions.

Balkan peninsula, in fact, suffered more or less at their hands. Claudius (268–270) and his able successors chastised these invaders and kept them within bounds. Constantine put an end to their incursions.

During their stay on the Danube and the Black Sea the Goths made the first steps in civilization. They were directly on the frontier, and consequently came into contact in many ways with the inhabitants of the Empire. There was more or less commerce between them and the Empire, and the ways and means of communication constantly increased. They became acquainted with the Roman system of weights, measures, and coinage. They became familiar with Roman modes of life, dress, and customs. Among the booty carried off on their raids were many Christians whom they reduced to the position of slaves. These Christian slaves often repaid them by making known to them their religious faith. Through the labors of these slaves, Christian merchants, soldiers, exiles, and missionaries, the Goths were converted some time before they were attacked by the Huns. At the middle of the fourth century there was a good prospect that there would be developed a great German Empire in southern Europe along the Danube and the Black Sea. It was the invasion of the Huns that made such a development impossible.

Contact with the Empire.

During their removal from the Baltic to the south (or perhaps before), the Goths broke up into small groups ("Gaue") each of which was led by its most prominent nobleman. This leader was called by the Romans "Dux," by the Germans "Herzog" (Heer, army; zog, from the verb "to lead"). These groups or bands settled and remained independent. For a long time there was no central government, no common king over them all. Gradually some of these "Gau" leaders succeeded in uniting under themselves several Gaue, and on this account were often called kings. In this way, about 350 A.D., Hermanrich, a leader of

Slow development of the kingship.

one of the Gaue of the East Goths, rose to such power that he was called the king of the East Goths, and became the founder of the dynasty which ruled over them until the death of the unfortunate Amalasuntha in Italy. Later a long line of ancestors was invented for Hermanrich, reaching back to the demigods, and because of Amala, one of these supposed ancestors, the whole dynasty was called the Amalians. Neither were the West Goths united. About the same time, however, one of their leaders, Athanarich, attained great honor among them and practically ruled over them, although he did not yet bear the title of king.

The Christianization of the Goths.

The beginnings of Christianity among the Goths are to be referred to the work of prisoners, merchants, soldiers, exiles, and missionaries. There were Goths in the Crimea who very early took the orthodox faith. One of their bishops, Theophilus, was present at the Council of Nicæa (325). These Goths in the Crimea became completely separated from the others. When the Huns came, they were not driven out, nor did they afterward leave their home. As late as the sixteenth century the descendants of these Goths were still living in the Crimea and spoke the Gothic tongue.

Ulfilas.

The principal missionary of the Goths was Ulfilas (311–381). He was born of Gothic parents. He spent several years at Constantinople, although the reason of his presence there is unknown. He may have been sent as an ambassador or as hostage. Having become a Christian of the Arian type, he wished to return as a missionary to his people. About 340, having reached the canonical age, he was ordained bishop to the Goths. He had probably already begun the work of translating the Bible into Gothic, for which purpose he had invented an alphabet. His object in making this translation was that proper passages or lessons might be read in the Church services. He had no thought of putting it into the hands of the Goths for popular use. For a

long while there was no one among the Goths, except the clergy, who could read.

Soon after 340 Ulfilas, accompanied by some helpers, returned to his people north of the Danube, where he labored with considerable success for a few years. Athanarich, however, was opposed to giving up the national religion. He held firmly to the traditions of his fathers and was hostile to all changes. When he saw that Ulfilas was rapidly making converts he proceeded to persecute them. After some of the Gothic Christians had suffered martyrdom Ulfilas determined to flee. He appealed to the Emperor Constantius, who gave him lands in southern Mœsia, not far from Nicopolis. He moved with his Christian followers and settled there. These Mœso-Goths, like those of the Crimea, were never again united to the main tribe, but remained in Mœsia, where they continued their separate existence for several centuries. As late as the ninth century Gothic was still spoken there.

The Mœso-Goths.

Even after the withdrawal of Ulfilas and his followers the Christianization of the West Goths seems to have gone slowly and quietly on. At any rate, by the year 370 there were a good many Christians among them, and a second persecution was carried on by Athanarich. This persecution was aimed principally at the sect known as the Audians, though it is probable that both orthodox and Arian Christians were troubled by it. The Audians were very rigid in their morals and almost monkish in their mode of life. In connection with this persecution we meet with an opponent of Athanarich. Another Gau leader, Fritigern, opposed him and protected the Christians. Fritigern must have had several Gaue under him, for he was able to carry on a war with Athanarich, the outcome of which was that Fritigern moved with all his followers down toward the mouth of the Danube, and occupied what is now Roumania. Athanarich and his party occupied the land to the north, on the upper waters of the Pruth

Rival "kings."

and Dniester. The East Goths were still farther east, along the Black Sea, around the mouth of, and beyond, the Dniester.

About 372 the Huns, under Balamir entered Europe and attacked the Slavs and other peoples that lay to the east of the East Goths. They were everywhere victorious and gradually moved to the west. In 373, they had reached the Alani, also a Hunnic people, who submitted only after much hard fighting. In the same year Hermanrich, king of the East Goths, died, and two candidates appeared for the position of leader. Hermanrich's son, Hunimund, was recognized by a part of the nation. He made peace with the Huns, paying tribute and furnishing troops for their army. The other part of the East Goths chose for their king Winithar (Winthemir), another member of the royal family, and prepared to resist the invaders. Winithar was joined by some of the neighboring tribes, but after several defeats was himself killed in battle. His young son, Widerich, succeeded him, under the regency of two able leaders, Saphrax and Alatheus. These now withdrew with all their people to the Danube, leaving their lands in the possession of the Huns (374). They were also accompanied by several bands of Alani and other Hunnic peoples who had been displaced by the invading Huns under Balamir.

The coming of the Huns.

The West Goths, under Athanarich, on the upper waters of the Pruth and Dniester, were then attacked by the Huns, and after some ineffectual resistance retreated toward the Danube. Later, when it was apparent that the Emperor would not allow them to cross the Danube, they withdrew into Transylvania (Siebénbuergen), where, protected by the mountains, they escaped the further ravages of the Huns. The West Goths, under Fritigern, were in this way put under very great pressure, being threatened from the east by the East Goths, under the young Widerich, and from the north by the West Goths, under Athanarich. The Huns, of course, were behind both of these. Under these

Fritigern and his West Goths cross the Danube.

circumstances Fritigern asked the Emperor for permission to lead his people across the Danube and settle on Roman soil. The request was granted, and early in the year 376 Fritigern led his division of the West Goths, about one hundred thousand in number, over the Danube. The Emperor received them into the relation of fœderati. They retained their arms, gave hostages, and agreed to furnish a contingent of troops for service in the Roman army. In return they were to receive lands and grain. Their intentions were thoroughly peaceable.

But the conduct of the Roman officials was so bad that the Goths were driven into revolt before the summer was ended.

Their revolt. Only poor grain and food were furnished them and an enormous price was demanded. In a short time the West Goths were reduced to poverty and compelled to sell their goods and even their children and their wives. This produced the most bitter feeling on their part and led to a revolt. They overran much of the territory about Adrianople and were joined by Gothic slaves and troops, who now took this opportunity of deserting. At the same time bands of Huns and of East Goths, under Widerich, crossed the Danube and committed great ravages on the boundary between Thrace and Illyria.

The Emperor Valens finally came in person to punish the Barbarians, but at the battle of Adrianople, in the spring of 378,

The battle of Adrianople, 378. his army was totally routed and he himself slain. Again the West Goths had the Empire in their power. Both Adrianople and Constantinople were besieged, but without success. Despairing of taking walled towns they now spread over the country and carried on their depredations as far as the Adriatic. The East Goths, under Widerich, chose the northern part of the peninsula, while the West Goths went south into Achaia, where Fritigern died. The Emperor Gratian finding it impossible to offer battle now made overtures of peace to the East Goths, which were accepted. They then settled in southern Pannonia, along the Save and Drave rivers.

Just at this time Gratian conferred the imperial title on the able Spaniard Theodosius, who set himself to pacify rather than to conquer the marauding West Goths. This he accomplished, but only after three years' efforts. In 382 he settled them in the territory south of the lower Danube (Dacia-Mœsia). He also persuaded Athanarich to bring his West Goths from Transylvania, and settle with those already in the Empire. Athanarich himself was received with royal honors in Constantinople, but died suddenly a few days afterward. Nearly all of his followers, who were still heathen, either entered the Emperor's army or were settled as colonies in Asia Minor (Phrygia and Bithynia). They were soon assimilated by the peoples among whom they settled.

Theodosius.

On the other hand, the West Goths south of the Danube retained their nationality. They became fœderati of the Empire. That is, they were not permitted to have their own kings over them but had leaders who were elected ; they controlled their local affairs and furnished regular contingents of troops for the imperial army. From 382 to 395 they were without a king.

Such a condition must have seemed to them a dishonorable one, for they were not their own masters. During this period another division took place among them. One part was devoted to the Empire and willing to be assimilated by it. The other clung to the national traditions, wished to preserve their nationality, and longed for a king of their own. Of this party was Alaric. He was a member of one of the noble families which had furnished leaders for some of the Gaue. The date of his birth is unknown, but he must still have been a young man when, in 395, he was made king and headed the revolt. He had kept himself aloof from the court as much as possible, and had preferred the welfare of his people to personal honors in the Empire. He cherished the idea of national independence and liberty, and wished his people to have a home, where they might develop and make progress in civilization without losing their nationality.

In 395 the dissatisfaction with their position became so great that they elected Alaric king and raised him on their shields. This was the signal for the revolt. All the people prepared to leave their homes, and in a short time they were on their way toward Constantinople, spreading desolation as they went. The death of Theodosius had left the Empire without a protector, for his sons, Arcadius and Honorius, were utterly worthless and unable to perform the duties of their office.

The revolt under Alaric, 395.

Alaric hoped to surprise Constantinople, but found its gates closed and its walls manned. A siege of the city was hopeless, for the West Goths were not skilled in that kind of warfare. In consideration of large sums of money Alaric consented to raise the siege. He then took up his line of march to the west, following the sea-coast through Thrace and Macedonia into Greece. The army in the west was at this time commanded by a Vandal named Stilicho, a man of the very greatest talent. He quickly ended the war in which he was engaged in Gaul, and by forced marches hastened to the east to check Alaric. But owing to intrigues in the court at Constantinople he was ordered to return to Gaul, and reluctantly obeyed. Alaric continued his journey to the south. The guard at the pass of Thermopylæ fled, leaving the way open to the Barbarians. They soon reached Bœotia, devastating the open country and sacking temples and churches which everywhere contained much booty. Thebes could not be taken by them and they passed into Attica. The Peiræus fell into their hands, and Athens, being cut off from her food-supply, was compelled to purchase their withdrawal with money and gifts. Continuing to the south Corinth was soon reached and taken. The Emperor now saw that it was necessary to ask for the help of Stilicho, who was with the troops in northern Italy. As soon as he was summoned Stilicho sailed for Corinth, and by skilful manœuvering succeeded in forcing Alaric into central Peloponnesus.

The march through Greece.

On the borders between Arcadia and Elis, the West Goths were shut up in a valley, all the exits from which were held by Stilicho. But it did not come to a battle. Probably both Stilicho and Alaric were afraid to risk an engagement which might be fatal to the defeated party. The reasons for his action are not known, but it is certain that Stilicho made a peace with Alaric, by the terms of which the West Goths were to be settled in Illyria, and Alaric receive the title of duke of Illyria (397 or 398). His attempt to find a free, independent home for his people in Greece had failed.

Settlement in Illyria.

Illyria, however, was no better adapted to the national development of the West Goths than were the lands along the Danube. Alaric seems never to have thought seriously of remaining there. There were imperial mines and arsenals in Illyria which Alaric used for the purpose of supplying his troops with arms. The time spent there was one of preparation for further effort.

It is probable that Alaric made an alliance with the East Goths, who, in 381, under Widerich, had accepted lands in Pannonia along the Save and Drave rivers. Their leader at this time was Ratger (Radageisus). At any rate the East Goths, under Ratger, and the West Goths, under Alaric, made what seemed to be a concerted attempt to break into Italy. In the year 400 Ratger passed up the Save river into the Tyrol, intending then to pass into Italy. He was met by Stilicho, who after nearly a year's manœuvering and fighting compelled him to return to his former place in Pannonia.

Ratger's unsuccessful invasion.

Alaric was somewhat more successful. Setting out in 401, he reached the territory now known as Venetia. Instead of proceeding at once to Rome, he stopped to besiege the Emperor in the fortress of Asti, hoping by his capture to be able to make good terms and thereby end the war. Asti, however, was very strongly

Alaric's first invasion of Italy, 401-3.

fortified and resisted every assault. This delay enabled Stilicho, after having driven the East Goths back into Pannonia, to come to the relief of the Emperor. At Pollentia, probably at Easter, 402, a battle was fought. It was indecisive, however, for each army was successful on one wing. Both generals resorted to manœuvering, but neither one was willing to risk another battle. Finally, in the year 403, at Verona, Stilicho gained an advantage over Alaric, who was planning to retreat into Gaul. But Stilicho seized the mountain passes, and Alaric was compelled to make peace and return to Illyria (403). His second attempt to establish his people in an independent position had failed.

The East Goths, under Ratger, destroyed, 405.

In the summer of 404 Ratger again led an army of 200,000 East Goths out of Pannonia into Italy. In the spring of 405 he reached Florence, to which he laid siege. Stilicho hastened to its rescue, compelled Ratger to withdraw, and in the neighborhood of Fiesole gained a decisive victory over him. His division of the East Goths was scattered, large numbers were slain, and many perished in the mountains; 12,000 took service in the army of Stilicho and 10,000 were made prisoners and sold as slaves.

Alani, Vandals, and Suevi cross the Rhine, 406-7.

Closely connected with this invasion of Ratger is that of the combined Alani (a non-German people), Vandals, and Suevi into Gaul. Some of these were in northern Pannonia, and others lay north of the Danube and some distance east of the Rhine. It is impossible to follow them accurately, but it is probable that the Alani and the Vandals began the movement and were joined on the way by the Suevi. In the winter of 406–7 they crossed the Rhine, which was frozen over, and spread throughout Gaul. There were no troops to resist them, and they quickly took and plundered Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Rheims, Amiens, Tournai, Arras, Terouanne, and many other towns in the interior. In 409 the advance-guard reached the Pyrenees and passed over into Spain. The usurping Emperor, Constantine,

at first opposed them, but without success, and soon made treaties with them. They were still living by plundering, and had apparently made no preparations for settling as permanent residents.

Alaric had returned in 403 into Illyria where we soon find him in league with another Gothic leader, named Athaulf (Adolf), who was at the head of some mixed peoples in southern Pannonia. How Athaulf had obtained this leadership is unknown. He was, however, an able man, and must have had a strong force under him. He had given his sister to Alaric in marriage. Taking advantage of the troubles in Gaul and Spain (the Vandals, Alani, and Suevi were there, besides the usurping Constantine), Alaric moved with all his people into Noricum and sent ambassadors to Stilicho to say that he would keep the peace if Noricum were given him with four thousand pounds of gold. Stilicho went to Rome and laid the matter before the Emperor and the Senate. As it was impossible to refuse, his proposition was accepted.

Alaric in Noricum.

Stilicho was the only man in the Empire whom Alaric feared. He was both a statesman and a warrior, valiant, able, and devoted to the interests of the royal family. In spite of his faithfulness, his opponents at the court succeeded in bringing him into disrepute with the Emperor, who foolishly ordered him to be seized and put to death (408). For Alaric this was most opportune. He at once sent ambassadors to the Emperor and demanded more money and the cession of Pannonia to his people. His demands were refused, and Alaric prepared to invade Italy. He crossed the frontier with a large army, and without stopping marched directly to Rome, to which he laid siege early in the year 409. By guarding the Tiber he cut off the city's supply of provisions. Hunger quickly brought the people to terms. Large sums of money were to be paid the Goths, an offensive and defensive alliance made between them and the Empire,

The West Goths again in Italy.

and hostages given. The Emperor confirmed a part of the agreement and Alaric raised the siege. The Emperor thought only of gaining time and set about getting his troops together. He soon refused to proceed with the negotiations and Alaric again besieged Rome. He had sent for Athaulf, who now entered Italy in the north with all his people, and in spite of some opposition soon joined the army of Alaric. Honorius now asked Alaric to come nearer to Ravenna that they might discuss the conditions of peace. For the second time Alaric raised the siege and yielded to the request of the Emperor. It was in vain, for the Emperor refused the terms which Alaric offered. In great anger he put his army in motion, hastened to Rome, and compelled the inhabitants to revolt from Honorius, and make Attalus, the prefect of the city, Emperor in his stead. He now overran the north of Italy and brought nearly the whole of it into subjection. A quarrel with Attalus led Alaric to depose him and make another attempt at reconciliation with Honorius. But the Emperor refused to have any dealings with him, and for the third time he laid siege to Rome. On the 23d of August, 410, the city was delivered into his hands by the treachery of Gothic slaves and was plundered by his troops. Much booty was seized and some parts of the city burned; but, on the whole, the sack was far less destructive than was expected. Alaric was avenged for the haughty treatment he had received at the hands of the Emperor.

Rome sacked, 410.

The Barbarians moved to the south, for Alaric meant to invade Africa. At Rhegium he collected a large fleet of boats which a sudden storm destroyed. As the winter was coming on, Alaric pitched his camp at Cosenza, intending to renew the invasion of Africa the next year. He was seized, however, in a few days, with Italian fever, and died after a brief illness. According to a legend his grave was prepared in the bed of the river Busento by Roman slaves, who were afterward killed in order that his last

Death of Alaric.

resting-place might be unknown, and consequently never be desecrated. Alaric was probably the greatest of all the German leaders in the period of invasions. It was his great service to his people that he kept alive in them the idea of a free, independent, national existence. But for him they would have been lost in the peoples along the Danube. He is one of the great German heroes.

Alaric was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Athaulf, who was in many respects his equal. Athaulf had already fallen in love with Placidia, the sister of the Emperor, who with her mother had been taken prisoner in Rome. It was probably in part due to her influence that Athaulf gave up his hostile attitude toward the Emperor and made peace with him. Gaul and Spain were assigned him on condition that he should drive out the Alani, the Suevi, and Vandals, and put down the usurper Constantine. In 412 he led his people over the mountains into southern Gaul. Many of the Vandals and Suevi had already passed over into Spain. Athaulf quickly conquered southern Gaul as far as the Loire, and the northeastern part of Spain. In 414, at Narbonne, Athaulf married Placidia, who had been kept a prisoner by the West Goths. Orosius (vii., 43) has reported a saying of Athaulf which shows him in his true greatness. It had long been his desire, Athaulf is made to say, to destroy the power and name of Rome and establish in its place the kingdom of the Goths. The Roman Empire was to be replaced by Gothia. But he had, at length, seen that his people were too untamed to submit to the necessary laws and discipline of a state. He had chosen, therefore, to be rather the preserver of Rome than its destroyer. These words show him to have been a man of deep insight and excellent judgment. It was impossible, however, for him to keep peace with Honorius, who listened to the slanders of the intriguers at court. He revolted, and again set up Attalus as Emperor, who was soon afterward taken prisoner and put to death by the Em-

Athaulf and Wallia establish the kingdom of the West Goths.

peror's forces. Athaulf himself was murdered in 415, and was succeeded by Walia, who made peace with the Emperor. Walia carried on a bitter war against the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals. The Alani were wholly subjected, the Suevi pushed into the northwestern part of Spain, and the Vandals were driven to the south. He succeeded in firmly establishing the kingdom of the West Goths on both sides of the Pyrenees, with Toulouse as his principal residence.

The Suevi in Northwestern Spain.

Boniface, the governor of the province of Africa, was in trouble with the Emperor and asked help of the Vandals. In the year 429 their king, Geiseric, with about a hundred thousand of his people, passed over the strait into Africa. He soon quarrelled with Boniface and took his revenge by overrunning and ravaging the country. By the year 439 Carthage was taken and the whole province was in his hands. The north of Africa, one of the richest provinces in the Empire, now became the kingdom of the Vandals.

The Vandals in Africa.

The kingdom of the Alamanni was composed of fragments of many German tribes, who established themselves in the territory now known as the Black Forest, and the northern part of Switzerland, where their dialect is still spoken in the rural districts.[1] They spread out, and in time occupied the eastern bank of the upper Rhine and a part of the valley of the Main and the Neckar. They were probably a loose confederation of tribes without a central government.

The Alamanni.

The Burgundians left their home between the Oder and the Vistula about the middle of the third century, and in a few years we find them on the Rhine and the Main. The territory about Worms was granted them in 413. After various fortunes the Emperor's officer, Aetius, transferred them to the territory south of Lake Geneva, on both sides of

The Burgundians.

[1] This dialect can claim something of a literature, *e.g.*, Hebel's Allemannische Gedichte.

the Rhone (*c.* 443). Here they gradually extended their power till, in 473, they had reached the Mediterranean. The scene of many parts of the "Nibelungen Lied" is laid in and about Worms, and contains the Burgundian traditions of that period.

Attila and the Huns.

After taking possession of southeastern Europe in the last quarter of the fourth century, the course of the Huns to the west was temporarily checked. They seem not to have remained long united, but broke up into groups, some of which went into the service of the Empire. After a while a new leader appeared in the person of Rugilas (also called Ruas, Roilas, and Rugas), who did much to bring them together again. His capital was in Pannonia, which had fallen into his hands. At his death (435) he was succeeded by two nephews, Bleda and Attila, who ruled jointly till about 444, when Attila caused Bleda to be assassinated that he might become sole ruler.

By diplomatic means, as well as by force, Attila united all the peoples, of whatever race, between the Volga and the Rhine. With an army composed largely of Huns and Germans he more than once ravaged the Eastern Empire. He even crossed into Asia and carried the war into Armenia, Syria, the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and threatened Persia. Constantinople was in danger from him, and was compelled to pay a heavy ransom.

At length, in 450, he turned his attention to the west. With an immense army he crossed the Rhine, ravaged northern Gaul, and was moving toward the south when his march was stopped by the defence of Orleans. Aetius, the commander of the imperial army in the west, gathered together all the forces possible and went to assist the city. Attila withdrew to the "Catalaunian Fields" (the exact location of which is unknown), where he was defeated (451) in a great battle. He retreated to his capital in Pannonia, a village near the modern Tokai, on the Theiss river. The next summer he invaded and

ravaged all northern Italy, but was compelled to retreat, because of the fever which broke out in his army and the approach of the army under Aetius. He died in 453, in a drunken stupor. The story of the embassy of the Bishop of Rome, Leo the Great, to Attila, is probably legendary. Frightened at the approach of Attila, many of the people about the mouth of the Po escaped to the islands and made a settlement, which was the beginning of the city of Venice.

Though a Barbarian, Attila was by no means a savage. He practised the arts of diplomacy, often sent and received embassies, and respected the international laws and customs which then existed. His residence presented a strong mixture of barbarism and luxury. His small wooden houses were filled with the rich plunder carried off in his many invasions of Roman territory. He despised Rome and her civilization, and hoped to erect an empire of his own on her ruins. He had among his following several Greeks, through whose written accounts of him, his conquests, and his kingdom, he hoped to become immortal. He may be compared to the great oriental warriors Ghengis Khan and Timourlane.

At his death his Empire fell rapidly to pieces. His son, Ella, attempted to quell the revolting tribes, but lost his life in battle, 454. All the German and Slavic peoples which had obeyed Attila and added to his strength now became independent again.

Before tracing the history of the East Goths further it is necessary to look at the condition of Italy. Rome had been steadily declining ever since the change in the form of government. Much of the prestige that had once been hers now belonged to the Emperor; the government was in his hands. It was no longer possible for the Emperor to reside at Rome. He was needed on the frontier, where nearly all the difficulties were. The government could no longer be administered from Rome. Nor was it possible for one man to fill the office of Emperor. His duties and difficul-

Condition of Italy.

ties were too great. He was needed in too many places at once, and there were too many dangers constantly threatening him. It was necessary for him to have assistance of some kind. During the first two centuries it often happened that the Emperor chose his successor and joined him with himself in the government, a plan which seems not to have worked successfully. Diocletian was the next to attempt a solution by making two Emperors and two Cæsars, but this plan also failed. In the last half of the fourth century there were two Emperors, who were in all respects equal and exercised the imperial power jointly. There was no thought of dividing the Empire. There was one government carried on by two Emperors. At the death of Theodosius (395) the power passed to his two sons, who were to rule, Arcadius in the east, and Honorius in the west.

Two Emperors but one Empire.

The question of a capital or residence had to be settled. Arcadius fixed his court at Constantinople, which had been fortified and beautified by Constantine. It was apparent from the first that Constantine had wisely chosen Byzantium for a residence in the east. It lay on the confines of Asia and Europe, was convenient to the seats of war, Persia and the Danube, and was altogether a strategic position. Moreover, it was easily defended, being a natural stronghold. It commanded the sea, a fact of the utmost importance for both war and trade. Its beautiful curved harbor, the centre of the world's commerce during the Middle Age, has been properly called "the Golden Horn," because of its shape and the wealth it has brought to the city. As a residence of the Emperor in the east, Constantinople was without a rival. Honorius for awhile kept his court at Rome, but finally removed it to Ravenna. This was a further step in the humiliation of Rome. Her glory was rapidly departing.

Rome no longer the Capital.

The fifth century was a period of wars and anarchy in the Empire. The Emperors were weak, profligate, and often vicious. They thought only of their own pomp and pleasure

and were utterly regardless of the interests of the state. They shut themselves up in their castles while wave after wave of barbarian invasion swept over the unhappy land. The ruling power was with the army, which was itself largely composed of Barbarians, principally Herulians, Scirians, and Turcilingians. If their wages were not promptly paid, as was often the case, the soldiers plundered the nearest village or town. Their insolence and violence increased as they saw the helpless condition of the country. Learning of the success of the other Barbarians who had seized various parts of the country, they began to demand that one-third of the soil be given them. At this time Romulus Augustulus, a mere boy, was Emperor. He had been raised to the throne by his father, Orestes, who had been one of Attila's followers, but was now the leading man in Italy. He was the power behind the throne, controlling everything in the name of his son. He refused to grant the request of the German troops.

Anarchy in the west, especially in Italy.

Odovaker, a German from Pannonia, had some time before this come into Italy to seek his fortune. It is not known to what tribe he belonged. He is made by different writers to be a Rugian, Herulian, and Scirian. He was a man of courage and ability, and had made a great reputation in the army as a warrior. He now called the mercenaries to his aid, promising to get for them by force all that had been denied them if they would but rally around him. With the large numbers that immediately joined him he besieged Orestes in Pavia. As the city was about to be taken Orestes fled, but was caught and put to death in the neighborhood of Piacenza.

Odovaker.

The little Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was compelled to come before the Senate and resign, and was then banished to a villa near Naples. At the command of Odovaker the Senate sent the imperial insignia and standards to Zeno, the Emperor in the east, and informed him that there was no need of an

Emperor in the west since one Emperor was able to protect both the east and the west. They gave their consent to the removal of the capital from Rome to Constantinople and renounced the right of electing the Emperor. They asked him to confer the honorary and indefinite title of Patricius on Odovaker, and to invest him with the administration of the government of Italy. In accordance with the hesitating policy of the eastern Emperors, the request was neither granted nor refused. Zeno rebuked them for some things, praised them for others, and treated Odovaker as Patricius without actually committing himself.

Zeno sole Emperor.

Odovaker was not in the least disturbed by this. He assumed the title of Patricius and was called king of the combined Barbarians in Italy. He now gave one-third of the lands to his troops. He ruled Italy well, restoring the office of consul in Rome (482), and renewing and preserving the institutions and laws of the city. Theoretically his government was under the control of the eastern Emperor, but practically he was almost independent. He put down a revolt in Dalmatia and punished some barbarian invaders along the Drave and Save rivers. He restored peace, enforced the laws, and gave Italy an excellent government. Prosperity was rapidly returning and Italy was beginning to recover from the long period of misrule and violence. His success led to his downfall. In 487 he attacked the Rugians in Pannonia, defeated them and carried off Frederick, the son of their king Feletheus. Frederick, however, quickly made his escape and fled to the East Goths and begged their king Theoderich to avenge him. The East Goths had not laid aside their hostility to the Empire. They ravaged its territory whenever they wished to demand more tribute or compel some of their requests to be granted. About 462 they invaded Illyria, but were bought off by the Emperor. Their king, Theodemir, sent his son Theoderich, then about seven years old, as hostage to Con-

Odovaker governs Italy.

Theoderich the Great.

stantinople, where he remained till he reached his eighteenth year. This long residence in the capital had a great effect on the young barbarian prince, and its influence can be plainly traced in his later years. After returning to his people he became king at the death of his father (about 475). The Emperor Zeno favored him and his people in many ways, but was often compelled to fight against them.

When the young prince Frederick fled to him, Theoderich asked permission of the Emperor to go into Italy, promising to drive out Odovaker and restore the country to the Empire. There was no reason why Zeno should be dissatisfied with Odovaker, but he wished to get rid of the troublesome East Goths. Accordingly he gave an ambiguous reply, which seemed to authorrize Theoderich to proceed, and yet might later be explained satisfactorily to Odovaker if he should overcome Theoderich.

During the summer of 488 Theoderich gathered his people together at Nova, where his residence was, and in the autumn set out for Italy. The hostile Gepidæ and other tribes opposed their passage, which had to be won after hard fighting. A part of the winter was spent in camp, and in the spring of 489 they pushed on by way of the Save river. In the autumn of the same year they entered Italy and defeated Odovaker in various engagements. In a great battle at Verona, Odovaker was driven from the field. Theoderich, although an Arian, gained the support of the orthodox bishops, and by their help established himself in the north of Italy. In another battle, near Milan, Odovaker was again defeated, and then shut himself up in Ravenna. After a three years' siege Odovaker made terms with Theoderich by which both were to rule in Italy. During the celebration of the peace thus concluded, Theoderich had Odovaker basely murdered (493). Being now without a rival, Theoderich took full possession of the country, assigned land to his people, and established them in fixed residence. The government was in his hands, and he ruled as king of the East Goths.

East Goths invade Italy.

Around the lower Rhine there were several tribes, such as the Sugambri, Chamavi, Attuarii, Ampsivarii, Chatti, Teucteri, Bructeri, and others, who in some way came to be called Franks. The origin and meaning of the name are unknown. The most important divisions were known as the Salians, near the mouth of the Rhine, and the Ripuarians near Cologne. During the fourth and fifth centuries they gradually spread by conquest to the south. They were not yet united, there being several independent kings among them, each ruling over his own group or tribe.

The Franks.

About the middle of the fifth century a tribe of Salian Franks comes into notice under their king, Childeric. Several other kings are mentioned, among them, Meroveus, from whom the later dynasty takes its names; but all these are probably legendary. At the death of Childeric, 481, his son, Chlodwig (Clovis, Louis, Ludwig), succeeded him and began a remarkable career of conquest which ended in the union of all the Franks under his sceptre. The kingdom of the Franks may be regarded as beginning with the accession of Chlodwig to the throne.

Chlodwig

The territory between the mouth of the Rhine and the straits leading into the Baltic was occupied by several tribes, the most important of which were the Friesians, the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. In the fifth century these peoples began to ravage the coast of Britain, and eventually, probably in 449, made the beginning of a settlement on the coast of Kent. After a bitter struggle, which lasted nearly twenty-five years, the whole of Kent fell into the hands of the Jutes.

The invasions of Britain.

Almost all of the south shore, west of Kent, was seized by Saxons, who settled in groups known as the South Saxons, the West Saxons, and the Middle Saxons. There was also a settlement of Jutes on the Isle of Wight, and one in the neighborhood of Southampton. The East Saxons occupied the territory north of the

Saxons and Angles in Britain.

mouth of the Thames. The district between the Stour and the Wash, now known as East Anglia, was seized by Angles, who were divided into two groups, the North Folk, and the South Folk. Other Angles made settlements all along the east coast, as far north as the Firth of Forth.

Reënforcements were regularly received for a long time, and the invaders were engaged in constant warfare with the Romanized Kelts of the country, who were gradually driven back. In about two hundred years the Kelts were practically confined to Wales and Cornwall. Many of the Kelts who were driven out by the Saxons crossed over to Gaul and settled in the ancient Armorica, to which they now gave the name of Brittany. The various Germanic kingdoms thus established in Britain were for some centuries to struggle for the leadership, until finally the West Saxons should succeed in making themselves master of all the territory.

Other German tribes.

Besides the German tribes, thus far mentioned, there were others, still uninfluenced by the Romans, occupying territory outside of the Empire. Such were the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Lombards, Saxons, Danes, and others, all of whom were yet to play an important part in the history of Europe.

Summary of results.

The results of this period of invasions may be summed up as follows: North Africa was now occupied by the kingdom of the Vandals, who, in the year 406, under the leadership of Geiseric had left their home in central Europe and passed through Gaul and Spain. In the northwestern part of Spain was the kingdom of the Suevi, who had made the same journey as the Vandals. In northeastern Spain and southern Gaul was the kingdom of the West Goths, who, under the leadership of Alaric, Athaulf, and Walia, had made the long journey from the lower Danube through the Balkan peninsula and Italy to their final home on both sides of the Pyrenees. The Burgundians had established their kingdom in the Rhone valley, after leaving their settlement about Worms,

on the Rhine. The kingdom of the Alamanni was in northern Switzerland and the Black Forest, and was composed of several confederate tribes. The East Goths, under their king Theoderich, held a large part of Italy. Northern Gaul was now the kingdom of the Franks. Britain was occupied by several small kingdoms, and there were other German tribes, still untouched by Roman influence, dwelling east of the Rhine. Certain other once powerful tribes, among them the Gepidæ, the Herulians, the Rugians, and the Scirians, had now wholly disappeared, having been destroyed in the long struggle with each other and with Rome. The great stretch of territory between the Elbe and the Vistula which had once been full of Germans, was now occupied by Slavic peoples who had moved west and taken possession of the territory deserted by the Germans.

This was also a period of unification. The many small tribes, or Gaue, lost their independent existence and were united under one head who was now called king. The kingship was developed during the migrations. By electing a king the Germans gave expression to their national consciousness. They thereby differentiated themselves from the Romans and put themselves into direct opposition to them.

But the German invaders had not taken possession of all the west. The Emperor still had his officers in southern Italy, in Ravenna, in some places in Spain, and in the valley of the Seine and the middle Loire.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW CHRISTIAN GERMAN STATES

1. THE GENERAL CONDITION OF THE GERMANS IN THEIR NEW HOME

The Germans and Arianism.

BEFORE settling on Roman soil all the German tribes except the Franks had become Christian. Little is known of the process of Christianization. Captives, exiles, traders, soldiers, and missionaries, all probably had something to do with it, but we cannot follow the work step by step. Ulfilas worked north of the Danube, among the West Goths, from 340 to 348, and was then transferred with his following to Mœsia. We have no further record of his activity among the Germans north of the Danube. But Christianity spread rather rapidly among all the Germans who had left their homes. Their worship was local, and intimately connected with groves, caves, trees, and other great or mysterious natural objects. These, of course, could not be taken with them on the march, consequently, when they left their homes, they left their religion behind them. While in this condition they came into contact with Christianity, and being naturally strongly religious, accepted it apparently without much difficulty. It was quite different with the Saxons and other German peoples in the north, who never left their homes, and consequently did not lose their attachment to their local gods. Unfortunately for their future development, they all took the form of Christianity known as Arianism, which was destined, by the progress of doctrine in the Church, to be regarded as heresy. The question at issue was in regard to the person of Jesus and his relation to God.

There were many things to prevent the quick fusion of the Germans with the conquered Romans among whom they settled. The Romans still had much of the ancient contempt for Barbarians, and the Germans repaid this feeling with interest because of the degeneracy and cowardice of the Romans. To the German, personal courage was so great a virtue that he could have no respect for those who were without it. Added to this was the fact that they stood to each other in the relation of conquerors and vanquished. The Germans took on the airs of conquerors, which, of course, made the position of the Romans more galling, since they were in this way constantly reminded of the presence of foreigners whose only right was that of conquest.

Relations between the Germans and Romans. Hindrances to fusion.

Wherever the Germans settled they took at least a part of the soil. It cannot always be clearly made out just how much of the land was taken, nor what the methods of appropriation and distribution were. It was customary among the Romans to quarter soldiers upon the inhabitants. The house (not the land), was divided into three parts, of which the owner took the first choice, the soldier then chose one of the other two parts for himself, and the remaining part fell to the owner. The soldier thus quartered was euphemistically said to be the guest of the proprietor. This custom probably served in part as a model for the division of the soil between the Romans and the Germans. Odovaker took one-third of the land in Italy for his army, and Theoderich seems to have taken this same one-third and given it to his East Goths. Probably also sóme other lands were seized by him. In Africa, Geiseric appropriated to himself many of the large estates, making royal domains of them. Others he gave to his army and left in the possession of the Romans only the poorest lands. The West Goths took two-thirds of the land, or even more, and the Burgundians claimed one-third of the tillable soil and all the woods. The Anglo-Saxons probably took all the soil; at any rate they

took the best and as much more as they wished. This seizure of land was felt by the Romans to be robbery, and of course it embittered them.

Heavy taxes were assessed on the Romans, while the Germans refused to pay them because they appeared to them as a mark of servitude. The burdens thus put on the Romans were very grievous, and the injustice of them kept alive the hatred of their oppressors.

One of the greatest hindrances to the free intercourse and fusion of conquerors and conquered was the difference in religion. All the Germans except the Franks were Arians, the Romans were Catholic. Undue weight was attached to the creed, and the orthodox provincials hated their heretical masters. The two peoples did not have the same priests and did not attend the same services.

And yet it was inevitable that they should in time mingle more or less. As the Germans became more civilized and imitated their neighbors, the differences between the two races would tend to disappear. As they lived together the good qualities of the one would become more apparent to the other. The compulsory military service of the Germans was sometimes extended to the Romans, and the good comradeship thus produced between them quickly diminished the hostility. Besides, in a few years nearly all the Arians, thanks to the efforts of the Popes and the orthodox bishops, were converted to the orthodox faith. The most serious obstacle to their association was thereby removed. They now frequented the same churches and were cared for by the same priests. Their common faith forbade their being enemies and reminded them constantly that they were brethren. Intermarriages became more frequent and inequalities of all kinds began to disappear.

Yet fusion inevitable.

One of the most important differences between the two races was their fundamentally different legal conceptions. The Romans expected the government to do everything for them. The regularly appointed officers of the state must enforce all

laws, punish offenders, and preserve the peace. Law belonged to the state. But among the Germans law was a private possession. The German inherited his law from his father, and it was impossible for him to alienate this inheritance. No matter where he went he took this law with him, and demanded that he be tried not according to the laws of the country in which he was, but according to his own tribal law. Each people had its own body of laws which differed in some respects from those of the others. The East Goths in Italy, the West Goths in Spain and Gaul, the Vandals in Africa, insisted on having justice done them according to their own laws. This conception is known as "personality of law" as opposed to "territoriality of law."

Legal differences.

Any one who was accused of a crime might clear himself by swearing that he was innocent and bringing a certain number of persons who would swear that they believed he was telling the truth. These were called his compurgators. No account was taken of witnesses or testimony. If an accused person could find no compurgators, the trial took the form of an ordeal. There were many kinds of ordeals, such as the wager of battle, a kind of duel in which the victor was decided to have won the case; the boiling caldron, from which the accused must take an object with his bare hand without sustaining any injury; the cold-water ordeal, in which the water having first been blessed and thereby made holy would, it was believed, refuse to receive any guilty person; accordingly if the accused sank he was regarded as innocent. In the ordeal of red-hot irons the defendant must either walk over them or carry one of them in his hands a certain distance without receiving any injury. The ordeal by lot was also practised, and somewhat later the ordeal of the eucharist, which it was supposed the guilty would be unable to swallow. The Church endeavored constantly to control more and more the legal forms and introduced many such "judgments of God." For most offences, even for murder, there was a fixed fine. A man's

The German Law.

value was estimated according to his rank, and any violence done him was finable in the same ratio. The man's estimated value was called his Wergeld, or man-money. The laws went into the minutest details and named a fine for an injury done to any part of the body.

The laws of the Germans were unwritten, and consequently would be easily influenced by the customs of the people among whom they settled. When they observed that changes and uncertainty were stealing into their legal forms and principles, and perhaps also influenced by the fact that the Roman laws were written, they were gradually induced to put their laws to writing. Some of these barbarian codes have been preserved and are important sources of our knowledge of the conditions that prevailed among the Germans. There are two important collections of Frankish laws, the Lex Salica, and the Lex Ripuariorum; others were the Lex Wisigothorum, the Lex Burgundionum, the Lex Frisionum, the Lex Saxonum, and the Edictum Theoderici of the East Goths. These were all written in Latin. Of all the Germans who settled on Roman soil, only the Anglo-Saxons preserved their nationality and their language; they reduced their laws to writing in their mother tongue.

Leges Barbarorum.

The Edictum Theoderici is almost wholly Roman, and not German. The edicts of the Lombard kings are very slightly influenced by Roman law. The Lex Burgundionum and the Lex Wisigothorum tried to distinguish between their laws and those of the Romans, while the laws of the Saxons, Friesians, and Anglo-Saxons bear little or no trace of Roman influence. As the invading and invaded peoples united, there was also a fusion of their laws, so that in the end there was practically but one law for all. The Church also gradually influenced the legislation, introducing new customs and destroying or modifying the old.

Purest German law now in England.

During the wanderings we have seen that the kingship was developed among the German tribes, and also that the small

leaders of the Gaue disappeared. The many fragments were united into one people ruled over by a king. This led to the formation of a court with a new kind of nobility. Imitating the Emperor, the king surrounded himself with a good deal of ceremony. He had a "major domus," who became his prime-minister, a chamberlain, a marshal, and many other officials. These were probably at first regarded as servants, but the dignity of their master was transferred to them, because of their close connection with him. In the end they were enrolled among the nobility. There were two other ways of entering the ranks of the nobility: through the Church and by the possession of much land. The Gefolge, or immediate followers of the king, were generally recompensed by means of large tracts of land, and sometimes also by being made officials. In either case they were almost sure to obtain a position among the nobility. As the Church grew, many bequests were made, especially to the monasteries and the large churches of the cities. These lands were controlled by the abbots and bishops, who thereby were reckoned among the great land-holders. They had even more power, because of the sacred character which they held in the eyes of the people, and because of the learning, of which they may be said to have had a monopoly. It was very natural, therefore, that the high officials of the Church should also rank with the nobles, serve the king with their counsels, and hold high places of trust at his court. It is not uncommon to find clergymen holding the highest offices in the state. So thoroughly did they become a part of the nobility that they were soon known as ecclesiastical princes.

Kingship, court, nobility.

2. THE VANDALS (429-533)

In 429 the Vandals went into Africa, and ten years later, when Carthage fell, the province was in their hands. They numbered less than a hundred thousand, of whom about thirty

thousand were probably fighting men. Geiseric at once made himself master of a fleet and quickly had all the islands of the western Mediterranean in his possession. He attacked the coast of Italy, and in 455 he even took and sacked Rome, carrying off as prisoner Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor Valentinian III. She was later married to his son and successor, Hunneric. Geiseric was a wily diplomat as well as an able commander. He often entered into diplomatic relations with the Emperors and also with Odovaker, and succeeded more than once in securing treaties with them, which confirmed him in his possession of Africa and the islands. Being an Arian, he bitterly harassed and persecuted the orthodox Roman provincials. He won their further hatred by oppressing them financially. After having seized their best lands he compelled them to pay heavy taxes. Fearing revolt, he dismantled the walls of all the important places except Carthage, where he himself resided. He died in 477, and was succeeded by his son Hunneric (477–84), who had all his father's vices without any of his virtues and ability. During his reign the Moors regained much territory on the south. He made himself more odious than even his father by his persecutions of the Catholics, many of whom he put to death or mutilated. At his death his nephew, Gunthamund (484–96), was made king. He did not persecute, but his reign was disastrous. The Moors overran much of his territory, and during the reign of his brother, Thrasamund (496–523), they reconquered the coast from Tangiers to Cæsarea. Thrasamund made an alliance with Theoderic the Great, receiving his sister, Amalafrida, in marriage. In his foreign relations he was controlled by Theoderic, while at home he renewed the persecutions of the orthodox Christians with much severity.

King Geiseric.

Troubles under his successors.

His cousin Hilderic, the son of Hunneric, succeeded him (523–30). Hilderic had been brought up as a Catholic, and therefore favored the orthodox. His Arian subjects were

thereby alienated. Amalafrida led a revolt against him, but was taken prisoner and put to death (526). His inglorious reign was ended in 530 by the successful revolt of his cousin Gelimer, who made the king prisoner and afterward put him to death. Justinian, who had recently come to the throne in the east, now determined to reconquer the west. He began with an attack on the kingdom of the Vandals. In 533 he sent his general, Belisarius, with a small force, which in less than a year destroyed the flower of the Vandal power, took Gelimer prisoner, and reduced Africa again to the position of a province of the Empire. Gelimer was taken to Constantinople and given a large estate in Galatia, where he spent the rest of his life. Many of the Vandals perished in the war. Those who were left either migrated or were lost in the population about them.

Justinian interferes. End of the kingdom.

3. THE SUEVI (419–585)

The kingdom of the Suevi embraced a large amount of territory in northwestern Spain, with Braga as the residence of its kings. The Suevi mingled very little with the provincials and the religious hatred between them was strong. The kingship was elective, and there were frequent civil wars between the candidates for the crown. For nearly a hundred years we scarcely know more than the names of the kings. Under Recchiar (448–57) orthodox Christianity was confessed, but a later king brought the people back to Arianism. Theodemir (d. 573) again became Catholic and made war on the West Goths. He was for awhile successful, the provincials receiving him gladly, because of their desire to escape from the rule of the heretical West Goths; but he was finally compelled to do homage to Leovigild, king of the West Goths. His successor, Miro (573–85), revolted, and under the usurper Andeca (585), Leovigild invaded the kingdom, took Andeca prisoner, and made the Suevi a part of the kingdom of the West Goths.

A weak kingdom.

Made subject to the West Goths.

4. THE WEST GOTHS (415-711)

It was the work of Athaulf (410–15) and Walia (415–19) to establish the West Goths in southwestern Gaul and northeastern Spain. By conquest and treaty they soon acquired the territory as far north as the Loire, as well as a large part of Spain. They were regarded as "fœderati," and were, therefore, supposed to be at peace with the Empire, but there were revolts whenever their interests clashed with those of the Emperor. Theoderic I. (419–51), after a long reign lost his life in the battle against Attila. His son Thorismund succeeded him, but was murdered on his return to Toulouse. The power of Theoderic II. (453–66) was sufficient to set up a new Emperor, Avitus, who was recognized in Gaul, but was unable to get control of Italy. Theoderic II. was murdered by his brother Euric (466–83), who then became king. He atoned for his crime by giving the West Goths the best rule they had ever had, extending their territory and collecting their laws. Euric was, during the last years of his life, the most powerful king among the Barbarians.

Fœderati.

Many able kings.

Euric gradually extended his territory in both Gaul and Spain. He had a body of Roman laws (the so-called Breviary of Alaric) drawn up for his Roman subjects; the West Gothic laws were collected for his German subjects. Additions were constantly made to these latter, and successive editions of them appeared till, in 693, their character was very largely changed. They were no longer personal, but territorial. By that time the process of fusion of the two peoples was almost complete. Euric's wisdom in allowing each people to live according to its own laws is seen by the fact that there was little friction between them. The Germans and the provincials lived quietly side by side, with little to vex their peace, except the religious differences. Very naturally the West Gothic clergy were all in favor of the orthodox Franks, and in the time of the strug-

gle did all they could for their success. It is hardly too much to say that the clergy were the real cause of the downfall of the barbarian kingdoms. No government could exist without their assistance, and, on the other hand, it is clear that the Franks owed much of their success to the support which they received from the Church. The Frankish kingdom was growing, and it was inevitable that there would be a struggle between the Franks and the West Goths for the possession of Gaul. This began in 507, and in about four years the West Goths had lost nearly all their land north of the Pyrenees. Although they regained a small part of it temporarily, in the end the West Goths were driven out of Gaul, and it was clear that their future was to be in Spain. For nearly one hundred years they made very little progress because of intestine wars. In 531 the last member of their royal house died, and the crown became wholly elective. The nobles fought much over the honor of the election, and often the king was murdered by someone who wished to usurp the power. In about a hundred and eighty years there were twenty-five kings, seven of whom were murdered, and eight deposed. Revolts and violent struggles were common and prevented the growth of the kingdom.

Opposition of the Catholic clergy.

The crown elective.

In 572 Leovigild became sole ruler, and began his remarkable reign. He had been associated with his brother Leova in the government and had already done good service against the troops of the Emperor, who now held some territory on the southeastern coast of Spain. After reducing the imperial officers to a line of fortresses from Lagos to Carthagena, he repelled the advance of the Suevi and made their king his vassal. In many parts of his kingdom there were local revolts among the provincials which he vigorously quelled. His rebellious nobles were next punished. He was then master throughout his realm. He chose Toledo as his residence and began to imitate the Emperor in the splendor of

Leovigild.

his court and in all the insignia of royalty. As if to mark his independence, he began to coin money in his own name with that of the Emperor, but he soon omitted the latter. His last years were troubled by the revolt of his son Hermanegild, who became orthodox and headed a revolt of the Catholics against his father. Hermanegild made an alliance with the Suevi and with the Emperor's officials, and was supported by most of the orthodox provincials. Leovigild, however, met the revolt in a masterly way. He attacked the insurgent forces before they could unite, took his son prisoner, conquered the Suevi, deprived them of their king, and made them a part of his kingdom. Hermanegild had married a Frankish princess, and in his struggle with his father had the help of the Franks. These now undertook to avenge his death, and invaded the kingdom of the West Goths. Their defeat only added to the glory of Leovigild, although he died from the effects of the hard winter campaign, in April, 586. His son, Reccared (586–601), saw that the fatal weakness of the kingdom was the religious difference which made it impossible for the king to count on the faithfulness of his subjects. He accordingly, after holding several councils of both Arian and Catholic bishops, declared himself a Catholic. His example was followed by his nobles and people in large numbers. A small minority, however, remained Arian and conspired against him, but was easily put down.

Suevi conquered. The Franks defeated.

The West Goths become orthodox.

Reccared based his state upon the support of the bishops. There were about sixty bishops in Spain who were now invited to meet the king. They outnumbered the nobles who were in the council. The latter were not so well educated, and not so closely attached to each other as were the bishops. Added to this were the spiritual powers and prerogatives of the bishops, which put them in the position to dictate to the king and to determine his policy in all things. That the legislation was greatly influenced by them is

The king and the clergy.

shown by the fact that the laws of the West Goths were the most humane of all the barbarian codes. Church and State were closely united, and in the end the Church predominated over the State. The king fell into the complete control of the bishops. At the death of Reccared the kingdom fell back into its former condition of strife, in which the lawless ambitions of the nobles and the machinations of the clergy crossed and recrossed. The history of the period is both uninteresting and unimportant. In 711 the Saracens crossed the strait which now took the name of their leader, Jebel-Tarik (Gibraltar), and a few days later won a decisive victory over the forces of Roderic, who himself lost his life. The West Goths did not attempt to elect another king. Within two years all of Spain except a few of the strongholds and a strip of coast along the Bay of Biscay was in the hands of the invaders, and the kingdom of the West Goths came to an end. The weakness of its kings, the strife over the crown, the disappearance of the free class, and the control of the bishops had brought about its downfall.

The Mohammedans conquer Spain, 711.

5. THE BURGUNDIANS (443-534)

About 443 the Burgundians were settled on the Rhone as fœderati of the Empire. They gradually and peacefully extended themselves over the whole of the Rhone valley, and a part of the upper Rhine. Their kings were regarded as Roman officials. Gundobad (474–516) became sole king by putting two other kings to death and subordinating another to himself. He collected the laws of the Burgundians, and also caused a collection of the Roman laws to be made, according to which the Roman provincials were to be judged. There was little or no friction between these and the Burgundians, except in religious matters. Gundobad received the title of Patricius, and was in favor with the Roman Emperors. Roman scholars were gladly welcomed at his court and the culture of the Empire found a home with him.

Relations to the Empire.

The catholic clergy of the kingdom was rich, powerful, and hostile to Arianism. As a matter of course, the king, although an Arian, had a part in the church government, calling the church councils, confirming their actions, and controlling to a certain extent the appointment of bishops. The orthodox bishops resented this, and as soon as the king of the Franks became Catholic, they looked to him as the coming deliverer from heretical rule. Chlodwig himself attacked the Burgundians and reduced them to a kind of vassalage. The struggle was continued in 523 and 524 with little success. But in 532 the war was begun again, and ended in 534, with the extinction of the Burgundian kingdom. Their last king, Gundomar, disappeared, and Burgundy[1] was made a part of the Frankish kingdom.

Religious opposition.

Conquered by the Franks, 534.

6. THE ALAMANNI

The kingdom of the Alamanni attained to no great importance because of its lack of organization as well as because of its short existence. For some years there was much hostility between them and the Franks, who were pressing eastward. In the year 496 Chlodwig gained a decisive victory over them and reduced them to subjection. Their territory became a part of the Frankish kingdom.

Subjected by the Franks, 496.

7. THE EAST GOTHS (493-554)

The history of the East Goths is practically that of their great king Theoderic (d. 526). The agreement made between Zeno and Theoderic before the invasion had been vague. After his success Theoderic took the title of king, and attempted to get an official recognition of his position from both Zeno and his suc-

Relations to the Empire unsettled.

[1] See Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, Appendix A, for the different meanings of the word Burgundy in the Middle Age.

cessor, Anastasius. It was not until 497 that his ambassador, Festus, succeeded in appeasing the Emperor and securing a sort of recognition for Theoderic. Anastasius sent him the "ornaments of the palace which Odovaker had formerly sent to Constantine." It is probable that the official title of Theoderic was "King of the Goths and Romans in Italy." There was always some vagueness and uncertainty about his rights and title, because the eastern Emperor hoped to be able some time to regain full control of the west, and consequently was as non-committal as possible. Practically Theoderic was king, and exercised all the powers of a king.

The East Goths were unlettered, and therefore Theoderic was compelled to use Romans to fill all the offices of state. It was to his credit that he was able to appreciate talent for such work and kept himself surrounded with the best men. Cassiodorus, a Roman of noble birth, became his prime-minister, and served him well, both as counsellor and historian. We owe much of our knowledge of the period to his literary remains.

Roman officials.

Theoderic developed an activity of the very widest range. The aqueducts and walls of many cities were restored, roads repaired, marshes drained, mines reopened, factories built, existing temples, and public buildings repaired and new ones built, agriculture promoted, the strictest justice administered, peace preserved, and laws enforced. He gave Italy a new period of prosperity. In all this Theoderic shows the deep influence which Rome had had upon him. He wished to perpetuate the Roman state, and consequently preserved the old Roman offices and machinery of government as nearly intact as possible. His legislation is represented by the "Edictum Theoderici," which is thoroughly Roman. It seems that he tried to compel his Germans to live according to the Roman law. While he appreciated and admired the Roman civilization, he believed that it brought with it effeminacy. He was, therefore, unwilling that his

The rule of Theoderic.

Goths should have any part in it. The education of the schools and the use of the pen were for the Romans; the practice of war, for his people.

In religious matters he had a singularly clear mind. Although an Arian, he refused to persecute the orthodox, and even gave the Jews protection against their Christian persecutors. He declared that no compulsion should be used in matters of faith, and that "to assume control over the beliefs and consciences of others was to usurp the prerogative of God." But toward the end of his reign he was guilty of persecution, though this was more for political than for religious reasons. Boethius and Symmachus, two of his trusted officials, were put to death for what was supposed to be treasonable correspondence with the Emperor at Constantinople. Some of the orthodox suffered, but it was really because of their own turbulence and fanaticism.

Religious freedom.

Toward his barbarian neighbors in the west Theoderic had what may be called a consciously German policy. He felt that the future belonged to the Germans, if they would but unite and not destroy each other. Accordingly he attempted to bring them all into close alliance, hoping thereby to prevent all German wars. He gave his sister Amalafrida to the Vandal king Thrasamund; one of his daughters to Alaric, king of the West Goths; the other to Sigismund, the heir to the throne of the Burgundians; he himself married the sister of Chlodwig. He also received embassies from the Thuringians and other German peoples in the north. For several years during the minority of the king he was the regent of the West Goths, and ruled them well. He did all he could to preserve the peace between his German neighbors, and endeavored to keep the balance of power and German leadership in his own hands.

His "German" policy.

The last years of Theoderic's life were unhappy. His sister in Africa was imprisoned because of political reasons; he was not able to prevent the extension of the territory of the Franks

at the expense of other German peoples; the Arian faith seemed to be losing ground; and his kingdom was disturbed by political intrigues and religious turmoils. He had no son, and the husband of his daughter, Amalasuntha, had died, leaving a mere boy to succeed him in his difficult position. He died in the year 526. His tomb is still shown in Ravenna, though it is possible that this building was not erected till 530 by his daughter.

His grandson, Athalaric, was made king, and Athalaric's mother, Amalasuntha, regent. Cassiodorus still served them as prime-minister. Athalaric was only ten years old. His mother brought him up in the strictest way, giving him a Roman education. This was very displeasing to his Gothic subjects, who remonstrated with her, and finally secured the freedom of the young king. Abusing his newly found liberty he gave himself up to vices which ended his life in 534. Since the Goths would not submit to the rule of a woman, Amalasuntha invited her cousin, Theodahad, to share her throne with her. He accepted, but basely imprisoned her and allowed her to be put to death by some of her enemies. Justinian, the Emperor, took this as a pretext for reconquering Italy, and sent his general, Belisarius, who quickly overran the southern part of the peninsula, occupied Rome, and captured Ravenna. Theodahad had in the meanwhile been deposed, and Witiges made king, but the latter was captured in Ravenna and carried to Constantinople, where he afterward died. Italy was again in the hands of the Emperor, but his officers abused their power to such an extent that all wished again for the Gothic supremacy. This led to the election of another king, Ildibad. He was secure in the fortress of Pavia, though his army was small. At this juncture Belisarius was called away to war against the Persians. Ildibad was at once successful in a battle, and all the northern part of Italy fell into his hands. He was soon afterward assassinated, as was also his inefficient successor, Eraric. Totila (his German name seems to have been

Justinian interferes in Italy.

Balduina or Baduila) now became king (541), and in less than three years again had all of Italy in his possession. Belisarius was sent to Italy a second time, but without adequate troops or supplies, and was finally recalled. He was replaced by Narses, who was almost his equal in all the arts of war. Totila was defeated and slain in battle, and Narses was soon master of Italy. Teias was the last king of the East Goths, but his reign was brief. He also was defeated and slain by Narses, and Italy was again made a part of the Empire (553). The remaining East Goths, who were unwilling to submit, were allowed to withdraw from Italy. In the autumn of 553 they left the country, marching to the north, and nothing more is known of them. Narses was made Exarch of Italy, with his residence at Ravenna. His victory over the East Goths had been greatly facilitated by the treachery and ambition of the Franks, who during this war had repeatedly invaded and devastated the northern part of Italy.

End of the kingdom of the East Goths, 553.

8. THE ANGLO-SAXONS (449-802)

The effects of the invasion of Britain by the German peoples from the coast north of the Rhine were great and various. The island had been pretty thoroughly Romanized. There were cities with fine temples, baths, and public buildings; good roads bound all parts of the country together; the people had been Christianized; in the cities, at least, Latin was spoken, and they were not without the graces of Roman culture, art, and literature. The invasion changed all this. The cities were deserted and fell into decay, for the Germans lived in the country; the roads were left to take care of themselves; the Christian Kelts were driven out, and Woden and Thor were worshipped; the invaders were still heathen; both the Latin and the Keltic languages disappeared, and only a German dialect was spoken. The civilization of

Effects of the German Invasion of Britain.

the Romans was utterly destroyed, and Britain fell back into the barbarism of the German forests.

The various settlements made were entirely independent of each other and were ruled over by "kings." The number of kingdoms thus formed varied from time to time. There was constant warfare among them, and the leadership passed from one to another in rapid succession. Eventually the struggle was confined to the three strongest kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia (the March or Borderland), and Wessex. The victory fell to Ecgberht (802–39), the king of the West Saxons. He placed members of his own family over Kent, Sussex, and Essex, while Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia were allowed to retain their kings, who acknowledged Ecgberht as their overlord. Out of this overlordship was to be developed, within two hundred years, the kingship of all England.

Ecgberht, 802–39 Overlord of all England.

These Anglo-Saxons were Germans, and established in Britain a pure German state. The Roman civilization was gone, and, consequently, there was nothing to prevent their free development along the lines peculiar to themselves. This is seen especially in their language and their laws. Their Anglo-Saxon dialect developed into a literary language almost uninfluenced by Latin. It was spoken everywhere, and as early as 680 Cædmon had sung the "Song of Creation" in his mother tongue, and parts, at least, of the heathen poem Beowulf were already in existence. The laws of the people were also written down in Anglo-Saxon, not in Latin, as were the laws of all the Germanic kingdoms on the continent. These laws show that the government, legal ideas, and customs, which the people had had on the continent had not been influenced by Rome and her civilization. The result of this was that England now has the purest Germanic law of any country in existence. In Germany itself, owing to the later connection between that country and the Empire, Roman law prevailed over the Germanic.

England remains German.

The Anglo-Saxons parcelled out their lands to groups probably of about a hundred warriors. The land which such a group received was then divided among them and they settled in villages. Their residences were called after the name of the family, with the addition of "-ham" or "-tun" (English, "home" and "town;" German, "Heim" and "Zaun"). "Ham" had the meaning of "dwelling," and "tun" signified the wall or fence which enclosed the village or place of defence. The affairs of each township were managed by all the freemen of the village, who met to discuss and decide all public matters. In the same way all the freemen of the Hundred met and determined all questions that concerned the welfare of the Hundred. There was a still higher court, composed of all the freemen of the whole tribe. This was assembled whenever questions that concerned the whole tribe were to be decided or disputes between the Hundreds were to be settled. While this was the theory, it is probable that it was early found to be impracticable to get all the freemen together as often as was desirable. This led to the introduction of a kind of representation. A small number of men were sent from each township to the Hundredmoot, and the same number sent from each Hundred to the Folkmoot. The same social distinctions were perpetuated as had existed among them on the continent. There were three classes: the noblemen or ealdormen, the freemen or ceorls, and the slaves. The comitatus was, of course, quickly modified, the followers of a leader being called thanes as soon as they got lands and left the immediate presence of their leaders.

"Ham" and "tun."

Democratic government.

Christianity was driven out of Britain with its Keltic following, and replaced by the worship of the German gods. The relations between the Kelts and the Germans were so hostile that little or nothing was done by the former to Christianize the latter. The Christian Kelts of Wales seem to have had no missionary spirit, but those of Ireland were just now setting for themselves the task of converting the world. In the fifth cen-

tury Ireland had been Christianized, probably by Saint Patrick, and the church received a sort of episcopal form of government. Being largely cut off from intercourse with the churches on the continent, the church of Ireland did not have the same development as they. There were differences as to the time of observing Easter, the form of tonsure, certain parts of the ritual, and the headship of the Bishop of Rome. The Irish Church had great missionary zeal. About 570 Saint Columba with twelve companions was sent to the island of Iona on the southwest coast of Scotland. Columba founded a monastery on the island, which became the religious capital of the north. Through the efforts of these men Scotland (then called Caledonia) was Christianized, as well as the northern part of England. Other missionary bands of thirteen members went to the continent, especially to Friesia, Belgium, France, and Germany. In Burgundy, in the Apennines, and in the Alps, Keltic missionaries from Ireland established monasteries which became centres of light and learning. It seemed for awhile as if these Irish missionaries were about to realize their dream of Christianizing Europe.

Ireland Christianizes Scotland.

Irish missionaries in England.

On the Continent.

On his accession Oswald (634–42), king of Northumbria, having once been sheltered in the monastery of Iona, sent to its abbot for missionaries. Among others Saint Aidan came, who, by his wise moderation and sweet character, met with great success in his missionary efforts. It seemed for some time that the Church of Ireland would extend itself over the whole of Great Britain. Saint Cuthbert carried on the work of Aidan with good success, and many monasteries and churches arose. Lindisfarne was the mother monastery which furnished many missionaries, and became the centre of the religious activity for all Northumbria.

But there was another stream of missionary activity beginning now to move to the west, which had its source in Rome.

In 596 Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, sent a monk, Augustine, with about thirty companions, to Kent. Aethelberht, king of Kent, had recently married Bertha, an orthodox Frankish princess, who now exerted all her power in favor of the new missionaries. Within a year the king and many of his nobles accepted Christianity and were baptized. From Kent the orthodox form of Christianity spread slowly to the north. The boundaries of the two Christian faiths constantly drew nearer. A life-and-death struggle was inevitable between the orthodox and Irish forms of Christianity as soon as they should meet. They came face to face with each other in Northumbria. The struggle between the two divisions of the Church became so bitter that the king called a council at Whitby (664) to discuss the questions at issue between them. The authority of Saint Peter outweighed that of Saint Columba, and the king decided that he would follow the faith and party of the orthodox Church. It was an important decision, for it affected all the future of English history. It brought England into close connection with the continent, and especially with the Bishop of Rome. Through the Church the influence of Rome in England was assured. Roman law, usages, and modes of thought, in short, the remains of Rome's civilization, were imported into England, greatly to her advantage. Later these advantages were to become smaller and the disadvantages very much greater; but for the present it was highly beneficial to England.

Missionaries from Rome.

Whitby, 664. England becomes Roman Catholic.

Theodore of Tarsus, a learned Greek, came to England as Archbishop of Canterbury (669–90), and by virtue of his high position organized the English Church around Canterbury as the centre and head. He divided all the territory into bishoprics, and introduced the parish system. Of course, the whole was bound to the Bishop of Rome. The Church organization did not follow the boundaries of the kingdoms, but all were impressed with the fact that the

One Church, one kingdom.

Church could recognize no political or national lines. The idea of the unity of the Church had great influence on the political ideas, and helped prepare the minds of the people for the idea of the political unity of the whole country.

The learning of the monks of England was considerable. While Greek was utterly unknown in the west of Europe, it was mastered by many of the pupils of Theodore. The monasteries contained many monks who were excellent scholars. Most famous of all was Bede, known as the Venerable Bede (673–735), a monk of Jarrow. He had for his pupils the six hundred monks of that monastery, besides the many strangers who came to hear him. He gradually mastered all the learning of his day, and left at his death forty-five volumes of his writings. The most important of these are, "The Ecclesiastical History of the English," and his translation of the Gospel of John into English. His writings were widely known and recognized throughout Europe. He reckoned all dates from the birth of Christ, and through his works this method became common in Europe. Owing to the large number of monasteries and monks in Northumbria, that part of England was far in advance of the south in civilization.

Monasticism and learning. Bede.

CHAPTER IV

THE REACTION OF THE EMPIRE AGAINST THE GERMANS

ALTHOUGH there was more or less friendly intercourse between the various Germanic kingdoms and the court of Constantinople, the situation was far from pleasing to the Emperor. The Barbarians had invaded his territory; they were unwelcome guests whom he must entertain because he did not have the power to drive them out. Of this weakness they took advantage, and ruled with such independence that their lands were practically cut off from the Empire. Such a loss of territory was regarded as a great disgrace, which could be removed only by the reconquest of the lost provinces. In an absolute government everything depends on the ability of the monarch. The anarchy and violence of the fourth and fifth centuries were possible because of the weak Emperors and the internal feuds and dissensions. The weak rulers of these centuries were followed by a succession of able ones, chief of whom was Justinian. In him the reaction against the Germans reached its highest point. Under Zeno (474–91), Anastasius I. (491–518), and Justin I. (518–27), the Empire slowly gathered strength, and the way was prepared for the brilliant activity of Justinian (527–65). The long period of helplessness and weakness was followed by a great revival of strength, in which the palmy days of the Empire seemed to return. The imperial arms were again victorious, and large parts of the lost territory were reconquered and again united to the Empire.

The Germans were invaders.

Justinian has been called Great, though his right to the title has often been questioned. He was exceedingly versatile and

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths

as limited to a small southern strip (Septimania).

clever, and his interests were of the widest range. He was interested in building and architecture, in law and theology, in commerce and manufactures, in war, diplomacy, and the art of governing. He was able to select men of ability to fill the highest positions and to work for him; he was inflexible in will and persisted with the greatest determination in a policy which he had once adopted.

Justinian.

His attention was soon called to the condition of the laws. They had never yet been collected and thoroughly sifted and codified. There were many inconsistencies and contradictions among them; consequently the administration of justice was very difficult. To remedy this, Justinian appointed a commission, with Tribonian at its head, to collect, harmonize, and arrange the laws of the Empire. This was done in such a way that all the earlier collections were made useless, and hence were soon destroyed. The collections of Ulpian, Paulus, Gaius, and others, were unfortunately lost in this way, greatly to our regret.

Codification of Roman law.

The laws themselves were gathered into one collection which has ever since been called the Codex of Justinian. Tribonian seems to have used the utmost freedom in his treatment of the text of the laws. Many changes were made in order to reduce them to harmony. He has been much blamed for this, but the practical ends in view probably made it necessary. Besides the laws, the opinions, explanations, and decisions of famous judges and lawyers were collected. As in the practice of law to-day, much regard was had for precedent and decisions in similar cases. To facilitate the use of these, they were brought together from all quarters. This collection was called the Pandects. For the use of law students, a treatise on the general principles of Roman law was prepared, which was called the Institutes. Justinian himself carefully kept the laws which he promulgated, and afterward published them under the title of "Novellæ."

This collection of the laws was Rome's greatest legacy to

after times. It was the ripe product of centuries of legal development. It was essentially pagan. It had been influenced by Christianity for only a comparatively short time. Although it was pagan, yet it was adopted by the Christian nations, just as the pagan philosophy had been adopted by the Church. It never became the law of England or of America, but all the other nations of Europe are still governed by it.

Taxation.

Immense sums of money were necessary to carry on the work which Justinian wished to do. Many churches were built by him, the most famous of which is Saint Sophia. The walls and numerous forts with which he sought to protect the Empire cost much money. Much fraud was practised in the administration of the army and in the collection of the taxes. Justinian was lavish in all his expenditures, and the court was extravagant beyond measure. The money for all these things had to be collected from the people, and consequently the taxes were so increased that the financial ruin of the people was only a question of time. Justinian did much to foster commerce, but it seems that he also did it great damage by the heavy duties which he laid on both exports and imports. The Emperor himself held the monopoly in the silk trade.

Byzantine art.

Under Justinian Byzantine art took on its final form. A fixed style of church architecture was developed, the principal characteristics of which are the cupola and the round arch. The churches were decorated with mosaics and paintings. In painting, also, certain types were accepted and forms established from which there could be no departure. They became orthodox and the Church would suffer no variation from them. These types and forms therefore existed for centuries without any change. In fact they are still observed and practised in the religious art of Russia and Greece.

Justinian regarded himself as the final authority in all Church matters, both in doctrine and polity. He himself was orthodox, and believed that it was the duty of the state to put down all

heresy. Heretics were persecuted and deprived of the rights of citizenship. The question which agitated the Church of his time concerned the dual nature of Jesus. The orthodox party declared that he had two natures, the human and the divine, while the other party maintained that he had but one. The Empress Theodora had been won over by the latter party, which she secretly did much to favor. Justinian's reign was filled with contentions about these questions. He treated the Bishops of Rome as his officials. When they displeased him, he ordered them to come to Constantinople, and he reprimanded, imprisoned, and even deposed and exiled them, as it seemed best to him.

Justinian and the Church.

What may be called "home mission work" was carried on by some of the bishops at the command of Justinian. There were still large numbers of pagans in the Empire. Nearly all the peasants were pagan, and even in Constantinople there were many to be found. These were sought out and forced to accept Christianity or suffer great persecution. Many were mutilated and their goods seized. All pagans as well as heretics were excluded from the rights, privileges, and duties of citizenship.

The greatest university of the world was, in this period, at Athens. Its professors were wholly pagan. So great was its fame, however, that even the Christian youth were sent there to be educated. Some of the greatest of the Church fathers were trained in that university. Saint Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen studied there; the Emperor Julian the Apostate was a student there at the same time. In 529 Justinian closed the schools of Athens, and forbade heathen philosophers to teach. They were practically exiled. Many of them fled to Persia, where they hoped to find the fullest liberty. In this they were disappointed, and after enduring persecutions there, they returned to the west.

The University at Athens.

The worst foes of the Emperor were the people of Constantinople, who, because of their turbulence, kept him constantly in fear of a rebellion and rendered it impossible for him to give

his undivided attention to the weighty affairs of the state. There were two great factions in the capital, each of which had its partisans throughout the Empire. These factions were divided on all questions, both political and religious. Their most common place of meeting was the circus, where each party railed at the other and endeavored to win the favor and the patronage of the Emperor. From the colors of the charioteers in the races the factions were known as the "Greens" and the "Blues." The Blues were orthodox and devoted to the house of Justinian, while the Greens were heterodox and secretly attached to the family of Anastasius.

Factions in Constantinople.

Probably religious differences were the cause of the deepest hatred and at the bottom of all the trouble, although ambition played a prominent part in it all. The speculative character of the Greek mind is a well-known fact. During the long period in which Christianity was fusing with the philosophy of the Greeks, and the dogmas of the Church were being developed in accordance therewith (that is, during the first eight centuries, although the highest activity was reached from the third to the sixth century), the Greek world was in a state of the greatest fermentation and discussion. Even the humblest would have his say about the highest questions, and the greengrocer, the barber, and the cobbler were more interested in discussing metaphysical questions with their customers than in serving them.[1] The questions at issue were purely speculative in regard to the person of Jesus and his relation to God. Arianism declared that Jesus was not God, and had not existed eternally but had been created. He occupied, however, a much higher place than man. Orthodoxy was content with no other form of statement than one which would declare that Jesus "was the Son of God, begotten of the Father, before all the world, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one sub-

Discussion of theological questions.

[1] See Gibbon, chap. xxvii., where he quotes from Jortin.

stance with the Father." Furthermore, if Jesus was God, how was he at the same time man? What kind of body did he have? Did he have two natures, the divine and the human? How were these united? Did he have two wills, one the divine will, the other human? What was the relation between them? These and other similar questions were discussed, not only in the Church councils, but at the court, in the streets, in the places of business, and, indeed, wherever people came together. Their discussion and study absorbed the attention of the best talent of the day.

Still worse, they were fused with politics, and every political question was at the same time a religious one. It was inevitable that such a combination should add to the mutual hatred, intrigue, and treachery. Justinian's ambition made it impossible for him to submit tamely to the tyranny of these factions. For some years he found no means of overcoming them, but was compelled to suffer many indignities at their hands. In 532, in consequence of a riot, Justinian seized some of the leaders of both factions and ordered them to be put to death. Two of them, however, were rescued by the people. Both parties now united to resist Justinian and besieged him in his palace. They created a new Emperor, Hypatus, a nephew of Anastasius. Justinian lost courage and wished to flee, but the Empress Theodora refused to go with him, and persuaded him to stay and fight for his throne. The imperial guard under Belisarius was sent to attack the rioters, who had taken possession of the circus. The mob were taken off their guard, and the troops of Belisarius quickly put them to flight. The exits of the circus were soon choked up. Belisarius put thousands to death, among them all the leaders, and the power of the factions was broken. The city was now helpless in the Emperor's hands, and he was consequently free to turn his attention to the larger policy on which he had already set his heart.

Theology and politics.

The factions destroyed.

This policy was to recover all the lost provinces and restore the Empire in all its extent. This necessitated the destruction of the German kingdoms, and Justinian turned his attention to the west.

The Emperor's anti-German policy.

In 523 Hilderic had become king of the Vandals, and, having been brought up as a Catholic, put an end to the persecutions of the orthodox. His Vandal subjects were still Arian, however, and after a stormy reign he was deposed and Gelimer put into his place. Gelimer was Arian, and he proceeded to persecute the Catholics. Justinian used this as a pretext for interference, and sent Belisarius with an army to reduce Africa. He landed in December, 533, and in a few months reduced the whole province to subjection. Gelimer was made prisoner, carried to Constantinople to grace the triumph of Belisarius, and was then exiled to Galatia. The kingdom of the Vandals, once so feared, came to an end. Their king having vanished, many of the Vandals joined the army of Justinian. Africa again became an imperial province governed by one of the Emperor's officers.

The Vandals.

The East Goths of Italy next claimed the Emperor's attention. Amalasuntha, the daughter of Theoderic the Great, succeeded her father (526) as regent of her son Athalaric. In culture she was a Roman and labored to civilize her people. Her conciliatory attitude toward the Empire offended her people. On the death of her son (534) she was in danger of losing her commanding position, if not her life, through the vengeance and hostility of her subjects. She made a closer alliance with Justinian, and associated with herself in the government her cousin Theodahad. Relying on the opposition to her, Theodahad permitted her to be assassinated and seized the government. This violence gave Justinian the opportunity to interfere in Italy, as the avenger of his faithful subject Amalasuntha. Belisarius was sent thither with an army. Sicily at once fell into his hands; Naples was taken by stratagem, and Rome surrendered a little later. In the meantime

The East Goths.

the East Goths accused Theodahad of treason, deposed him, and elected as their king Witiges, a brave warrior but an unsuccessful general. Both he and Justinian called on the Franks for help, who accepted the gifts of both, and fought for one or both, or neither, as their own interests demanded. In this way the Franks got possession of Provence, and for some years held a large part of northern Italy. Witiges, it seems, encouraged the Persians to attack the Emperor in the east, but through the treachery of Belisarius was unable to profit thereby. Ravenna was given up to Belisarius, and Witiges made prisoner and sent to Constantinople.

The East Goths, however, were far from conquered. They made Totila king, and he set about the reconquest of Italy. The imperial army was beaten in several engagements. Naples and Rome were retaken, and Sicily and Corsica were again overrun. Totila then assumed the offensive and carried the war across the Adriatic. He took some of the islands on the coast of Epirus (540–52). Belisarius had been sent back to Italy, but because of court intrigues he was without sufficient troops or support. In 549 he was recalled in disgrace, and succeeded by Narses, who in 552 came to Italy with a large army. At the battle of Taginæ (June, 552), Totila lost his life and his army was destroyed. Teias was made king by the East Gothic remnant, but he was also defeated and slain. The Franks had been called on for aid, but their help came too late. The Gothic power was totally destroyed, and Italy was again actually a part of the Empire, though it had been ravaged and ruined by the long contest. The blame of this was attributed by the Catholic Italians to the Goths, rather than to the ambition of Justinian.

In Spain also, among the West Goths, there was civil strife over the succession. One of the aspirants to the crown sought the aid of Justinian, who made use of the opportunity to further his anti-German policy. He sent an army to Spain under the patrician Liberius (about 551),

The West Goths attacked.

who succeeded in reconquering a strip of territory on the southeast coast, with several ports. The West Goths, however, soon united and checked the progress of his arms, but failed to regain the lost territory.

Lombards and Gepidæ.

Not content with destroying the Germans who had already settled on Roman soil, Justinian intrigued with the tribes who were still north of the Danube, and fomented their quarrels. For years he kept the Lombards and Gepidæ fighting, hoping that in the end they would mutually destroy each other and thus free him from two dangerous tribes that were likely, at any moment, to invade his territory. At any rate, so long as they were warring with each other, he felt that he was safe from their attacks.

Other enemies engage the attention of Justinian.

There can be no doubt that Justinian thoroughly hated the Germans, and that it was a part of his well-defined plan to reduce or destroy them all and to restore their lands to the Empire. We have seen his success in Africa, Italy, and Spain, but his policy was destined to fail. He was unable to carry it to an issue because of the wars which he was compelled to wage with the Persians, the Slavs, the Avars, and the Bulgarians.

Wars with Persia.

Justinian's wars with Persia have but little interest for us in themselves. They have importance principally because they hindered Justinian from carrying out his anti-German policy. But for these wars with the Persians and Barbarians, he certainly would have been able to give much more attention to affairs in the west, and it is very probable that he would have greatly weakened, if not entirely destroyed, the Franks also. While occupied with his wars in Africa and Italy, Justinian was compelled to buy peace of Khosrœs I. (531–39). At the instigation of Witiges, in 540, the Persians broke their agreement and overran Syria. Belisarius was recalled from Italy and sent to the east, but was again recalled and sent back to Italy before he had brought the war to a successful close. In 545 a peace of five years was

made between them, and this was renewed in 551. But hostilities were more than once renewed, and Justinian was compelled to pay heavy tribute, besides losing some of his territory. Worst of all, his best generals and troops had to be sent to Persia at a time when he needed their help in the west, in his efforts to destroy the German kingdoms and restore the Empire to its former boundaries and greatness.[1]

The Slavs.

The Slavs now began to make their entrance into history. As the Germans left the territory south of the Baltic and west of the Niemen, the Slavs followed them and pressed on to the west till they had occupied all that part of Prussia which lies east of the Elbe. The Bavarians, once known as the Marcomanni, either migrated or were driven out of Bohemia, and that territory was also occupied by Slavs. Moravia and many parts of modern Austria were settled by them. More than once they crossed the Danube and ravaged the provinces of the Empire. In 547 they reached Dyrrachium on the west coast of Illyria. In 549 they overran many provinces and even threatened Constantinople. Almost every year they made themselves felt by making an invasion of some part of the Empire. From this time on the Empire was never free from them. Their invasions continued, until finally they settled in the territory which now forms the many Slavic provinces in southern Austria and the northern part of the Balkan peninsula. In the following centuries they moved south in still greater numbers. Greece became very largely Slavic; the Peloponnesus was called Slavonia. The beginning of this invasion or migration took place in the time of Justinian, and cost him a great deal of trouble, preventing him from carrying on his conquests in other parts of the Empire.

The Bulgarians were originally a Ural-Altaic people, but they came into Europe and settled among some Slavic peoples

[1] For a full account of Justinian's reign *vide* J. B. Bury's History of the later Roman Empire, from Arcadius to Irene, 2 vols., 1889. It contains a good account of these Persian wars.

and were absorbed by them. Nothing but their name was left, which came to be applied to the Slavs among whom they settled. They lost their language, customs, and nationality, and became thoroughly Slavic. Year after year this mixed people invaded the Empire and devastated many of its fairest districts. Perhaps their worst invasion was in 539. In that year they ravaged the Balkan peninsula as far south as the Gulf of Corinth, taking and sacking many cities. They returned beyond the Danube with, it is said, a hundred and twenty thousand prisoners.

The Bulgarians.

In 558 the Avars (the Cotrigur Huns) invaded the Empire from the east. After doing much damage they finally settled on the middle Danube, and established the kingdom of the Avars, which later was destroyed by Karl the Great.

The Avars.

Luckily at the very time of Justinian's opposition to it, the Germanic element in the Empire was strengthened by the formation of the great tribe of the Bavarians, the settlement of the Lombards in Italy, and the growth of the Franks (which latter will be described in the succeeding chapter). The Bavarians appeared as a strong, vigorous, and warlike people, occupying the territory which still bears their name, and from which they were never afterward removed.

New German tribes.

After various wanderings the Lombards had settled in Pannonia. They had become allies of the Empire, and at the instigation of Justinian had made war on the Heruli, and then on the Gepidæ. Justinian had feared them, but did not live to see their invasion. In 568, probably at the invitation of Narses, they entered Italy, and quickly overran the northern part. After his successful completion of the war with the East Goths, Narses had been made Exarch of Italy, with his residence at Ravenna. To avenge his ill-treatment at the hands of Justin II., the successor of Justinian, he is said to have invited the Lombards to invade Italy, promising not to interfere with them. They came under their king

The Lombards in Italy.

Alboin, bringing fragments of other tribes with them. The valley of the Po was soon in their hands. Pavia became their capital. They moved to the south, and, after overrunning a large part of Italy, they established the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto. Alboin was soon murdered, and a leader named Cleph was made king. Cleph ruled less than a year, meeting with the same fate as his predecessor. For about ten years the Lombards existed without a king. They broke up into bands and groups, each under a duke or Herzog. The kingship was not yet thoroughly developed, and they felt that a king was not necessary to their existence. They consequently reverted to the forms of government which they had had before entering the Empire. It is said that there were thirty-five such dukes reigning among them at one time. They were surrounded by enemies, and their divided condition was a cause of great weakness. About 580 they became convinced that they needed a king and elected Authari. But the dukes had already become too powerful and Authari was never completely master. The duchies of Benevento and Spoleto were only nominally obedient, and he often found it difficult to maintain his position. The territory wrested from the Empire was firmly held, but the Lombards could not conquer all Italy. Ravenna, the extreme southern part, and the duchy of Rome still remained in the hands of the Emperor. Unlike all the other Germans, many of the Lombards settled in the cities and towns. Some of the land was seized, but often the Lombards required one-third of the produce of the land to be paid to them. The old Roman municipal form of government was destroyed, or thoroughly changed, and the Romans were compelled to live according to the laws of the Lombards, that is, the Lombards did not recognize the existence of the Roman law. Their urban residence undoubtedly had much to do with the early development of the Italian cities, the mediæval grandeur of which was due, in part at least, to the German blood of their citizens.

CHAPTER V

THE FRANKS (481–814)

It must be remembered that "Frank" is a collective name, embracing a large number of independent tribes, each governed by its own king. In 481 Chlodwig succeeded his father, Childeric, as king of a small tribe of Salian Franks. Being ambitious he overcame by force or fraud one after another of the petty kings about him, and slowly gathered the Franks under his sceptre. In 486 he defeated Syagrius, the Roman official who was then governing a large district between the Loire and the Seine. Syagrius fled, but was taken prisoner and delivered to Chlodwig, who put him to death. The territory thus conquered was made subject to Chlodwig, but it was probably not settled by Franks. The power of Chlodwig was by this success extended to the Loire. His work of uniting the various tribes of Franks now went on much more rapidly. In 493 he married Chlotilda, an orthodox Christian princess, of Burgundy. Chlodwig seems to have been tolerant of all religions. He even permitted Chlotilda to have their first child baptized, but when it died a short time later he reproached her for it. In 496 a war broke out between him and the Alamanni, the cause of which is unknown. The decisive battle was fought probably in Alsace (the statement that it was fought at Tolbiac or Zuelpich, near Cologne, is without foundation). The Alamanni were conquered and their king was taken from them and replaced by Chlodwig himself. The Franks did not settle among the Alamanni, at least in the southern part of their territory. That part of it, however, that lay between the

Chlodwig, 481–511.

The Alamanni conquered.

Main and the Neckar soon became thoroughly Frankish, and received the name of Franconia or Francia. Later it became one of the most important duchies of the Empire. It is now known as Upper, Lower, and Middle Franken.

With this war against the Alamanni is connected the conversion of the Franks to the orthodox faith. All the other Germans had taken the Arian form of belief, which had come to be considered heretical. Gregory of Tours tells us that during the battle Chlodwig called on Jesus for help, and vowed that if he were successful he would become a Christian. After his victory he went to Rheims, was instructed in the faith, and baptized with three thousand of his warriors. The bishop of Rheims, Remigius, performed the rite. Chlodwig was addressed as a second Constantine and David, and was at once told that it was his duty to protect, defend, and extend the Church. This conversion of Chlodwig and the Franks to the orthodox faith was the foundation and beginning of the famous alliance between the Bishop of Rome and the Frankish kings. Its importance cannot be overestimated. "It made possible that complete fusion of Romans and Franks which was impossible among the West Goths, East Goths, and Burgundians; it made intermarriages between the two peoples permissible and facilitated the conquests of Chlodwig over the heretical German tribes; it closely allied the Merovingian kingdom with the papacy, and prepared for the alliance of the Karlings with Rome; it paved the way for the united missionary activity of the Frankish rulers and the Roman clergy to convert the heathen, as well as reform the sadly degenerate Church; to give it a compact form of government and to attach it to the Bishop of Rome; it gave the Frankish rulers, especially the Karlings, an ecclesiastical character, and led to the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire."

The Franks become orthodox Christians.

After a brief struggle with the Burgundians, which resulted in the subjection of Gundobad, their king, Chlodwig attacked

the West Goths. The alleged cause of this war was the fact that the West Goths were Arian; Chlodwig could not endure that these heretics should possess such fair lands, and, encouraged by the orthodox clergy, he declared war against them. During the years 507–11 he overran nearly all the territory south of the Loire, and drove the West Goths over the Pyrenees. Only the extreme southern part of Gaul (Provence), the territory about Narbonne (Septimania), and Vasconia (the later Gascony), remained in the hands of the West Goths. The Garonne river was the boundary between Franks and West Goths, but it was already evident that the Franks would soon extend their rule to the Pyrenees.

The West Goths driven back.

The Christianity of Chlodwig and his Franks was superficial, and had little effect on their character and life. It seemed, if anything, to give them greater license. The last years of Chlodwig's reign were filled with the most ruthless crimes, which, however, greatly increased his power, and helped bring about the complete union of the Franks. There were still many petty independent kings, especially among the Ripuarian Franks. These he destroyed, often by the foulest means, and put himself at the head of all the Franks. Gregory of Tours recounts these things, apparently not imagining that such deeds might be worthy of blame, for he adds, "Thus every day God put down the enemies of Chlodwig and increased his kingdom, because he walked with a heart that was right before God and did that which was pleasing in His eyes." Owing to the teaching of the clergy the Franks early regarded themselves as the chosen people of God; it was only natural and proper that He should care for them. They had a proud self-consciousness which assured them a great future, and their intimate relations with God made it impossible for them to do wrong. The chosen people of God were privileged to destroy their enemies in any way they might choose. Their chronicles, even from the first, are full of the accounts of miracles which God was

Chlodwig and the other Frankish kings.

The Franks the chosen people.

supposed to have wrought in their behalf. They even rival the miracles which God was believed to have performed for His ancient people, the Jews. In 588 the city of Angoulême was besieged by the Franks, and, after some fruitless efforts to take it, God interposed in their behalf and the walls fell down before them, as they were believed to have fallen at the taking of Jericho.

Chlodwig died in the year 511, after having divided his kingdom among his four sons, Theuderic, Chlodomer, Childebert, and Chlothar. Theuderic received that part which was still most thoroughly German, that is, the Rhine valley from Cologne to the south, with large tracts on both sides of the river, and also the eastern part of Aquitaine. His possessions were, therefore, not compact, but broken into two parts separated by a great distance. His capital was Metz. Chlothar received the territory between the Seine, the Oise, and the lower Rhine, with Soissons as his capital. Childebert obtained the valley of the lower Seine and Armorica (Paris, Chartres, Le Mans, and other towns), while Chlodomer got the lower Loire. The principles on which this division was made have been much discussed, and there are many theories about it. The most probable one is that it was the division, not only of the territory, but also of the royal authority. There was little or no conception of this kingdom as a whole which ought not to be divided. It was rather an estate to be partitioned among the king's heirs. After the division the brethren lived independently of each other, and attended each to his own affairs only. There was no common central government. They made war on one another whenever there seemed to be a prospect of success, or assisted each other when sufficient inducements were offered. The mutual relations existing between the brothers were such as one might expect to find among utterly barbaric princes. Each attempted to extend his own territory, indifferent whether at the expense of one of his brothers or of foreign kings. In the

Division of the kingdom, 511.

first years of his reign Theuderic was called on to repulse the invasion made by the Norsemen into the territory along the Rhine. He then attacked the Thuringians, a strong tribe that lay to the east of his lands. After calling in the aid of his brother Chlothar, he succeeded in conquering them and adding their territory to his kingdom.

Childebert and Chlodomer, in the meanwhile, were making war on Burgundy. Chlodomer was slain in battle, and Childebert and Chlothar invaded his lands, put his children to death (one escaped, but was made a monk), and divided his territory between themselves. Childebert then attacked the West Goths along the Pyrenees with good success, and afterward invaded Burgundy. In this latter undertaking he was assisted by Chlothar. They were entirely successful, and Burgundy was added to their territory. Theuderic died in 533, leaving his kingdom to his son Theudebert, an able ruler, but quite as unscrupulous as the other Merovingian kings. Childebert and Chlothar tried to seize his lands, but were defeated, and even compelled to give him a share of Burgundy, which they had just conquered. Theudebert then invaded Italy, attacking or assisting the East Goths, or the armies of the Empire, according as it best suited his own interests. In 539 he devastated the northern part of Italy and carried off much booty. For the first time in the history of the Franks he made gold coins, bearing on one side not the image of the Emperor, but his own likeness, with the inscription, "Dominus Noster Theudebertus Victor." It would even seem that he thought of claiming the title of Emperor, since on some of his coins he is called, "Dominus Theudebertus Augustus." This is further supported by the fact that he planned to invade the Eastern Empire and wrest Constantinople from the hands of the Emperor. Nothing could be more characteristic of the conquering spirit of the Merovingians than this. He also extended his power among the German tribes to the east and south, subjugating among others the Ba-

Conquest of the Burgundians.

Theudebert.

varians. He died in 548, and his son Theudebald succeeded him. Theudebald continued his father's policy and tried to obtain lands in Italy. He sent his army under two Alamannian dukes, Buccelin and Chlothar, to invade Italy, but it was utterly destroyed by Narses. He died in 555, and his great-uncle, Chlothar, inherited all his possessions. Chlothar now began to carry on war against the barbarian Germans to the east, but he was defeated and driven back. His eldest son, Chramn, revolted against him, with the help of his uncle, Childebert. Before hostilities were begun Childebert died (558), and Chramn repented and was pardoned by his father. He rebelled again, however, in 560, was caught, and with his whole family was put to death by burning at the command of his father.

On the death of Childebert (558) Chlothar became sole king of the Franks, and ruled over the territory which Chlodwig had once had, as well as all that had since been conquered by his brothers and nephews. The whole kingdom of the Franks was united under him. But when he died in 561, the kingdom was redivided among his four sons. Gontran (561–93) received Burgundy; Orleans was his capital. Charibert (561–67) took Paris for his residence and Aquitaine. Chilperic (561–84) received Soissons, and Sigebert (561–75), the eastern and more German parts of the kingdom. Then followed a chaotic period of civil wars, treasons, and new divisions. Each king sought to bribe the principal followers of the others, and endeavored to gain an advantage in the most unscrupulous ways.

Frankish territory reunited, 558; but again divided, 561.

Charibert soon died (567), and his lands were divided between his surviving brothers. He is remembered because he was the father of Bertha, the wife of Aethelbehrt of Kent, who helped forward the Christianization of England by her protection of the mission of Augustine.

The civil wars of this period are connected with the names

of two women—Brunhilda, wife of Sigebert, and Fredegonda, wife of Chilperic. Chilperic had many concubines, whom he put away in 566, when he married Galswintha, daughter of Athanagild, the king of the West Goths, and a sister of Brunhilda. But one of these concubines, Fredegonda, had won and retained the king's affections. He soon brought her back to the court, greatly to the anger of Galswintha, who declared that she would return to her father. At this Chilperic had Galswintha murdered, and in a short time married Fredegonda. He thereby incurred the hatred of Brunhilda, who made it the one work of her life to avenge her murdered sister. For nearly forty years there were constant wars, intrigues, plots, and murders, all caused by these two queens.

Civil wars; Brunhilda and Fredegonda.

Although this period is chaotic and full of profitless struggle, it, nevertheless, is important because of two great changes which took place during it: the permanent division between the East and West Franks, and the development of the office of the mayor of the palace (Major Domus).

In the west the population consisted of two classes, the Franks and the Romanized Kelts, the latter being far more numerous than the former. But in the east the Franks greatly outnumbered the Keltic population, and consequently they had remained much more German and barbarous than the Franks in the west. The west had become pretty thoroughly Romanized and civilized, while the east was essentially German and untamed. This difference, coupled with the fact that the two districts were under different kings, who were for many years bitterly hostile to each other, caused them to receive different names, and helped perpetuate and increase the differences. The eastern part, under Sigebert, was called Austrasia, or the Eastern Kingdom, while the west, under Chilperic, was called Neustria. This division was to become permanent, Neustria forming the basis for the kingdom of France, and Austrasia for that of Germany.

Austrasia and Neustria.

For some years after the death of Galswintha the brothers, Sigebert and Chilperic, were kept very busy defending the southern frontier against the invasions of the Lombards. After overrunning the valley of the Po, the Lombards turned to the north and devastated the south of Gaul. They were driven back only with the greatest difficulty. Soon after began the wars between Austrasia and Neustria, stirred up by Brunhilda. Sigebert was at first victorious, but in 575 he was basely murdered by two men who had been hired by Brunhilda to do the deed. They pretended to have a message for the king, and when admitted to his presence stabbed him. Brunhilda and her son Childebert, now four years old, were seized and imprisoned, but she let the boy down from her window, and he was carried away by a faithful follower. The imprisoned Brunhilda by her charms so infatuated Merovech, the son of Chilperic, that he released and married her. The ceremony was performed in the cathedral at Rouen by the bishop, Praetextatus. Chilperic was greatly angered at this, and came to Rouen to seize them. Brunhilda escaped to Austrasia, but Merovech was taken and compelled to become a monk. He attempted to escape to join his wife in Austrasia, but was overtaken and murdered on the way.

The Civil Wars.

The people of Austrasia had recognized the four-year-old boy, Childebert, as king. Since he was unable to rule in person, a struggle at once began between Brunhilda and the Austrasian nobles for the possession of the boy and the office of major domus.

The origin of this office was as follows: As the king grew in power and importance his household increased accordingly. Over this household he placed a chief servant who was responsible for its management; he was called "major domus" or "mayor of the palace." This position, at first servile, soon took on a political character; the major domus always had the ear of the king; all access to the king was through him; his influence over the king was

Major Domus.

therefore very great. Gradually he became the king's principal adviser and the original character of his office was entirely changed. The nobles early tried to control the appointment to this office but the king successfully resisted them and the office remained in his own power. Under the boy king, Childebert, and his youthful successors, the nobility got possession of the office and appointed one of their own number to it. Since the king was a child, the mayor had every opportunity of increasing his own power. From this time on the power of the king declined and that of the mayor increased accordingly. In the struggle between the king and his nobility for power the latter had practically won the victory, although the royal house never ceased making great efforts to recover its independence.

For the present Brunhilda was still very powerful. She made an alliance with her brother-in-law, Gontran, king of Burgundy, who had no children, and persuaded him to declare the young king, Childebert II., his successor. Consequently he took up the war against Chilperic, which continued until 584, when the latter was murdered. Chilperic left but one son, Chlothar II., an infant four months old. His other children had either died a natural death or had been put to death for ambitious reasons by Fredegonda. Gontran now assumed the guardianship of both his nephews, and for several years there was peace in the land. He turned the armies of the Franks to the south, against the West Goths in Spain, and the Lombards in Italy, but without any permanent success. Unfortunately he died in 593, and Brunhilda and her son, Childebert II., who inherited all of his uncle's possessions, at once took Neustria, hoping to complete their vengeance on Fredegonda and her son, Chlothar II.; they were defeated, and the war dragged along without any definite result till, in 596, Childebert died, at the age of twenty-six, leaving two sons, both mere children. Theudebert became king of Austrasia and Theuderich king of Burgundy. Brunhilda again assumed the regency, but was

compelled to struggle with the nobles for the leadership, who wrung concession after concession from her, and in the end, established their own power by destroying that of the king.

It was the turn of Fredegonda to attack Brunhilda. The Neustrians were victorious in a battle near Laon, and a large strip of territory, as far as the Meuse, was added to Neustria. But this victory was followed by the death of Fredegonda, and for several years her son, Chlothar II., continued the struggle with his two cousins, Theudebert of Austrasia and Theuderich of Burgundy. The armies of the latter were for some time successful, but soon war broke out between Austrasia and Burgundy. The nobles had exiled Brunhilda (599) from Austrasia and she had fled to Burgundy, where her grandson espoused her cause. This led to the war between Austrasia and Burgundy, in which the Burgundians were successful, and Theudebert of Austrasia was taken prisoner and finally put to death (612). In the following year the king of Burgundy died, and Brunhilda again assumed the regency and proclaimed her great-grandson, Sigebert II., king, and compelled the nobles to recognize him as such. Chlothar II., however, invaded Austrasia, won the nobles to his side, captured Brunhilda and Sigebert II., and put them both to death (614). Brunhilda seems to have been, according to the ideas of her time, a religious woman. She built churches, monasteries, and hospitals, and was a friend of some of the leading churchmen of her day. She was also in many respects a good governor. She cared for the fortresses and defences of the kingdom and for the roads, some of which are still called "Chaussées de Brunehaute." If she was utterly unscrupulous, the same is true of her contemporaries, and her character should be judged from the point of view of those times and not from that of to-day.

Death of Brunhilda.

Chlothar II. now became king of Austrasia and Burgundy, as well as of Neustria (613–28), but the real power was by this time in the hands of the mayors of the palace of those coun-

tries. These officers were from now on to hold their office for life, and consequently became of far greater importance than ever before. It is to be noted that each of these three countries, Austrasia, Burgundy, and Neustria, had its own mayor of the palace. Another check to the power of the king was now invented. A body of men, consisting of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries and the most important nobles, was associated with the king in all legislative matters. From this time on the king's acts are signed or, at least, sanctioned by these men. Without their consent the king could do nothing.

Chlothar II., king of all the Franks, 613 28.

Chlothar II. did not engage in war except when attacked by the Slavs who lived east of the Elbe. A certain Frank named Samo had gone among them to seek his fortune, and having succeeded in acquiring power over several Slavic tribes, united them under his own rule. He then led them against the Germans to the west, and was for a time victorious. The last years of Chlothar II., as well as the reign of his son Dagobert, were troubled by the invasions of Samo and his Slavs.

Samo and the Slavs.

In 622 Chlothar II. made his son, Dagobert, king over Austrasia. His mayor of the palace was Pippin, the lord of two estates known as Landen and Heristhal, from the latter of which he received the name of Pippin of Heristhal. The bishop of Metz, Arnulf, was also the adviser of the king and a friend of Pippin. Arnulf was married, as were many of the clergy at that time, and his son Ansegisil married Begga the daughter of Pippin. From this union sprang the line known as the Karlings, from their greatest representative, Karl the Great.

Dagobert, king of Austrasia, 622.

In 628 Chlothar II. died and Dagobert succeeded him as king of all Frankland. For two years, however, he shared the power with his brother Charibert, whom he made king of Aquitaine. His brother died in 630, leaving a small son, who also shortly died, and then Dagobert ruled alone. He spent most of his time in the west, because in Neustria there was no

strong mayor of the palace, and consequently he himself was more nearly absolute there. In 629 bishop Arnulf withdrew from active life and spent the rest of his days as a hermit in the Vosges mountains, where he won the reputation of a saint. His son Ansegisil and Pippin now controlled affairs in Austrasia. It made little difference who was king. Dagobert is much praised for the character of his reign, but if judged by absolute standards he would be worthy of much blame. Like nearly all the Frankish kings, he practised polygamy, and was unjust and rapacious. He was, however, better than the kings who immediately preceded him. In 632 he established his young son, Sigebert III., as king of Austrasia. Pippin was his mayor of the palace, and Ansegisil one of his best advisers. The Slavs under Samo were causing much trouble, ravaging Thuringia and Bavaria. In 638 Dagobert died, leaving Sigebert III. king of Austrasia, and Chlodwig II. king of Burgundy. The next year Pippin died and his son Grimoald tried to make the office of mayor of the palace hereditary by assuming the position left vacant by his father's death. The Austrasian nobles refused to acknowledge him, but after a civil war which lasted three years Grimoald was victorious, and the office was henceforth regarded as an hereditary possession of this powerful family. The king Sigebert never acquired independence and was entirely in the hands of the mayor. He is generally regarded as the first of the do-nothing kings (rois fainéants).

Dagobert, king of all Frankland, 628–38.

The office of mayor becomes hereditary in the family of Pippin.

Sigebert II. died in 656, and Grimoald seized his son Dagobert II. and sent him to Ireland. He then put up his own son Childebert as king of Austrasia. But the nobles were not yet ready to desert their line of kings. Grimoald and his son were put to death. All the kingdoms were then united under Chlodwig II. of Neustria, but he died in the same year, leaving three infant sons. These and their successors are of no importance,

Attempted usurpation of the royal power.—Do-nothing kings.

however, for from this time on the real rulers were the mayors. In Neustria, Ebroin was elected by the nobles to this office, but he used his powers and opportunities only for his own advancement. Ambitious and unscrupulous, he finally became master in Neustria, though at the cost of much blood and violence. He spared no one who opposed him, not even Saint Leger, the bishop of Autun, who suffered the most cruel persecutions and mutilations at his hands. After he had thoroughly reduced Neustria to his power he attacked Austrasia, which was practically governed by Pippin of Heristhal (the younger, grandson of Pippin the elder, and of Arnulf, bishop of Metz). In 680 Ebroin was victorious over Pippin, but was assassinated the next year, and the leadership which he had acquired for Neustria was at once lost. Pippin continued the war with Neustria, and in 687, at the battle of Testry, utterly destroyed the Neustrian army. Pippin became mayor and practically ruler in both countries, although he named a separate mayor in Neustria. Henceforth there was to be but one king over all the territory, with his residence in Neustria.

Ebroin in Neustria.

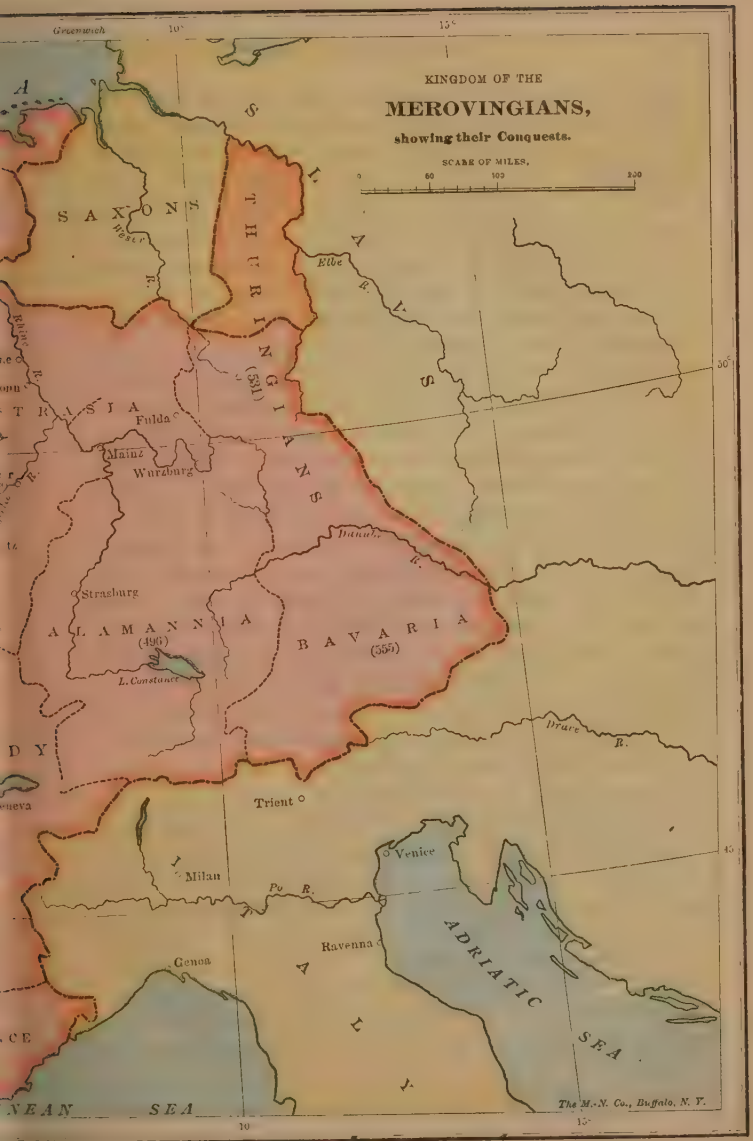
Pippin of Heristhal, mayor of all Frankland.

The year 687 begins a new period in the history of the Franks. The leadership passed definitely to Austrasia, the more German part of the kingdom, and the ruling power to the family of Pippin. The struggle between the Romanized Franks of the west and those of the east, who had remained less influenced by the Roman civilization, had ended with the victory of the latter. At the same time a vigorous and able family assumed the government in everything except the royal name; it is the beginning of the reign of the house of Karl the Great.

The beginning of the Karlings.

The Franks had conquered an immense territory, and subjugated many peoples; they had tried to conquer the barbarians to the east of them, Spain, Italy, and even Constantinople. The Church, more particularly the Bishop of Rome, had built

Longitude East
NORTH S
BRITANNIA
FRISIANS (689)
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Meuse
Soissons
Rheims
Seine R.
Paris
BRITTANY
NEUSTRIA
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Tours
Poitiers
BURGU (534)
AQUITAINE (507-511)
Lyons
Vienne
BAY OF BISCAY
Bordeaux
Rhone R.
Valence
Garonne R.
Rodez
VASCONIA (567
Toulouse
SEPTIMANIA
PRO
KINGDOM OF THE WEST GOTHS
MEDITE


KINGDOM OF THE
MEROVINGIANS,
showing their Conquests.
SCALE OF MILES.
0
60
100
200
SAXONS
THURINGIANS
(531)
SLAVONIANS
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Fulda
Mainz
Wurzburg
Danube R.
Strasburg
ALAMANNIA
(496)
BAVARIA
(555)
L. Constance
Drave R.
Trient
Venice
Milan
Po R.
Ravenna
Genoa
ADRIATIC SEA
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

his hopes on them, and had encouraged them to go on with their conquests. These Franks had made a first attempt to reorganize the society of western Europe, but had failed. Their royal line had lost its power. Another family had taken the position of honor and responsibility, and was preparing to make a second and a more successful attempt to reorganize and gather together into one the scattered fragments of the society of western Europe.

Review of the history of the Franks.

We have seen that the Franks in their original home, like all other German peoples, had not possessed a central government, but were broken up into small groups or tribes, each with its own local self-government. These tribes united in time of war under some leader, who was elected for his known ability. In time of peace he had no more authority than would naturally attach to a man who had successfully served his people. But during the migrations of the German peoples and their wars of conquest the kingship was developed. The Roman Kelts were accustomed to an absolute ruler, and the king's power was greatly increased by the large possessions which he obtained by the conquest. The situation was favorable to the establishment of an absolute king. Consequently we find that from Chlodwig on the king of the Franks is, or claims to be, absolute. The ancient diet, at which all the freemen were expected to be present, was replaced by a meeting, at which only the highest nobility and the leading clergy were present. The people had very little voice in the conduct of affairs, but there are a few traces of such influence. Eventually, and after a long struggle, the nobles secured some check on the king's actions in the mayor of the palace, and the body of councillors with whose consent he issued all his edicts and laws. This change in the kingship brought about a change in the life of the king. He surrounded himself with a court, that is, with certain officers and servants, and fixed forms of ceremony. Chief of these officers was the mayor of the palace, who, as we have

In theory the king is absolute.

Progress in organization of the government.

seen, eventually overtopped the king and was destined to usurp the place made vacant by the inefficiency of the Merovingian line. Other officers of the royal household were the marshal, the count of the palace, the treasurer, and the secretary. Besides these there were, of course, others of lower rank, and a large body of servants. All these offices were at first of menial character, but because of their connection with the king they came to be looked upon as positions of honor, and their occupants made use of their influence to increase their power and wealth. They were regarded, not as servants of the public, but of the king, to whom alone they were responsible. There was besides this royal household a system of government for the provinces. The larger divisions, such as Austrasia, Burgundy, and Bavaria, developed from among themselves an officer or leader who was called "duke." This duke always represented the local aspirations for independence. Coming from the midst of the people of the duchy, he was of them and felt himself to be bound to them. Their interests were his; consequently he was always opposed to the interests of the king, who labored to bring about a central government and to break down all local independence of the duchies.

Dukes.

To counteract this local desire for independence and the influence of the duke the king appointed many officers with the title of count (Graf, comes), and set them over smaller districts. He made them responsible to himself. Generally the count was put over the original tribal territorial unit (Gau, pagus). The count was always supposed to represent the interests of the king, being appointed by, and responsible to, him. The duties of the count were, among other things, to administer justice and collect the tribute or taxes for the king. In the county, that is, the district governed by the count, there were still smaller divisions named "the hundred," which were under the eye of a centenarius or hundred-man.

Counts.

The Franks brought in their conception of law, the peculiarity of which was that it was personal rather than territorial. This was common to all Germans. Law was a personal possession, with which the State within whose borders one was, had no right to interfere. The Franks shared this conception of law and ruled accordingly. They permitted the Romans among whom they settled and the various tribes that they conquered to live according to their own laws. There was no attempt to force all people to accept the Frankish laws.

The Franks believe in a personal law.

These German laws held their ground for a long time, although modified more and more by Roman legal ideas and the changing situation and condition of the people themselves. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there was a great revival of the study of the Roman law. In the end this law prevailed and the German laws fell into disuse in most of the countries of Europe. But in England the development of the Anglo-Saxon laws continued, influenced somewhat by the Roman, but remaining essentially German.

The social classes remained the same—slaves, freemen, and nobles—but there were new shades of difference in all these three ranks. The slaves were attached either to the house of the master for domestic work or to his land for manual labor. Both the Church and the king were rich in slaves. According to the ideas of the Barbarians, the slave of a king was on the same social plane as a common freeman, so ennobling in their eyes was even the lowest connection with the person of a king. Among the slaves there were many gradations of servitude and liberty. Many were bound only by a personal bond to some powerful man who stood to them as a protector. In return for the protection thus given them they rendered service of so varied a character that it is impossible to classify them with any accuracy. Many "commended" themselves to their most powerful neighbor and entered into a personal contract, securing the best terms they could.

Social distinctions.

The old nobility was gradually reënforced by the entrance into its ranks of many who either through association with the king as officers or followers, or the accumulation of wealth were regarded as worthy of this honor. The highest clergy, principally bishops and later the abbots, by virtue of their sacerdotal character, their landed possessions, and their civil and political authority were also reckoned among the nobility, and became a part of the council of the king.

In regard to the disposition of the lands it is impossible to make a single statement which would apply to all the kingdoms.

The soil.

It is a vexed question. It is certain that the Franks obtained most of their territory by conquest and not by settlement. The northern part of Gaul was probably colonized by them, but other parts contained relatively, at least, a very small number of Franks. In the north it is probable that one-third of the lands or more was taken from the Romans and distributed among the Franks. In the other parts there was no systematic partition of the soil, but the king, it seems, became possessed of large tracts of land. The imperial domains or possessions of the other kings whom he destroyed and perhaps other lands which he forcibly seized, probably composed his possessions. These he then gave out as rewards to his followers, warriors, and favorites. It seems not to have been forgotten by the recipients that these lands had been gifts, for the heirs generally asked the king to confirm them in their possession.

One of the greatest changes among the Franks was their conversion to Christianity. The Church, in fact, became a part

The clergy as the king's officials.

of the State. The bishops were appointed or confirmed by the king, and were, indeed, his officers. With the royal sanction they served as judges and exercised other civil and political functions. By virtue of their ecclesiastical character their moral influence was almost unbounded. The whole of this influence they were required to exert in the cause of law and order, that is, for the benefit of

the king. The clergy were used very often as ambassadors and sent on the business of the king. The assemblies were attended by them, and they had great weight in the royal councils. It should be remembered, however, that the conversion of the Franks had been a thoroughly superficial one. The Church was regarded most nearly as a convenient piece of machinery to be used in the work of governing. The moral and political condition of the people had been very little affected by Christianity. Furthermore, during the fierce internal struggles the close connection between the Franks and the Bishops of Rome had been interrupted. The time was now approaching when this was to be renewed, and the real Christianization of the people to be begun in earnest by Roman missionaries supported by Pippin and his descendants. They regarded this as one of their principal duties as rulers of the people.

Pippin's efforts to unite all the conquests.

Pippin (mayor, 687–714) began a policy which was to be followed by his successors and to bear its legitimate fruit in the kingdom of Karl the Great. During the long period of civil strife all the frontier had taken the opportunity to revolt. The Friesians, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, the Alamanni, and the people of Aquitaine had, one after another, thrown off the Frankish yoke and refused to pay their tribute. In a long series of campaigns Pippin succeeded in reducing them all more nearly to a state of dependence, although the disposition to revolt was ever there and waited only for an opportunity to show itself. His whole reign was given to the effort to consolidate his vast territories, to bring them under one central government, and to make this government as nearly absolute as possible. His reign is marked also by the beginning of a remarkable missionary activity, which will be discussed in a later paragraph.

At the death of Pippin only two of his descendants survived him, a bastard son, Karl Martel, and a grandson, Theudoald, only about five years old. He had been guilty of the folly of naming as his successor this boy. The Franks were to have a

boy king and a boy mayor as well. Pippin's wife, Plectrudis, assumed the regency in the name of her grandson and cast Karl into prison. But the nobles of Neustria revolted against her and invaded Austrasia. They were aided by the Friesians, and at the same time the Saxons crossed the Rhine and ravaged the eastern territory. Plectrudis was defeated and compelled to grant the demands of the Neustrians, but in the meanwhile Karl escaped from his prison and was recognized as mayor by the majority of the Austrasians. He at once took up arms, and although not immediately successful, he in the end succeeded in putting down all those who had made war on Austrasia.

Karl Martel, 714-41.

Karl's whole reign was full of wars. The Neustrians were conquered and compelled to recognize Karl as mayor, the Friesians were more than once chastised (719, 722, 733–34); the Saxons likewise in 718, 720, and 738; the Bavarians in 725 and 728; the Alamanni were subjected and more closely united to the central government than ever before. The work of centralizing all the power and uniting the peoples with the kingdom went slowly on.

His wars.

In 711 the Arabs crossed into Spain from Africa and in less than nine years overran nearly all Spain and entered into southern Gaul (720). Duke Eudes, of Aquitaine, drove them out of his territory at first, but in a later invasion made peace with them and gave his daughter to Othman, the general commanding the Arab forces. He wished to make himself independent of Karl Martel; but Karl came in 731 and defeated the duke, whose alliance with the Arabs thus came to nothing. The Arab general, Othman, revolted against Abderrahman, the governor of Spain, but was defeated and killed. Abderrahman refused to be bound by Othman's alliance with Eudes, who now found himself deserted and between two enemies. Thinking that he would fare better at the hands of Karl, he chose to throw himself on his mercy. Karl forgave him, and after collecting all the forces possible, went to meet Abderrahman.

The battle was fought near Poitiers, in 732. The losses of the Arabs were very great; among others Abderrahman was slain. They consequently refused to continue the battle on the following day and withdrew. They were not, however, at once driven out of Gaul, but held some of the southern portions for several years and continued to cause the Franks trouble. Yet their power was broken. Karl Martel had made it impossible for them to extend beyond the Pyrenees.

The Mohammedans checked, 732.

The next years were spent in the south, where he had to contend with revolts in Burgundy and Aquitaine. He was everywhere victorious, and the last years of his reign were peaceful. The whole kingdom was quiet in his hands. His authority is shown by the fact that in 741 he divided his power between his two sons without any opposition from the nobles. Karl received the east and Pippin the west. He died soon after this division was made (741). During the last four years of his reign there was no king. Theuderich IV. died (737), and Karl did not try to place another Meroving on the throne. The king was in no way missed.

Karl's power.

Karl Martel had steadily followed one policy throughout his whole reign. His sons and successors continued it, and his grandson, Karl the Great, was to perfect it and bring his house to the acme of its glory. This policy of Karl was that of centralizing the power and binding all the parts of the kingdom close together. It was but natural that all these men, true to the traditions of their great ancestor, St. Arnulf of Metz, should be interested in the Church and do much for its spread; in fact, they all regarded this as one of their most important duties.

Karl's policy.

Karl's reign is coincident with a serious crisis in the Church throughout the kingdom of the Franks. There were two sets of missionaries at work there, and the fate of the kingdom depended to a great extent on which of them should be victorious.

The Christianization of Ireland is veiled in much obscurity, but it seems probable that St. Patrick (his date is very uncertain; it cannot be determined whether he died in 465 or 493) was the first missionary who met with very much success there. The whole island became Christian, and in the next centuries won so great a reputation for its piety that it was called "The Isle of Saints." There was, however, a low state of civilization there. The Church of Ireland was entirely independent of Rome, and differed in several respects from the Church on the continent, especially in matters of ritual and government (the time of celebrating Easter, the dress and tonsure of the monks, etc.). The type of Christianity established there was thoroughly ascetic and monastic. The island was covered with monasteries. The ascetic zeal of the Irish for the Church led them to try to convert the world to their form of Christianity. It was not so much what is now called the "missionary spirit," as the desire to undergo hardships of all kinds. To travel in foreign lands as a missionary (*peregrinare pro Christo*) was, because of its difficulties, a meritorious work. Accordingly the Irish Church engaged in such mission work with great zeal. In accordance with their ascetic ideas, they settled not in the cities but in the wilds.[1] Their first settlements were in Scotland. In 563 St. Columba (or St. Columbcille) sailed with twelve fellow-monks to Scotland, where the island of Iona was given them. They were occasionally reënforced by other monks from Ireland. From this island of Iona they carried on their work on the mainland. They labored not only in Scotland, but also among the Anglo-Saxons of Britain. Lindisfarne, on the east coast of England, was occupied by them, and for a long time was a centre of missionary activity among the Angles. The Irish sent missionaries also to the Continent. St. Columbanus was the

Christianity in Ireland.

Irish Missionaries.

[1] The Legend of St. Brendan shows this clearly. He went north to find a place where there were no people. (See Matthew Arnold's poem on this subject.)

first to go, with twelve companions, about 590 (the exact date is unknown). He went first to Burgundy, where king Guntran received him with great favor. He was very ascetic, laid down the severest rules for all who joined him, rebuked the kings and the nobles for their evil lives, but, in spite of all this, his success was very great. When it seemed that he could not be sufficiently rigorous there because of the crowds that came to him, he withdrew into the Vosges Mountains, where he established four monasteries, the most important of which was that of Luxeuil. But because he rebuked Brunhilda and the king, he was exiled. He went first to Neustria, where king Chlothar II. received him kindly. After a short time he went into Austrasia, but the king, Theodebert II., persuaded him to go to the Alamanni on Lake Constance. He spent some time at Bregenz, and then passed over into Italy and founded the monastery of Bobbio, where he died in 615. St. Gallus, one of his followers, went into northern Switzerland and founded the famous monastery which bears his name. This monastery became the centre of the missionary work in that part of Europe. An excellent school was established there, in which the missionaries were trained. Many Irish missionaries came to it and labored among the Germans there and elsewhere. The importance of this monastery for the Christianization and civilization of northern Switzerland can hardly be over-estimated.

St. Columbanus on the Continent.

Bobbio and St. Gall.

Among other groups of Irish missionaries the following may be mentioned: St. Kilian, with twelve followers, at Wuerzburg in Franconia (680); St. Eloquius, with twelve, in Belgium, about the same time; St. Rupert, with twelve, in Bavaria (about 700); St. Willibrord, in Friesland (about 690); Sigebert established the monastery of Disentis in the high Alps; others went to Bavaria, Thuringia, and other parts of the kingdom. The result of their presence and labors was the slow Christianization of the people about their settlements, and their advance in morals. Towns sprang up about

Missionary bands.

nearly all of their monasteries, and they became prominent centres of business, learning, and culture.

But these monks could not win a definite success. They were too ascetic. They wished to turn all the kingdom of the Franks into one great monastery, and the people were not the proper material for monks. They were also very weak in organization. They did not attempt to unite all the churches under one head and bring them under one government. There was large local independence. They differed, also, as has been said, in several points, from the Church of Rome. There was danger that they might bring about a free national Church among the Germans. Such a thing would be very detrimental to the interests of the Bishop of Rome. He therefore carried on a counter-movement among the Germans in a systematic way, which, in the end, was successful. He wished to Christianize, organize, and subject the Frankish people to himself. The Irish missionaries were compelled to retreat, and at last lost their popularity and gave up their work. The Bishop of Rome sent out an army of missionaries, the first of whom was Boniface, who labored not only to Christianize, but also to place their converts under the direct control of their master at Rome. Thus all the Germans were attached to the Bishop of Rome through the efforts of these Roman missionaries.

Roman opposition.

To Karl Martel belongs some of the honor of Boniface's success. He supported him and gave him all the help and protection he could. The reorganization of the famous missionary was carried on in part with the aid of the sword wielded by Karl Martel. This warrior would undoubtedly have been in great honor in the Catholic Church, but for the fact that he was a bastard; that he made and unmade bishops, filling the highest offices in the Church with his favorites; and that he compelled the Church to invest some of his followers with vast tracts of her lands. These lands were not entirely secularized. They still continued to be regarded

Karl and the Church lands.

as lands of the Church, but the Church had no practical control over them. She received only, or was entitled to receive, a certain amount every year in return for their use. Many bishops and abbots were deposed by Karl Martel and his warriors were put into their places, not, of course, with the expectation that they would perform the duties of such offices, but simply that they might enjoy the incomes, which were very large, in return for their services to Karl and the kingdom. Since Karl was poor, but under the necessity of rewarding his warriors, he made use of the lands of the Church. The clergy forgetting his great services to the cause of Christianity, because of these things placed him under the severest condemnation. Without the work of Karl Martel, however, the greatness and glory of Karl the Great would have been impossible. He laid the foundations for the great empire of the latter.

Before his death (741) he made his sons his successors; Karlman became mayor in the east, and Pippin, surnamed the Short, in the west. They were on the best of terms as long as they ruled together, and carried on their work in the greatest harmony. The first seven years of their reign were filled with wars, caused by the repeated revolts of the Aquitanians, the Alamanni, the Bavarians, the Slavs, and the Saxons, all of which were successfully put down. Besides, their young half-brother, Grifo, revolted and tried to wrest a full share of the territory from them. He was, however, taken captive and imprisoned. Escaping later, he caused his brothers a great deal of trouble for several years, because of his ambition and unwillingness to be contented with what was given him.

Karlman and Pippin.

In order to strengthen their position with the people the two brothers soon hunted up a member of the Merovingian family, Childerich III., and made him king. This was done simply for the sake of giving themselves a greater show of legality. The king, of course, never took any part in the affairs of the government. He was destined to be

The last Merovingian king.

the last of the Merovingian kings. In the year 747 Karlman abdicated in favor of his brother, and made him the guardian of his children. Karlman went to Mount Soracte, near Rome, and established himself as a hermit. But he was greatly disturbed by the large number of visitors who came to see him, and soon became a member of the famous Monte Casino monastery. The cause of his abdication we do not clearly know.

Pippin was now sole mayor, and more than ever began to think about becoming king in name as well as in fact. He sent an embassy to Rome to ask Pope Zacharias who should be king, the one who had the title and no power, or the one who had the power but not the title. Since Zacharias was at this time in need of help against the Lombards, who were trying to unite all Italy under their sway, he replied that the one who had the power should be king. He favored the ambition of Pippin in order to secure his help against the Lombards. Accordingly, in an assembly held at Soissons, in the autumn of 751, the change was made. Childerich was not formally deposed, but his hair was shorn, and he was sent into a monastery. Pippin was declared king and anointed by Boniface. The rite of anointing a king was something new among the Germans, but through the influence of the Church it was now introduced, principally with the idea that it legalized and strengthened the title of the one who was anointed.

Pippin, sole mayor, becomes king.

The Lombards had crossed into Italy in the year 568, and in a few years had taken possession of all the northern part, together with the large duchies of Spoleto and Benevento. Unfortunately their ruling house was not able to hold the throne continually. Of the twenty-one kings who ruled over them during their two hundred years of existence, eight belonged to other families. All the kings had practically the same policy in regard to Italy; they all wished to unite and rule over the whole of it. Unfortunately for Italy, they were not able to do so. The Greek Emperor held

The Lombards in Italy.

Ravenna, which was the residence of his governor, the Exarch; also nearly all the extreme southern part and the district about Rome commonly called the duchy of Rome. The chief officer in the latter was the Bishop of Rome, who was subject to the eastern Emperor.

Gradually the Lombards became Catholic. Theodelinda, a Catholic Bavarian princess, became the wife of Authari (583–590), and at his death, of Agilulf (590–615). At the death of the latter she was for some years the regent for her son Adaloald. She labored hard for the conversion of her adopted people, and with some success. Under Rotharis (636–652), a Catholic king, Arianism practically disappeared. This greatly facilitated the fusion of the two peoples, which was almost complete at the end of the seventh century. But this conversion to Christianity and fusion with the people of Italy did not in the least diminish the desires of the kings of the Lombards to rule over all Italy. Under Liutprand (712–743) it seemed that the time had come for the Lombards to wrest all Italy from the Emperor. The king of the Lombards would then have become the ruler of Italy, and Rome would naturally have been his residence. Gregory II. (715–731) had quarrelled with the Emperor and the Church of the east about the use of images in the churches. There was great disorder throughout all Italy, and Liutprand thought this a favorable opportunity to carry out his schemes. In 727 he attacked the Exarchate, and in a short time succeeded in taking almost the whole of it. The district known as Pentapolis was also taken, and Liutprand then thought of taking Rome. But this the Pope was determined he should not do. The Pope knew that if Italy should fall into the hands of the Lombards, his own great power would come to an end. He feared nothing more than the domination of the Lombards. He therefore made great preparations to resist them. Fortune favored him. Liutprand was checked by the Emperor's forces, which retook Ravenna,

The union of Italy.

Liutprand's plans and conquests.

and the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento now revolted against Liutprand and joined the forces of the Bishop of Rome. An alliance was then made between Liutprand and the Exarchate of Ravenna, the latter to take Rome and the former to reduce the dukes of Benevento and Spoleto. Liutprand was successful in his undertaking, and then went to Rome, but being unwilling that the imperial power should be so strengthened in Italy, he acted the part of a peace-maker. The Bishop of Rome professed to submit to his former master, the Emperor, and the Exarch returned to Ravenna.

Gregory II. was succeeded by Gregory III. (731–741), who at once began an open opposition to the Emperor and the Church of the east. The Emperor fitted out a fleet to invade Italy, to reduce it to subjection again, and to bring Gregory III. a prisoner to Constantinople. But the fleet was destroyed by a storm, and Greek control in Italy was never again possible. The Bishop of Rome was thoroughly alienated from the Emperor, and the future of Italy depended upon the outcome of the struggle between the Bishop of Rome and the Lombards for supremacy.

Rome and Constantinople.

This struggle did not again break out until 738, when the duke of Spoleto rebelled against Liutprand, but was defeated and fled to the protection of Gregory III. When Liutprand demanded his surrender the Bishop refused, whereupon Liutprand invaded his territory and threatened Rome. Gregory III. feared that he was about to be made a subject of the Lombard king and hastened to ask Karl Martel to rescue him. He sent Martel the keys to the grave of St. Peter and gave him the title of Patricius, which, up to this time, had been conferred only by the Emperor. His letters are full of the most violent abuse of the Lombards, the only cause of which was the fact that the Lombards threatened to deprive him of the political independence which he was enjoying. But Martel was on friendly terms with Liutprand, and having many difficulties at home to contend with, refused to help the

Gregory III. and Karl Martel.

Bishop. Martel and Gregory III. both died in the year 741, and the latter's successor, Zachariah (741–752), made a twenty years' peace with Liutprand, who restored all that he had taken from the duchy of Rome and gave the Pope many gifts. But the danger of the Lombard conquest of Italy was not removed; it was only put off, and consequently the Bishop of Rome was in as precarious a position as ever. His hatred and fear of the Lombards, therefore, constantly increased.

In 743 Liutprand died, and his nephew, Hildebrand, succeeded him. He was, however, very soon removed for incompetency, and Rachis, duke of Friuli, was elected king (744–749). Rachis kept the treaty made with Liutprand till 749, when he attacked Perugia, a dependency of the Emperor. Zachariah went to visit him and to persuade him not to break the peace. He was so successful that Rachis not only desisted from the war but even resigned the crown and entered a monastery. Aistulf, his brother, was now made king, and at once took up the policy which the previous kings of the Lombards had followed. He invaded the Exarchate and attacked Ravenna. Benevento was then reduced and Aistulf moved toward the duchy of Rome with the intention of taking possession of it. He sent ambassadors to the Pope, Stephen (752–757), and demanded the acknowledgment of himself as his master. The Pope was helpless, for his threats of excommunication had no effect on Aistulf. He now remembered that he had done Pippin a great service by sanctioning his seizure of the throne, and resolved to ask his help and protection against the Lombards. He left Italy (753) and went to visit Pippin, who received him graciously and listened to his complaints and entreaties. In an assembly at Cérisy-sur-Oise, in April, 754, Pippin agreed to restore to the Pope the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been seized by the Lombards. These were the estates which had been acquired by the successive Bishops of Rome and had become the property of the office rather than

Aistulf's vigorous policy.

The Pope asks aid of Pippin.

of the individual Bishops. These estates were very numerous in Italy, and many of them had been taken by the Lombards. Pippin's first promise was to restore to the Pope all these possessions. He must, of course, first conquer them.

But the Pope was also concerned for his independence. The second part of the agreement was that Pippin should defend the people of Rome and of the Province (the duchy of Rome); that is, the people of the diocese of the Bishop of Rome. The high position of the Pope in the duchy of Rome, his practical political independence, was thereby secured.

The Pope remained several months in Gaul and gave his personal attention to many questions which were just then under discussion, such as the relations between slaves and freemen, marriage laws, baptism, and the control of the clergy. Most important of all, he reanointed and crowned Pippin king of the Franks at St. Denis, and gave him the title of Patricius. The reason of this is unknown. This rite had already been performed on him by the Frankish clergy. It is difficult to see why it should have been repeated. It is probable that it was for the purpose of confirming Pippin in the possession of the crown, and that it was supposed to increase the legality of his claim to the throne. His wife, Bertrada, and his two sons, Karl and Karlman, were at the same time anointed and crowned, and the nobles were required to take an oath never to choose their ruler from any other family. This was, therefore, a consecration of the family to the kingship, the establishment of a new dynasty. While Pippin reaped many advantages from it, it was of far greater benefit to the Bishop of Rome, for it secured him the assistance and gratitude of the Frankish kings, and later he claimed the right to make and depose kings, basing his claim on the alleged fact that he had raised Pippin to the throne of the Franks.

The Pope in Frankland.

Meanwhile the Frankish army poured over the Alps into Italy. Aistulf was quickly shut up in Pavia, and, seeing his helplessness, proposed terms of peace, which were accepted at

once by Pippin. He agreed to make the restitutions to the Pope which Pippin demanded, and to do homage to Pippin for his kingdom. Seeing that the whole matter had been settled Pippin returned to Gaul. But Aistulf had no thought of keeping his promise. He did not restore anything to the Pope, but in the winter of 755–6 suddenly attacked Rome. In a letter which professed to be written by St. Peter himself, Pippin was again called on to protect the Church of God, which, in the eyes of the Pope, was almost identical with his independent possession of Rome. Crossing the Alps a second time, Pippin compelled Aistulf to raise the siege and shut himself up in Pavia. Again peace was made, but on harder terms. Pippin demanded tribute and hostages for himself and the restitution of all his conquests to the Pope. Ambassadors were present from the Emperor to demand that the Exarchate be restored to him, but Pippin said that he had not fought for the advantage of any man but for the salvation of his own soul; he would therefore give these lands to St. Peter. He had no desire to hold lands in Italy himself, and the Emperor had, by his heresy and inefficiency, lost all claim on the west. There remained only the Pope to whom the lands could be given. Accordingly the Pope found himself possessed of the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, and the duchy of Rome. This is the beginning of the temporal possessions and sovereignty of the Papacy.

Pippin twice in Italy.

The Pope's possessions.

The rest of Pippin's reign was occupied with wars, mostly on the frontiers. The whole of Septimania and Narbonne was taken from the Arabs and the Frankish frontier extended to the Pyrenees.

In 760 Waifer, duke of Aquitaine, revolted against Pippin, and a war was begun which lasted, with short interruptions, for seven years. Waifer was able, treacherous, and determined to achieve his independence. But Pippin's forces were far greater than his, and all his territory was finally taken from him. His followers, despairing of suc-

Subjection of Aquitaine.

cess, killed Waifer and submitted to Pippin (768). For the growth of France, this conquest of Aquitaine was of the highest importance. The history of France would have been very different if Aquitaine, Narbonne, and Septimania (the whole southern part of France) had been allowed to form an independent state. Pippin at once reconstructed the government of Aquitaine by putting it under a large number of his own officers, called counts. There was no longer a duke of Aquitaine. Pippin paid great attention to the Church in Aquitaine, and took special measures to regulate it and its property.

Duke Tassilo of Bavaria also revolted (763), and the Saxons made a few invasions of the eastern frontier, but Pippin was able to check them all. In his last years he held the first place in the west in the eyes of all the peoples. His court was thronged with embassies and crowded by quacks. The Emperor frequently sent ambassadors to his court, once to negotiate a marriage between his son and the daughter of Pippin. The Khalif of Bagdad tried to secure an alliance with him for the purpose of putting down the revolt in Spain, which was led by Abderrahman, a prince of the Ommeiad family. He was the central figure in the west. He died September 24, 768, after having divided his lands between his two sons; Karlman received the southern, and Karl the northern half of the kingdom. The exact line of division is not known, but it is clear that Karl had the more powerful because the more warlike portion.

Death of Pippin.

For some unknown reason the two brothers thoroughly disliked each other, and war was more than once on the point of breaking out. The custom of dividing the kingdom between the sons of the king seemed about to wreck the power of the Franks, but at first the dowager-queen, Bertha, proved a peace-maker and succeeded in keeping Karl and Karlman from actual hostilities.

Hostility between Karl and Karlman.

Immediately after the death of Pippin, Aquitaine revolted Hunold, the father of Waifer, had been for some years in a

monastery, but now left it to head the revolt. Karl summoned Karlman to assist him, but the latter refused. Karl, however, was successful. The revolt was quelled, Hunold again sent to a monastery, and the country placed under counts from the north. Karl forgave Karlman for his refusal to help him, but determined to put as many checks on him as he could. It seems that it was on this account that he made an alliance with Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and married his daughter Desiderata, the sister of Gerberga, the wife of Karlman. He also made an alliance with Tassilo of Bavaria, principally for the purpose of using him against Karlman.

The Pope had most bitterly opposed the marriage of Karl and Desiderata because it seemed to him to endanger his own position. If Karl and Desiderius were on good terms, he feared that he could not count on the help of the Franks against the Lombards. His fears, however, were quickly removed, for in less than a year Karl repudiated his wife and sent her back to her father because, as he said, she was barren. From this time there was implacable hatred between Desiderius and Karl. Karlman was on the point of taking up the cause of his sister-in-law when he died (771). His widow, Gerberga, fled with her infant son to her father, who espoused her cause, but the nobles and bishops of Karlman's territory went to Karl and acknowledged him as king. The whole kingdom of Pippin was again united in the hands of Karl.

Karl and the Lombards.

Aistulf, king of the Lombards, died in 756, shortly after he had submitted to Pippin. His successor was Desiderius (756–774), duke of Tuscany. He made many alliances, as we have seen, with Karl, Karlman, and also with Tassilo of Bavaria, to whom he gave one of his daughters. When Karl repudiated Desiderata, Desiderius appealed to the Pope and asked him to recognize his little grandson as king of the Franks. Pope Hadrian (772–795) refused to do so. He was a Roman and thoroughly hated the Lombards. Being

Desiderius and the Pope.

ambitious of increasing his power, he demanded Faenza, Imola, Ferrara, Ancona, and Osimo, on the ground that they were a part of what had been promised him by Pippin. Desiderius, thinking that Karl was too busy at home to interfere in Italian affairs, refused to give up the cities, and at once began a war against Hadrian. He invaded the Pentapolis with success, and then prepared to besiege Rome. Hadrian hastily summoned Karl to his help, but the latter could not come at once, being engaged in the Saxon war. Karl ordered Desiderius to give up all the cities which belonged to St. Peter, and on his refusal invaded Lombardy (773) and shut Desiderius up in Pavia, where he held out for several months. Karl spent Easter of 774 in Rome, and is said then to have renewed the gift of Pippin, but as the territory was not yet subdued, it is possible that this was not done till 781, during Karl's second visit to Rome. In the summer of 774 Pavia surrendered. Desiderius was sent to France and put into a monastery, while his son Adelchis fled to Constantinople, where he died several years later.

Karl interferes in Italy.

The kingdom of the Lombards was now at an end. Karl was proclaimed king of the Lombards, but made little change in the government except that some of the Lombard officers were replaced by Franks. In 780 he placed the government of Lombardy in the hands of twenty Frankish counts and put over them his son Pippin, whom he had crowned king of the Lombards. The Pope received the Exarchate, the Pentapolis, the duchy of Rome, and a few cities in Tuscany. At this time we find traces of the existence of a famous document, known as the Donation of Constantine. It may have existed before this, but it was now certainly used as an argument to convince Karl that he was only restoring those territories to their rightful owner. According to this donation the Emperor Constantine had been smitten with leprosy, but on appealing to Silvester, Bishop of Rome, for

Lombardy subject to the king of the Franks.

The Donation of Constantine.

baptism, he had come out of the font healed of his disease. Out of gratitude he determined to withdraw from Rome and make Constantinople his residence, because it was not proper that the secular and spiritual rulers of the world should occupy the same city. He accordingly gave the Bishop of Rome Italy and the west. "The edict proceeds to grant to the Roman pontiff and his clergy a series of dignities and privileges, all of them enjoyed by the Emperor and his senate, all of them showing the same desire to make the pontifical a copy of the imperial office. The Pope is to inhabit the Lateran Palace, to wear the diadem, the collar, the purple cloak, to carry the sceptre, and to be attended by a body of chamberlains. Similarly, his clergy are to ride on white horses and receive the honors and immunities of the senate and patricians" (Bryce, Holy Roman Empire, chap. vii.).

This document is one of the famous forgeries of the Middle Age. Its author is unknown, but it must have been made at Rome and by one acquainted with the papal court, perhaps by the Pope himself, or at least with his connivance.[1]

Importance of the Saxon Conquest.

The war with the Lombards was of the very greatest importance because it brought Karl into the closest relations with the Papacy. Equally important for other reasons were his wars with the Saxons (772–804). The Germans were now broken up into two great hostile camps. All those west of the Rhine had been Christianized and were becoming civilized Those east of the Rhine were largely heathen and barbarian. It was of the utmost importance for the future of the Germans that these two divisions should be united. Karl accomplished this in his wars with the Saxons, and therefore made possible the greatness of Germany.

Both Martel and Pippin had had trouble with the Saxons and had reduced some of them to subjection. The boundary between the Franks and the Saxons was not yet fixed and there

[1] A translation may be found in Henderson's Documents of the Middle Ages, page 319 ff.

was a good deal of border warfare between them. Karl made his first campaign against them in 772. Invading their territory he reduced the Engrians to submission. He captured their stronghold, the Eresburg, and the Irminsul (probably a holy tree or pillar), which was near there. A Christian church was established in the Eresburg. The chiefs took the oath of fidelity and gave hostages. Garrisons were left in the Eresburg and elsewhere, and Karl returned to the west.

The Saxon campaigns.

But while Karl was in Italy engaged in reducing the Lombards, the Saxons revolted, retook the Eresburg, drove out the garrisons, ravaged the country as far as the Rhine, sacked the famous monastery of Fritzlar, and destroyed all the churches they could find. Karl came back in 775, defeated the Westphalians, and received the submission of the Eastphalians and the Engrians. Nearly all of Saxony had now done homage to Karl, but it proved to be little more than a form.

This is in general the course of all these wars. Karl would invade the lands of the Saxons, and after a few skirmishes rather than battles, receive their submission, leave garrisons behind, build churches and monasteries, establish priests and monks among them, and withdraw to his home. The Saxons would pay the heavy fines which he imposed upon them, mostly in cattle, take the oath of obedience and fidelity, and then break it as soon as he was gone. They were not able to meet his armies in the field, but fled to the forests and swamps. Karl generally found it very difficult to follow them. They had, however, few strongholds, no cities, and their villages were not worth defending. When he had harassed them for a while, the least courageous ones would come to him and submit, while the more stubborn ones would retreat before him. These considered themselves in no way bound by the agreements made by their less defiant companions. Consequently they did not hesitate to revolt when the opportunity presented itself.

General character of the war.

In 776 Karl started to Italy to chastise the dukes of Friuli and Benevento, and the Saxons thought the time had come for a revolt. They retook the Eresburg, put the garrison to the sword, and tried to get possession of all the places held by the Franks. When Karl heard of this he at once set out for the scene of the war, and travelled so rapidly that he took the enemy wholly unawares. Frightened by the rapidity of his movements and being unable to meet him they submitted and promised to become Christian. But one of the Westphalian chiefs, named Widukind, refusing to yield, fled to the north. Karl now determined to impress the Saxons with his great power, and for this purpose held a diet, or "Mayfield," on Saxon soil, at Paderborn, in the spring of 777. It was largely attended by both Franks and Saxons. Many of the latter now became Christian and promised loyalty to both Karl and the Church. While at Paderborn, Karl received ambassadors from some Arab chiefs in Spain, promising to do homage to him for their lands if he would come into Spain and protect them against the Ommeiad Abderrahman, who, having come west from Damascus after the destruction of his house there, had now conquered nearly all of Spain. Huesca, Barcelona, and Gerona still held out against him, and it was the officers of these towns who now sought help of Karl. The offer was a tempting one, for it gave Karl an opportunity to extend his boundaries and to make a stronger frontier between the Saracens in Spain and himself. He accordingly set out with his army for Spain in the spring of 778. Sending his troops forward in two bodies, he brought them all together before Saragossa. Although unable to take this city, he nevertheless established the power of the Saracen chiefs who had called on him. These did him homage and he returned. While crossing the Pyrenees his rear-guard was attacked by the Basques, who were supposed to be friendly, and sustained some loss. Among others Roland, one of his noblemen, a count of the mark of Brittany, was slain. Absolutely

"Mayfield" at Paderborn, 777.

Invasion of Spain.

nothing more is known of him, but he must have been a famous man among the people, for in a short time the popular imagination took hold of him and made him the hero of a great many songs and poems. These were finally brought together and are known as the "Song of Roland." The invasion of Spain brought no permanent gain with it, for Abderrahman soon conquered almost all the territory south of the Pyrenees.

During the absence of Karl in Spain, Widukind returned to the Saxons and persuaded them to break their oath and revolt. Almost all Saxony came at his call, the east bank of the Rhine was plundered, churches and monasteries especially were sacked and destroyed. Hesse and Thuringia suffered much.

Karl contented himself with putting an end to the depredations and waited till the summer of 779 to punish the rebellion. The campaign of 779 was like those that had preceded it. Widukind and his followers fled, and those that remained behind surrendered and renewed their oaths. Karl made an ecclesiastical division of the land into districts and put monks and priests to work among the people to Christianize them. Christianity was now forced upon them, and many of them were baptized at the point of the sword. They were often driven into the rivers and baptized in droves.

A little later the whole land was divided into counties, over each of which was placed a Frank or a Saxon on whom Karl thought he could depend. About 780 he issued a capitulary about the surrounding territory, which was intended to arrange all affairs of Church and government in the newly acquired land. The Church was to play the most important part there in the work of subduing and civilizing the Saxons. Consequently Karl endowed it with great liberties and powers. The churches were to have the right of asylum, that is, criminals who fled to a church could not be taken by the officers. Any injury done to a church or slight put upon it or any of the services, was declared to be punishable with death. To offer human sacrifices, to kill a clergy-

Capitulary of 780.

man, to refuse to be baptized, to burn instead of burying the dead, to disregard the rules of the Church in regard to fasting, all were offences to be punished with death. Sunday must be observed, no courts were to be held on that day. The churches were endowed with large tracts of land and the payment of the tithe enforced.

Widukind.

Again, in 782, Widukind returned, and in his presence the Saxons forgot all their oaths and attempted to drive out the hated Franks. An army was sent against them which was led into an ambush by Saxon leaders and totally destroyed near the Suentel Mountains, a range of hills not far from Osnabrueck. Karl again marched among them and pitched his camp at Verden. He now demanded that all the principal offenders be delivered up to him. About four thousand five hundred were thus brought to him, and to punish them for their perfidy he had them all massacred. Enraged at this the Saxons again revolted, and for two years there was constant fighting. Karl overran almost the whole of their territory. He took many prisoners whom he settled in various parts of Gaul. Widukind himself, seeing that the war was hopeless, surrendered, and was settled at Attigny, in Gaul, where he was baptized. Nothing more is known of him, although he found a place in the legendary literature of a later period. The work of the Church and of the counts was again begun in Saxony. The conquest was now practically over, but there were still to be a few revolts. There was one (792–794), which threatened to become serious for a while, but Karl put it down after three years of fighting. Another outbreak took place in 796. The last revolt occurred in 804, among the Nordalbingians, a tribe just north of Hamburg. This was ended by the deportation of about ten thousand of the people. Their lands were given to vassals, counts, priests, or monasteries. The conquest of the Saxons was at last complete. They had been Christianized by means of the sword, perhaps not the most proper way of conducting missionary work, but

in less than one hundred and fifty years the Saxons were the most thoroughly Christianized of all the Germans. In the middle of the ninth century, there was produced among them the "Heliand," a great religious folk-song or poem, which shows how thoroughly Christianity had taken hold of them.

Final conquest of the Saxons.

One of the most important measures taken by Karl was the division of the land into bishoprics. Bishops were established at Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Osnabrueck, and Halberstadt. Other bishoprics, such as Muenster and Hamburg, were added later as the country became more Christian. These soon became prominent centres of life and civilization. Around these churches many came to settle, because they were, on the whole, the safest places to be found. In this way cities grew up about them, roads were built to connect them and to faciliate travel and trade.

Establishment of Bishoprics.

One of the causes for the obstinacy of the Saxons is to be found in the fact that they were asked to give up their religion and take a new one. This was not at first understood by them, but when they came to perceive what the conquest meant they resisted more bitterly than ever. Of all the German tribes the Saxons held most firmly to their native religion. The principal cause of this was, that their religion was local and connected with objects of nature. Unlike the Goths, the Lombards, and other German tribes, the Saxons never migrated, and consequently were never weakened in their attachment to their objects of worship.

The duchy of Bavaria was practically an independent state occupying the territory between the Inn and the Lech. It was independent in having its own dynasty, its own ecclesiastical organization, with the archbishop of Salzburg at the head, its own laws and officials, and its separate foreign relations. Its duke owed allegiance to the king of the Franks, but this was merely nominal, since he had

Bavaria subjected.

his own assemblies and controlled all matters, both political and ecclesiastical. Tassilo had more than once been guilty of trying to throw off the bonds of the Frankish king, but every time had been defeated. His wife was a daughter of Desiderius, king of the Lombards, and it was but natural that she should do all in her power to keep him in hostility to Karl. In 782 Karl called him to Worms to an assembly where he renewed his oaths of fealty; but later, in 787, there were evidences that he was planning to revolt again. Karl forestalled him by sending his armies against him. Seeing that his case was hopeless, Tassilo gave up his duchy to Karl, resigned it into his hands, and received it back again on declaring himself his man. But in less than a year he was again charged with desertion, and this time the sentence of death was passed upon him. Karl spared his life, but compelled him, and every member of his family, to enter a monastery. Bavaria was then added to the Frankish kingdom. Karl soon divided it into counties which he put into the hands of his Frankish followers.

War with the Avars.

The Avars, a Turkish tribe, had settled on the middle Danube, and had a great kingdom, occupying the territory which is now the eastern part of Hungary. They held in subjection many of the Slavic and other tribes in their neighborhood. They made themselves feared far and wide because of their many raids and pillaging incursions into the more civilized lands about them. In 788 they invaded Bavaria, which drew the attention of Karl to them. Karl himself led an army of Franks down the Danube, while his son Pippin brought up an army of Lombards. The first campaign was not decisive, because Karl was compelled to return to the north on account of a Saxon revolt. The war dragged on for several years, but finally, in 796, Pippin took the famous rings, or walls, which surrounded the residence of their ruler (Khagan), seized the great treasure which had been accumulated by pillaging, and compelled the Khagan to submit to Karl. The kingdom was now so weakened that it was unable to defend itself

against the Slavs and the Magyars, who soon occupied the territory. With the treasures thus obtained Karl rewarded his faithful followers and friends.

The Slavs east of the Elbe.

It will be remembered that the territory between the Elbe and the Niemen (a large part of modern Prussia) was once occupied by the Goths, Burgundians, Lombards, and other German tribes. Following close on the heels of the Germans, as they moved to the south, came a large number of Slavic tribes, who took possession of the lands thus left vacant. One of the most interesting processes of the Middle Age is the reconquest of this territory by the Germans and the expansion of the Germans toward the east.

The expansion of Germany to the east.

Territorially Spain was limited, her boundaries are fixed by nature; the same is largely true of France and Italy. The Germans alone had no fixed barriers, but their opportunities to expand were in the east only. They improved these opportunities by conquering, colonizing, and Germanizing the Slavs. This was a long and slow process. It began in the time of Karl. It is scarcely ended even to-day. There is still a small body of Slavs occupying a district only a few miles from Berlin (the Spreewald). They have their own language and many of their customs have survived. There are still many persons of Slavic blood to be found in Germany. Especially is this true of the province now called Saxony, where the nobility generally is tall and fair, while the common people are mostly small and dark in feature. In the days of Luther there were many people in the villages about Wittenberg who spoke Slavic. He would meet them in his pastoral visitations to the country districts and villages.

Beyond the lower Elbe were the Abotrites (in Mecklenburg), the Wiltzes, probably southeast of them, and the Sorbs, probably on the head waters of the Elbe and extending to the east. At this time the Slavs seem not to have been warlike. In 789 Karl overran so much of their territory that all the Slavs west of the Oder submitted to him, did homage to

him for their lands, and gave hostages for their fidelity. They remained very faithful to him, mention being made of only one revolt among them during the life of Karl, that of the Wiltzes in 812, which was, however, easily put down.

Bohemia was held by other Slavs, called Czechs. Against these Karl sent his army in 805 and compelled them to acknowledge his supremacy and pay him tribute. Other Slavs were south of the Avars in the modern Kaernthen, and these also were compelled to pay tribute.

Bohemia.

Toward the end of his reign the Danes began to ravage the coast of Karl's dominion as far south as the mouth of the Seine. To prevent a counter-invasion by Karl, the king of the Danes built a wall across the Isthmus of Schleswig. Although Karl is said to have built a fleet and to have established forts at the mouths of the rivers, he seems not to have been very successful in conquering the Danes. Their great invasions were to come later.

Danish Invasions.

Karl's wars with the Saracens were not limited to the invasion of Spain in 778. His fleets conquered Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearic Islands, and had to fight almost constantly with the piratical fleets of the Saracens. In Spain itself there was constant war between the Christians and the Mohammedans, in which the Christians were greatly assisted by the rebellions and treacheries of the Saracen officers. In 795 the territory won from them by Karl was formed into a mark and put under a Markgraf, or border count. From this as base of operations conquests were made to the south until the Ebro was reached, which, in 812, was made the boundary between the two peoples.

The Spanish Mark.

Karl was forced into fighting the eastern Emperor, who made many ineffectual attempts, especially in the last years of Karl's reign, to retake Italy. Greek fleets ravaged the Italian coasts and the imperial party in some of the cities, especially in Venice, tried to assist the eastern Emperor; but their efforts came to little, and in 812 the Emperor

Karl and the Emperor.

in the east, Michael Rangabé, made peace with Karl and recognized him as Emperor in the west.

From the foregoing brief view of the conquests of Karl it will be seen that his reign was one long campaign. Fortunate in all his wars, he succeeded in extending his boundaries in all directions. It was this series of splendid conquests that laid the foundation for the renewal of the Empire and the imperial title in the west.

Conditions favorable to the restoration of the Empire in the west.

In those parts of the Empire which were taken by the Barbarians the memory of the Empire had almost died out. They had been broken off from the central government and were practically independent. But the Church in the Empire's stead soon furnished a kind of unity, with her common beliefs, ritual, practice, and organization. Since the west was Christianized largely by the efforts of the Bishop of Rome, this dignitary became a kind of centre, and his authority a bond that united all the Christians of the west. While the Church thus formed a sort of spiritual Empire, she did not forget the existence of the Roman Empire, whose seat was now at Constantinople. The idea that the Empire must stand so long as the world should exist had not died out. The Bishops of Rome, therefore, regarded the Emperor at Constantinople as their legitimate head and were subject to him. But in return for their obedience they received only insults and violence. The Emperor was never able to protect them, and was often, according to their judgment, too officious in ecclesiastical matters. Since the authority of the Bishop of Rome did not extend to the east, his interests were almost wholly in the west. The Emperor in his turn was almost wholly confined by force of circumstances to the east. It was but natural, therefore, that the Bishops of Rome should at last think of revolting from the eastern Emperor and of seeking an Emperor in the west. The unity of the Church in the west helped keep alive the idea of political unity there. The growth of the Church (the Christianization of the

Anglo-Saxons, of the Germans, and others) and the great power of the Frankish kingdom, and its close alliance with the Bishops of Rome, were the conditions without which the revival of the Empire in the west would have been impossible.

The story of the restoration of the Empire in the west is as follows: In Rome there was a party which longed for the independence of Rome and the revival of her ancient power. They were beginning to dream the dreams which troubled the Middle Age so much, dreams about restoring the greatness of Rome and making her once more the head of the world. Forgetful of the progress that the world had made, they believed that by passing resolutions, making declarations, and reviving ancient titles, they could restore the Rome of the ancient Republic. The Pope had become the most important man in Rome and was practically its governor. Those who were trying to bring back Rome's greatness were hostile to this growing power of one man who was preventing the free and independent action of the people of Rome. In 798 there was a revolt in Rome against the Pope. Leo III. was maltreated, driven from Rome, and charged with perjury and adultery. Fleeing to Karl, he found him at Paderborn and begged Karl to restore him. Karl sent him back to Rome under the protection of his officials and he himself followed later. Leo came before Karl's judges, and later took an oath that he was innocent of the crimes with which he was charged, whereupon Karl reinstated him in his office. On Christmas Day, 800, while Karl was kneeling in the church of St. Peter at Rome, the Pope placed the imperial crown on his head, did him reverence, and all the people present shouted and hailed him Emperor.

The Roman party hostile to the Pope.

Leo III., restored by Karl, crowns him Emperor, 800.

According to Einhard (Karl's biographer), Karl afterward declared that he did not know that the Pope was intending to crown him, but was taken wholly by surprise; and furthermore, if he had known it, he would not have gone into the church

that day. There is no good reason why Einhard should have reported such a thing unless it were true. And yet we know that Karl wished to become Emperor and was at that time devising plans by which he might receive the imperial title and crown. His great power, his extensive conquests, his protection of the Church and service in her behalf, all marked him out as the proper one for Emperor.

The coronation a surprise to Karl,

but he was seeking the crown.

A short time before this he had sent ambassadors to the court at Constantinople to broach the subject of his marriage with the Empress Irene. There are some indications that he thought of asking the eastern ruler to recognize him as Emperor in the west; that is, to restore the ancient arrangement by which the power in the Empire was held and exercised by two persons instead of one.

There were various reasons for the conduct of the Pope. The eastern Emperor had for a long time failed to give his subjects in Italy any protection when they were hard pressed, as they had been by the Lombards. Since he had not protected his people, but had left them to shift for themselves, they might justly transfer their allegiance to the one who had preserved them. It was the special duty of the Emperor to defend and extend the Church; but this work had been neglected by the Emperors at Constantinople, while Karl had been most energetic in her service. He was, indeed, doing the work which was supposed to be peculiarly that of the Emperor.

Reasons of the Pope's act.

The west was shocked that for the first time in its history the throne was held by a woman. It seemed that such a position could be filled only by a man, and they were unwilling to recognize a woman as Empress. Not only was the sovereign a woman, but the woman was guilty of inhuman cruelty. Irene had deposed, imprisoned, and blinded her son, Constantine VI. Such a criminal as this must not occupy the high position of protector of the Church.

There was also heresy in the east. During the eighth century

there had been a great struggle there about the worship of images. The court and the learned generally opposed their use, while the monks and common people had refused to be deprived of them. In 787 a council had declared that images might be used. The action of this council had been approved by the Pope but rejected by Karl. But in any event the Church of the east was heretical. It was a shame that the orthodox west should be subjected to the east, thus defiled with heresy.

Just at this time there was a feeling in Rome that Constantinople was an upstart city. Rome had always had the right to elect the Emperor, and was also the capital of the world; but these dignities had been usurped by Constantinople. The time had now come for Rome to claim her rights and reassert herself, and again become the head of the world. She could do this by rejecting the ruler at Constantinople and electing an Emperor in the west. There was a very strong feeling in favor of the independence of Rome.

There were very good reasons, too, why the Pope should wish to have Karl elevated to the position of Emperor. His attitude toward the Church was well known, and there was no one else in all the west so well able to preserve order and peace. As Emperor, it would be more than ever his duty to protect and extend the Church and preserve the peace. But the Pope had also a selfish motive. His position in Rome was no longer sure. He had been driven out once, and he knew that the "Republican" party in Rome would ever be hostile to him. Without the help of Karl, without his troops at his back, he could not hope to be able to hold his place in Rome. He believed that by making Karl Emperor he would also make him more than ever responsible for the preservation of peace and order in Rome. He knew that Karl would not tolerate the independence of Rome, nor allow the principal bishop in the west to be driven from his place.

Personal motives.

It is probable that the Pope had consulted with some of Karl's followers who were in Rome, and with some of the lead-

ing citizens, perhaps the so-called "Senate." It is hardly probable that he would have taken so important a step without first assuring himself that he would be supported by the people. Having satisfied himself of this, and knowing that Karl wished to become Emperor, he believed that his action would be acceptable to Karl, and so crowned him. There are three possible reasons why Karl was dissatisfied with what the Pope did.

Karl displeased.

In the first place, it cut across his plans and interrupted his negotiations with the court at Constantinople; he may have been displeased that the coronation should have taken place without sufficient preparation and ceremony; and he probably was angry that he had been crowned by the Pope instead of being permitted to crown himself.

Karl was surprised, and at first scarcely knew what to do. He soon sent off ambassadors to Constantinople to inform the court that he was now Emperor. This was done apparently to see what effect it would have on the eastern court. Irene and her successors stormed at Karl and refused to acknowledge him as Emperor. Karl knew, moreover, that he was not legally Emperor; his coronation had been an act of rebellion. There was but one thing that could make him a legal Emperor and that was the consent of the Emperor in the east. He therefore determined to secure this at any price. He did not resent the many insults offered him by the eastern Emperor, but preserved a conciliatory attitude, and was at last successful (in 812) in obtaining the recognition which he so earnestly desired. In that year he was greeted as "Imperator" and "Basileus" by the ambassadors of the eastern court. The defect in his title was thereby removed, and Karl seems not to have troubled himself any further about the eastern Emperor.

Karl seeks confirmation of his title at Constantinople.

Karl evidently thought that he was Emperor in the west only. He never disputed the existence or the legality of the Emperor in the east. He did not regard his coronation as the deposition of Irene, but, on the contrary, continued to have

diplomatic relations with Constantinople, and sought recognition in order to make his election legally valid. But the people of Rome thought differently. To them it was a revolt. They believed that they were deposing the eastern line and restoring the supremacy of the west. In their lists of Emperors the name of Karl follows directly after that of Constantine VI. It was, and was meant to be, a revolt. Karl was, indeed, willing to keep the crown thus given him, but felt that he must also have the recognition of the Emperor in the east; but the Romans did not wait for this. They believed that they had made Karl the successor of the great Augustus, of the Antonines, and Constantine.

One or two Emperors?

The Bishop of Rome crowned Karl because he was the most important personage in Rome. By virtue of his office he was the most suitable person to perform the act, and certainly no one else could have so thoroughly persuaded the people that the act was a proper one. But it was, nevertheless, a revolt. The Pope gave a crown that was not his to give, and only his high position and the general feeling in the west that the change was a good one, kept the people from questioning his conduct. The people felt that they were crowning Karl through their representative, the Pope. The act was thoroughly irregular and illegal, and therefore, at the time there was no attempt made to give a legal explanation of it. But three hundred years later there were three theories about the coronation of Karl. The imperial party declared that Karl had won the crown by his conquests, and was indebted to no one for it but himself. This theory was based on truth, for Karl had conquered great territories, and but for this would not have been even thought of for Emperor. The Papal party said that the Pope, by virtue of his power as successor of the apostle Peter, had deposed the Emperor at Constantinople and conferred the crown on Karl. This was based on the fact that the Pope actually crowned Karl; but at that time no one supposed for a moment that the

The coronation a revolt.

Three theories.

Pope was crowning him by virtue of any such power. Such an interpretation was not thought of till long after. The people of Rome also advanced a theory to the effect that they had elected Karl, and that they had revived their ancient right of electing the Emperor. This theory had in its favor little more than the fact that the people had sanctioned the action of their leader by their shouts and acclamations.

Such was the famous restoration of the Empire in the west, a most important act, because of the great influence it had on the later history. It bound Italy and Germany together in a union which, while it had its compensations, was, on the whole, ruinous to both, at least politically. In consequence of this coronation of Karl, for seven hundred years the German Emperors were unable to free themselves from the idea that they must rule Italy. They were, consequently, continually wasting their strength in useless campaigns in Italy, instead of extending Germany to the east, the only direction in which there was possibility of success. The Emperors wore themselves out in Italy, but were never able to unite Germany. The best days of her best Emperors were spent on Italian soil. The political unification of Germany was thereby made impossible until our own times.

Effects of the restoration.

The coronation of Karl greatly increased his prestige, and, indirectly, his power. Emperor was far more than king, and brought with it many duties and obligations which were unknown to the king. Karl regarded himself as much exalted by the new office. At this time the Emperor was supposed to hold his office directly from God, to whom alone he was responsible for everything he did. This is apparent from some of Karl's measures for governing. Shortly after his coronation he compelled all his subjects to take a special oath to himself as Emperor. The peculiarity of this oath was that all were required to swear that they would live not only as good citizens, but also as good Christians. The Emperor was responsible for the Christian lives of

Karl's conception of his office.

his subjects. This is characteristic of the way in which Church and State were mingled under the Karlings.

For carrying on the government of his vast territory Karl had to invent new forms and adapt old ones. He held Mayfields according to the old German custom, but it was impossible for all his subjects to attend them. Large numbers of them came, however, especially because the campaigns were planned in these meetings, and it was expected that the armies would proceed at once to the war. He divided his territory into counties and placed over each a count (Graf). In the west the cities with their surrounding country formed these counties; in the east they were formed by the old tribal boundaries, while on the frontiers new districts were organized (marches or Markgrafschaften) and placed under border counts. The counts were held responsible for the administration of the government in their counties. They seem to have held the office for life, but could be deposed for cause. There was a tendency also to make the office hereditary. The counts were by no means independent, but were Karl's assistants.

Karl's government.

Counts.

The dukes and duchies of Aquitaine, Alamannia, Saxony, and Bavaria disappeared, because they were too strong a menace to the unity of the Empire. Only the dukes of Benevento, Brittany, and Gascony remained. Those who bore the title of duke were simply Karl's officers and not independent.

Dukes disappear.

In order to put a check on all the officers of his realm, and to control them, Karl sent out special commissioners, called "Missi Dominici," or royal messengers, whose duty it was to oversee all that was done by the local officers. They were to inquire into the conduct of all officials, and of the clergy as well. Appeals were made to them, and any misconduct on the part of any officer was reported to them. They were generally sent out two by two, one of them being a clergyman. They looked after the condi-

Missi Dominici.

tion of the army, the collection of the taxes, the state of the churches and schools, the morals of the clergy, and the administration of justice as well as of things in general. In this way Karl was kept fully conversant with the affairs of both Church and State throughout his kingdom. The clergy were also regarded as officers of the state, and they had certain civil duties. They and the counts were supposed to work together in harmony, and mutually to assist each other. Karl was greatly troubled, however, by the constant friction between the clergy and the counts, as well as between the bishops and the heads of the monasteries. There were at bottom the same unsettled relations between the clergy and the counts as between the Emperor and the Pope; the authority, rights, and duties of each were not clearly defined.

Karl himself by his own personal efforts gave unity to the whole government and did much of the actual work. He was busy moving from one part of the realm to another, fighting, administering justice, conducting trials, settling difficulties, and, in general, keeping the machinery of government in motion. Without his restless activity the heterogeneous provinces which composed his kingdom could never have been held together.

Karl's personal government.

His military system did not differ from that of his predecessors. At his summons all his free subjects were supposed to come prepared to begin a campaign. But the frequency of his wars and their great distance from home made them very burdensome. Many now began to try to escape military service. A compromise was effected by which a certain number of men were allowed to equip one man and send him as their representative. Karl also built a fleet to guard the coast, and especially the mouths of rivers, which latter he often fortified.

His military system.

As a lawgiver, he was also active, although there is little that is remarkable in his legislation. He tried to preserve the old German laws and customs, which he now caused to be reduced

to writing. His own laws are a curious mixture of German, Roman, and biblical elements. Since his Empire was Christian, the Bible was the very highest authority, and all legislation was to be in harmony with it. It did indeed color much of his legislation. **Karl as lawgiver.**

As a builder Karl achieved a great reputation. He built many churches, the principal one of which was the church at Aachen, in which he was finally buried. He built a great palace for himself at Aachen, another at Ingelheim, near Mainz, and another at Nijmegen. He also built a bridge over the Rhine at Mainz, but it was destroyed by fire before his death. His architects were mostly Italians. Many pillars and other building materials were brought from Italy at incredible expense and labor. The style of his architecture was undoubtedly a derived Byzantine, for the buildings of Ravenna were his models. **As builder.**

Probably the most remarkable of all Karl's activities was his educational work. He drew to his court some of the most learned men of his day, among whom were Alcuin, Paulus Diaconus, Peter of Pisa, and others. He formed his whole court into a palace school (Scola Palatina), all the members of which assumed either classical or biblical names. Karl called himself David. The sessions of this school were held mostly in the winter, because in the summer Karl was engaged in his wars. His learned men gave lectures, and there were many discussions of the subjects broached. The clergy of the Empire was, on the whole, very ignorant. Karl complained that although their letters to him were good in sentiment they were bad in grammar. Many of the clergy were too ignorant to preach. To remedy this, Karl caused a volume of sermons to be prepared for their use. He established cathedral schools, the most prominent of which were at Rheims and Orleans, and monastery schools, such as those of St. Gall, Tours, Reichenau, Fulda, Hersfeld, Corvey, and Hirschau. These were especially for the clergy, but they were **His attitude toward learning.**

open to all who might wish to enter. In fact, Karl had thoughts about a state system of public instruction. A reaction set in under Ludwig the Pious. In the year 817, laymen were excluded from schools in the monasteries, which were declared to be for monks only. In these schools Latin was studied with great zeal. The Latin Bible (the Vulgate) and a great number of Latin authors, from the classical and post-classical periods, were read. Among others especial attention was given to Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, and Juvenal. Seneca also was a favorite, and, because of his supposed correspondence with St. Paul, was regarded as a Christian. Karl was also greatly interested in the study of music. He asked the Pope to send him priests who could give instruction in the style of singing practised in Italy. Two schools of music were established by him, one at Metz, the other at Soissons. The organ was introduced into Gaul about this time and was cultivated by Karl.

This manifold activity amounted to a real revival of learning which bore fruit in the great disputations in the ninth century about foreordination and transubstantiation, as well as in the literature of that period. The great emphasis placed on classical Latin had some very important effects. In the first place, it purified the Latin of the Church, but at the same time widened the chasm between the spoken and the written Latin. The spoken Latin had now become a dialect, very different from the written language and impossible to purify. This vulgar speech was the beginning of the French language, and its development and use as a literary language was hastened by the revival of classical Latin. Not only the French but also the other Romance languages were gradually developing. The interest in the classics led to the multiplication of manuscripts and the preservation of the works of Latin authors which would otherwise have perished. It also determined that the Latin should be the learned language and that all the education of the Middle Age should be in Latin.

Effects of this "Revival of Learning."

Karl also loved his own tongue, the German. He caused a grammar of it to be made, thus attempting to make of it a literary language by reducing it to regular forms. He made a collection of the German songs and legends which were probably the earliest forms of some of the stories in the "Nibelungen Lied," but his son Ludwig, greatly to our regret, had this destroyed because of its heathenism.

Karl a German.

The attitude of Karl to the Church has already been shown. He regarded it as his special duty to defend the Church and to extend it by converting the heathen. The motive of many of his wars was quite as religious as political. He took care that the conquered lands should be supplied with churches and clergy. He regarded himself as the master of the Church by virtue of the office which he held. He controlled the election of bishops and archbishops, and sometimes even appointed them. The organization of the Church, begun in a systematic way by Boniface, was largely completed by him. He exercised the right of calling ecclesiastical councils, presided over them, and signed the decrees, which would otherwise have been invalid. Under him the Church had no independent power of legislation. The clergy, as well as the laymen, were subject to the laws of the Empire. Karl was the first to make the payment of tithes obligatory. During the first seven centuries of the Church, the tithe was practically unknown. It arose in the eighth century under the Karlings. The tithe was at that time only the traditional and customary rent paid for the use of lands. Karl tried to make this payment binding on the lands which he conquered, especially on the Saxons. This tenth was paid for the support of the Church, and this fact brought about a change in the conception of it. It was then identified with the tithe of the Old Testament, and in time made compulsory throughout all Christian countries. From being itself only the rent paid for the use of the lands leased from the Church it came to be a tax levied for the support of the Church on all Christians.

Karl and the Church.

But Karl's authority over the Church extended still further. He claimed to have the right to determine the polity, ritual, and even the doctrines of the Church. In 787 the Empress Irene called a council to meet at Nicæa which should settle the question of the use of images in the churches. This council, under the protection of Irene, declared in favor of their use and sent its decrees or decisions to Pope Hadrian (772–795). Hadrian was pleased with them and sanctioned them, for he had all the time favored the use of images. He sent them to Karl and asked him to publish them, but Karl was of a different opinion. Calling a council of his bishops in 794, he caused the action of the council at Nicæa to be refuted. The refutation (the Libri Carolini) was sent to Pope Hadrian with a reprimand, and a command that in the future he should wait in all such matters until Karl had given his consent. In another letter he reminded the Pope that it was his special duty to pray, and not to interfere in the affairs of state, which belonged to the Emperor alone. Karl's authority over the Pope is seen even more clearly in the case of Leo III., who was compelled to clear himself before Karl of the charges made against him. Karl undoubtedly was, and was regarded, as the highest authority in the west, and distinctly superior to the Pope in all political matters, and practically so in ecclesiastical affairs. There was no legal determination of the mutual relations and powers of the Emperor and the Pope, because the theoretical question was not yet broached. The relation was settled practically, but never discussed. There was no struggle between the two dignitaries in this period, because of the high position and power of Karl, and because the ambition of the Popes was not yet awakened. Both Emperor and Pope made claims which were mutually opposed and conflicting, but there was no theoretical treatment of the question of their respective rights and authorities. The Pope claimed to be the successor of St. Peter, the Bishop of the whole Church, and therefore he must have authority over the whole Church. But Karl was the

Karl and the Pope.

Christian Emperor, the ruler of the world with absolute authority. The adjustment of these claims was not to be settled till after centuries of struggle for supremacy.

In Karl is found that peculiar fusion of German, Roman, and biblical elements which characterizes the Middle Age. In his dress, speech, manners, and sympathies he was a German, but judging him by his notions and practice of government he was a Roman, largely affected by biblical conceptions and ideas. He was a Roman Emperor who attempted to establish a theocracy. He was absolute master of the west, and his reputation was so great that his friendship was sought even by the great Khalif, Haroun-ar-Raschid, of Bagdad, who wished to see his rebellious Saracen subjects of Spain punished.

His counsellor and private secretary, Einhard, has left us a lively picture of Karl.[1] Without doubt he was one of the greatest men of all time. No one else has more thoroughly taken hold of the imagination of the people. For centuries after his death the popular imagination was busy with his name and deeds. The impression which he made on the world found expression in a vast cycle of legends, all of which were confidently believed during the Middle Age.

Einhard's Biography.

He died January 28, 814, at Aachen, from pleurisy, and was buried the same day in the great church which he had built. "A gilded arch was erected above his tomb, with his image and an inscription. The words of the inscription were as follows: 'In this tomb lies the body of Karl the Great and Orthodox Emperor, who gloriously extended the kingdom of the Franks and reigned prosperously for forty-seven years. He died at the age of seventy, in the year of our Lord 814, the seventh indiction, on the 28th day of January.'" [2]

[1] A good translation of this is published by Harper & Bros. in their School Classics.

[2] Einhard, page 71.

CHAPTER VI

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE

KARL had indeed acquired a vast Empire and by his great personal ability governed it well. But he could not in so short a time make the various peoples who composed his realm homogeneous. A common religious faith and a common government were not sufficient to overcome the differences which existed in race, tribe, temperament, customs, and language. As soon, therefore, as Karl's commanding personality was removed, these differences began to show themselves. Karl had made a brilliant attempt to reorganize society after the model of the Roman Empire. He failed, and his kingdom went to pieces because of the weakness of his successors, under whom lands, office, and authority were usurped by their officials; another cause was the actual partition of the Empire among the sons in the royal family; the Empire was regarded as a private possession and divided among the heirs; the disintegration was further caused by the racial differences that existed in the realm, by the disintegrating forces set in operation by the invasion of the Barbarians, and by the growing conflict between the Church and the state. The Germans were intensely ambitious and proud. Individualism was one of their most prominent characteristics. In the then existing state of society the only legitimate exercise of ability and ambition was in the practice of arms. Since this was the only way to rise, it is not surprising that we should now come upon a period of violence and lawlessness in which might determined everything. Although Karl's realm went to pieces, during his reign its various parts had

Causes of disintegration.

all been subjected to influences without which their future could not have been what it was.

The dissolution of the Empire made rapid strides under Karl's son Ludwig the Pious (814–40), a prince who lacked all the qualities which made his father great. His education had been entrusted to the clergy with most unfortunate results. He was better fitted for the monastery than the throne, and more than once actually wished to lay down his crown and enter the cloister. His conscience was abnormally developed and thoroughly morbid. Petty faults he magnified into great sins, and he was continually doing penance when he should have been attending to the affairs of state. He altogether lacked the sterner qualities necessary for governing in a time of violence and barbarism. Being without will and purpose he was the slave in turn of his wife, his clergy, and his sons. Karl the Great, about six months before his death, had crowned Ludwig as his successor. On his accession Ludwig repeated the coronation, placing the crown upon his own head. In 815 Pope Leo III. died, and the people of Rome at once elected his successor, Stephen IV., without asking the consent or sanction of Ludwig. This insult and infringement of his prerogatives the Emperor did not resent. The Pope followed up the advantage thus gained, and told the Emperor that his coronation was invalid because it had not been performed by the clergy, and proposed to come into France and recrown him. Again Ludwig yielded, and was crowned a third time by Stephen IV., at Rheims (816–17). Another precedent was thereby established for the claim made by the Popes that they alone had the right to crown the Emperor.

Ludwig the Pious.

His threefold coronation.

There was some dispute about the relation of the monasteries and their lands to the Emperor. Ludwig's regard for the Church and her institutions led him into the grave mistake of freeing nearly all the monasteries of the realm from all duties to the state except that of praying for the welfare of the Emperor,

his children, and of the state. Only fourteen of the largest monasteries were bound to render both military service and contributions in money to the crown. Sixteen others were freed from the military service, but were compelled to pay certain sums of money, while all the other monasteries of the Empire were freed from every duty to the crown. Since there were many monasteries which were rapidly growing rich in lands, the income of the crown was thereby greatly reduced.

Ludwig and the Church

Most of the legislation of the early years of his reign concerned ecclesiastical affairs. Until this time if a serf could get himself ordained to a clerical position, his master thereby lost all claim upon him and he became free. The owners of serfs protested, and the freeborn clergy despised and abused those of servile birth. Ludwig protected them, however, but was forced to allow the former lord some compensation for the loss of his serf. He permitted the monks to undo much of the good work of Karl the Great by closing their schools to laymen (817). Education became, thereby, more and more the prerogative of the clergy. He was lavish in his gifts to both monasteries and churches and was surrounded all the time by monks and priests.

His legislation.

In consequence of an almost fatal accident in the year 817, Ludwig determined to divide his realm among his three sons. His eldest son, Lothar, was destined to succeed his father as Emperor, and therefore received Italy because it contained one of the capitals, and on his father's death was to inherit Neustria and Austrasia, with the other capital, Aachen. Aquitaine was given to Pippin, the second son, and Bavaria to Ludwig, known later as Ludwig the German.

Division of the Empire, 817.

The younger sons were required to recognize the over-lordship of Lothar and honor him as Emperor. In this way it was thought the unity of the Empire could be maintained. The division at once caused trouble. Since the death of Pippin, son of Karl the Great, in 810, Italy had been regarded as the

possession of his son Bernard. In 817, however, Ludwig made no provision for Bernard, and the latter at once revolted, raised a large army of Lombards, and seized the passes to prevent an invasion of Italy. He was persuaded, however, to come into France to discuss the matter, and was promised that no violence should be done him. But in spite of this he was seized and treated as a criminal. The case was finally settled at Aachen, and Bernard was sentenced to death. At the command of the Emperor, however, the sentence was commuted to blinding, but Bernard died while the punishment was being inflicted upon him. Ludwig was soon overcome with remorse for his base crime. His wife, Hermengarde, it was said, was the real cause of Bernard's death. She had hated him because he stood in the way of one of her sons. Her death, which occurred the next year, was regarded as an act of divine judgment upon her. Ludwig now shut himself up to pray and do penance, paying no attention to the affairs of state. He even wished to enter a monastery, but his ministers would not listen to such a proposal. They insisted that he should marry again. Relying very largely on their choice, he married Judith, a Suabian princess, who bore him a son who received the name of Charles (822) and afterwards became king of France and known as Charles the Bald.

Burdened with remorse, Ludwig tried to make amends to all whom he had injured. The friends of Bernard, who had been blinded with him, were now set free and sent back to Italy. The councillors of Karl the Great, whom he had dishonored and shut up in a monastery on his accession in 814, were restored to power. His kindness was ill-timed, for they never forgot the injury done them and were the cause of much of the trouble of his later years. Not content with this, he called a great council of the clergy and princes at Attigny (828), and in the garb of a penitent, came before them to confess all of his sins and to do penance for them in their presence. This well accorded with

The Emperor humiliated.

the increasing ambition of the clergy, who thus found the Emperor at their feet, willing to perform whatever penance they might prescribe. It was an opportunity to show and to increase their power, which they did not lose, for they ordered him to build churches, to give alms, to scourge himself, and to fast and pray.

Ludwig wished to provide for his youngest son Charles, and therefore gave him the duchy of Alamannia and some of the Swiss lands which lay south of it. Lothar and Pippin thereupon revolted and formed a wide conspiracy. Ludwig was deserted by nearly all of his people, who were displeased with him because of his public confession and penance at Attigny, which seemed to them unworthy of an Emperor. He and his small army were surrounded by the troops of his sons and taken prisoner. He was confined to wait the decision of the national council which was to be called, and Judith was compelled to enter a monastery. The council was called to meet at Nijmegen, in the heart of the German territory, where the people were most sincerely attached to the Emperor. A reaction in his favor had followed the success of his sons. The council therefore restored the Emperor, who now pardoned and restored all those who had rebelled against him. Lothar returned to Italy and Pippin to Aquitaine, angered that their plans should have miscarried. In 832 they again revolted, and persuaded their brother Ludwig the German to join them. Pope Gregory IV. went with the army of Lothar to assist him in his revolt. The armies met near the town of Colmar (about forty miles south of Strassburg), but the Emperor was unwilling to fight until he had first tried to make peace with his sons. There followed a period of intrigue. Gregory IV. went to the camp of the Emperor, apparently as a mediator, but, in fact, for the purpose of bribing his followers. In a short time the Emperor was almost deserted, and seeing that he could not resist any longer, told his few remaining followers to go

Provision for his favorite son.

The "Field of Lies."

also to his sons, that no one might receive any injury on his account. The place was from this time called the "Field of Lies."

Ludwig then fell into the hands of his sons and was imprisoned by them. Since Lothar wished to get full possession of the Empire, he called the bishops of Gaul together and persuaded them to depose the Emperor. Ludwig, however, refused to submit to this indignity, and was again put into prison. It was now apparent that Lothar meant to usurp the place of his father. His brothers were dissatisfied with this, for they preferred the rule of their father to that of their brother. They turned again to the support of their father, and he was reinstated as Emperor (834). Scarcely had this been done when Ludwig again attempted to provide his son Charles with a kingdom at the expense of Lothar. Another war would have broken out but for the invasions of the Northmen. Friesia was overrun by them and Utrecht sacked. They came up the Rhine as far as Nijmegen, sacking cities and towns and ravaging the country (836). Ludwig was compelled to put off the division of the Empire to defend it against the Barbarians from the north. In 837 he added to the possessions of Charles a large strip of German land which he took from Ludwig the German. War again broke out, for Ludwig the German was unwilling to give up his possessions. About the same time Pippin of Aquitaine died, and left his lands to a young son. The Emperor refused to acknowledge his grandson and gave Aquitaine to his favorite, Charles, on whose account he had already stirred up so many wars. The people of Aquitaine rose in behalf of their young ruler and began to invade the territory of the Emperor. Ludwig the German invaded Suabia, and the Northmen appeared again on the Rhine.

Lothar's ambition.

In his great extremity the Emperor determined to make peace with Lothar, and secure his help against his enemies and his protection for Charles. Lothar was very desirous of succeeding his father as Emperor, and was therefore easily persuaded. In 839

League between the Emperor and Lothar.

he met his father at Worms, and the Empire was again divided. Ludwig the German was to retain only Bavaria, Charles Aquitaine and Neustria, and Lothar all the rest.

Ludwig the German and Pippin II. of Aquitaine were both opposed to this division and war once more began. Ludwig the Pious showed uncommon energy and got his army together at once. He quickly overran Aquitaine and Bavaria, and compelled Pippin and Ludwig to flee before him. But sickness seized him toward the end of his campaign in Bavaria and he died on his way back to Aachen (840). His reign had been inglorious; the last eleven years of it had been filled with civil war because of the favoritism shown to his youngest son; the clergy had more than once exalted themselves at the expense of the state by exercising authority in temporal matters; even their spiritual authority threatened the independence of the Empire, since they had abased the Emperor by imposing the heaviest penances upon him; the people seemed to be growing more barbarous and violent; the Normans were ravaging the north, and the Saracens Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean.

Death of Ludwig the Pious, 840.

On the death of his father, Lothar set himself up as Emperor and showed that he was determined to rule over his brothers. Frightened at this, Ludwig and Charles made an alliance to resist him. By promising to leave Pippin in the possession of Aquitaine he succeeded in obtaining his help and marched with him against his brothers. A decisive battle was fought at Fontenay[1] (probably southwest of Auxerre), in which Lothar and Pippin II. were defeated. Lothar withdrew to Aachen, and Pippin fled to Aquitaine. The next spring Charles and Ludwig renewed their alliance. They met near Strassburg, and, in the presence of their armies, took an oath to support each other. Ludwig took the oath in the language of Charles's people, and Charles repeated it in German. The oaths have been

Ludwig the German and Charles against Lothar and Pippin.

The Strassburg oaths.

[1] 841 A.D.

Longitude 5° West from Greenwich.
0°
5°
NORTH SEA
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
London
English Channel
Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle)
Cologn
LOTHARINGIA
KINGDOM OF CHARLES
Meuse R.
Seine R.
Paris
Verdun
WEST FRANCIA
(NEUSTRIA)
BRITANNY
Orleans
Loire R.
Nantes
Rhine R.
Saone R.
Geneva
Rhone R.
Lyon
AQUITANIA
KINGDOM OF
BURGUNDY
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
TOLOSA
Rhone R.
GASCONY
Toulouse
SEPTIMANIA
PROVINCIA
Marseilles
NAVARRE
SPANISH MARCH
MEDITERRANEAN S
Ebro R.
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N.Y.
50°
45°
0°
5°

East 10° from Greenwich.
15
20
DENMARK
RUGEN
THE EMPIRE OF
KARL THE GREAT
showing the Division of
843.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200
Bremen
XONIA
Elbe R.
KINGDOM OF LOUIS
SORABIANS
Oder R.
SLAVS
T FRANCIA
FRANCONIA)
Prague
BOHEMIA
Regensburg
(Ratisbon)
Danube R.
MORAVIA
AMANNIA
BAVARIA
PANNONIAN
MARK
Inn R.
CARINTHIA
Drave R.
Save R.
CROATIA
Milan
OBARDIA
(LOMBARDY)
Venice
Po R.
Ravenna
THAR
SERVIA
ADRIATIC SEA
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
Tiber R.
Rome
BENEVENTUM
10
15
20

preserved, and are among the earliest specimens of French and German. Their united armies now drove Lothar out of Aachen. He retreated as far south as Lyon, where he begged his brothers to make peace, offering to divide the territory with them.

After many delays the treaty of Verdun was finally made, in August, 843. According to the terms of this famous treaty, Lothar retained the imperial crown. As Emperor he must have the two capitals, Rome and Aachen. He therefore received Italy and a strip of land extending from Italy to the North Sea. This strip was bounded on the east by the Rhine, but at Bonn the line left the river and ran north to the mouth of the Weser. The western boundary line began some miles west of the mouth of the Rhone, but reached that river near Lyon; it then followed the Rhone and the Saône to the source of the latter; thence to the source of the Meuse, which seems to have formed the boundary as far as the Ardennes. The line then ran to the Scheldt, which it followed to its mouth. Charles received all the territory west of this strip, to the exclusion of Pippin, who was now deserted by Lothar. Ludwig obtained all the land to the east, with the dioceses of Mainz, Worms, and Speier, which lay west of the Rhine.

The treaty of Verdun.

Charles and Ludwig had the best of it in this division, because their territory was compact and each was master of a single nationality. The subjects of Ludwig were all German, while those of Charles were mixed, indeed, but rapidly becoming homogeneous. The German element was being assimilated by the Keltic. But Lothar's subjects were of many nationalities. Besides, his territory lay in such a way that it could not easily be defended. It is significant that his kingdom could be named only after himself and not after any people. It was known as the kingdom of Lothar, while Charles was called king of the Franks, and Ludwig king of the Germans. The history of Germany and of France as separate nations begins with 843. The

The beginning of France and Germany.

kingdom of Lothar was destined to go to pieces. Geographically and racially it was impossible that it should hold together. The Alps broke it into two parts; Italy might perhaps be made into a nation, but the narrow strip along the Rhine, from the Alps to the North Sea, was fated to be broken into many fragments and fought over for centuries by the French and the Germans.

The rest of the ninth century was one of the most chaotic periods in the Middle Age. The rulers themselves were weak and inefficient, and allowed the power to slip from their hands.

Chaos of the ninth century.

There was need of a strong hand to keep the machinery of government in motion. They were unequal to the task. Feudalism was growing rapidly. The Missi Dominici, or palace counts as they were now called, were no longer sent out. Some of those who had held this position remained in the provinces to which they had been sent and exercised their authority as far as they could in their own name. They became entirely independent and were in no way attached to the court of the Emperor. The counts, who had been especially the officers of the Emperor, now made their office hereditary, and consequently became independent. They served themselves rather than their former master. The more powerful nobles oppressed the weak and all united to enslave the freemen. The Church, however, was there to resist them. She did this in part by assuming the guardianship of all who appealed to her for protection. They were compelled to surrender the title of their lands to the Church, but received them back as fiefs. In this way the Church grew rapidly rich and powerful. She attempted also to free herself from the control of the state. Up to this time all clergymen of whatever rank had been subject to the laws of the land. About the middle of the ninth century two series of documents were forged, one of the purposes of which was to remove the clergy from the jurisdiction of the state and make them amenable only to the laws of the Church. Only clergymen were

to be competent to try clergymen. One of these forgeries is known as the Capitularies of Benedictus Levita; the other is the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals. Benedictus Levita, a deacon in Mainz (died 847), forged a large number of capitularies and attributed them to Pippin, Karl the Great, and Ludwig the Pious, the gist of all of which was that the clergy, because of their spiritual office, were superior to secular officers, and, therefore, were not to be tried by the ordinary laws of the land. These rulers were made to say that the clergy were to be tried and punished only by the clergy. The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals contain much material that is authentic besides a large number of forgeries. Among the latter are sixty spurious decrees of the Bishops of Rome, beginning with Clement, the supposed successor of St. Peter, the donation of Constantine, and thirty-five decretals attributed to various Bishops of Rome from Silvester I. (died 335) to Gregory II. (died 731). Much of the work of Benedictus Levita is also embodied in them. The aim of these forgeries is to exalt the clergy far above the laymen, to make them an inviolable caste with peculiar supernatural powers and privileges, subject to no earthly tribunal, to set as the highest authority over them the Bishop of Rome, who is called Universal Bishop. Incidentally the power of the archbishops, who had been growing autocratic and were practically independent of the Bishop of Rome, is reduced by giving the bishops the right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome.[1] The Church was rapidly developing her system of government and growing in independence. She was preparing for the long struggle with the state for supremacy, which was to come two centuries later.

Benedictus Levita and the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals.

Violence reigned everywhere in the ninth century and the

[1] The Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals were probably forged in the diocese of Rheims between the years 847–53. Their author is unknown, though Ebo, the Archbishop of Rheims, has been suspected of the deed. It was more probably done by some bishop of his diocese.

royal power was unable to check or punish it. The Norsemen continued their invasions in the north. The Moors harassed the coast of the Mediterranean, the Greeks ravaged the shores of Italy, the Slavs, and, toward the end of the century, the Magyars, devastated the eastern marches. The government was powerless.

The Emperor powerless.

Oppressed with the burdens of his office and deserted by his followers, Lothar divided his lands among his three sons, resigned the imperial crown to his eldest, Ludwig II., and retired to the Monastery of Pruem, where he died soon afterward (855). With the imperial title Ludwig II. received only Italy, while Charles took Provence and Burgundy, and Lothar II. Friesia, Austrasia, and all the remaining lands north of the Alps. His territory later received the name of Lotharingia (Lorraine, Lothringen).

Division of Lothar's Empire, 855.

The civil wars of the successors of Chlodwig were now repeated by the descendants of Karl the Great. There was almost constant war between the Emperor Ludwig II. and his two brothers till 863, when Charles died. His territory—Provence and South Burgundy—was then divided between his remaining brothers. As if Lothar did not have all that he could attend to, he entered into a struggle with the Church, in which he was defeated, and the Bishop of Rome scored one of his most signal successes over the temporal power. Lothar II. divorced his wife and married one of his concubines. This brought on a contest with the Bishop of Rome which lasted for years. In the end Lothar was compelled to yield, and the Bishop of Rome had one more victory over the temporal power placed to his credit.

Ludwig II. and Lothar II.

Ludwig the German and Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, also fought with varying success against each other and against the Vikings and the Slavs. The reign of Ludwig the German was also disturbed by the revolts and intrigues of his three sons—Karlman, Ludwig, and Karl the Fat—whom

he had united with himself in the government. He succeeded, however, in putting them all down by force. Charles the Bald had the same trouble with his sons; Charles tried to make himself independent king of Aquitaine, and Karlman plotted against the life of his father, for which he was imprisoned and blinded.

The Norsemen, the Saracens, and the Slavs continued their depredations; the officials everywhere usurped local authority, and the rulers paid no attention to the government and defence of their lands. On the contrary, the rulers gave themselves up to mutual plots and intrigues to deprive each other of their possessions.

With the death of Lothar II. (869) began the long struggle between the Germans and the French, which has lasted to our day, for the possession of the lands in Austrasia and Lotharingia, called the middle kingdoms. **The middle kingdoms.** After a year of struggle Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German concluded to divide the territory between themselves. By the treaty of Meersen (870) Ludwig received all Austrasia that lay east of the Meuse, containing Utrecht, Nijmegen, Aachen, Köln, Trier, and Strassburg. Charles received that part of Austrasia that lay west of the Meuse and all of Burgundy that had been in the possession of his nephew. Lotharingia was, in fact, divided, the eastern part going to Germany, the western to France. In 875 the Emperor Ludwig II. died. With his death the family of Lothar I. came to an end, for neither he nor his two brothers left a male heir. A struggle at once began between his two uncles, Charles the Bald and Ludwig the German, for the possession of the imperial title and Italy. Charles the Bald was, however, the first to reach Italy and easily outwitted the sons of Ludwig the German, who had been sent thither by their father to support his claims. Charles was crowned king of the Lombards at Pavia, and a short time later Emperor by the Pope at Rome, who thereby further increased his own prestige. **Charles the Bald, Emperor.**

Ludwig the German was unable to take the field in person against his brother. He was old and feeble, and death overcame him the next year (876). His long reign, although greatly disturbed by the revolts of his sons and the invasions of the Northmen and Slavs was, on the whole, fairly successful.

The Reign of Ludwig the German.

It was of the very highest importance that the various German tribes should be brought to feel their unity and that a national feeling should be produced among them. It was owing to his long reign that the East Franks (Franconians), Saxons, Suabians, and Bavarians came to feel that they were much alike, and that they differed from the Franks of the west. He extended his boundaries by chastising and reducing the rebellious Abotrites and Sorbs, Slavic peoples to the northeast, and a great many of the Bohemian and Moravian tribes. He was successful in punishing the Northmen and resisted their invasions, although he could not prevent the destruction of Hamburg, which Ludwig the Pious had made the seat of an archbishop. In consequence of this calamity the archbishopric of Hamburg was added to that of Bremen.

Regarding the kingship as his private property, Ludwig had followed the traditional custom of dividing his kingdom among his three sons, Karlman, Ludwig, and Karl the Fat. Their uncle, Charles the Bald, immediately invaded Lotharingia, hoping to wrest their possessions from them; but Ludwig with his army of Saxons and Franconians met him at Andernach (near Coblenz on the Rhine) and utterly defeated him. Charles returned to Liège, where he heard that the Danes were coming up the Seine. He at once sent them a large sum of money and asked them to invade the territory of his nephews. Then

Death of Charles the Bald.

hastily gathering a handful of men he set out to Italy to defend his crown, which was endangered by a revolt. At Pavia he heard that his nephew, Karlman of Bavaria, was coming to meet him with an army of Bavarians and Lombards. Fearing to risk a battle he began

to retreat toward France, and died almost suddenly at the foot of the Mont Cenis Pass. The favorite son of his father, he had been the cause of the wars that filled the last years of Ludwig the Pious. Ambitious and grasping, he had begun several wars during his reign for the purpose of unjustly depriving some of his relatives of their possessions. In striving to extend his boundaries he had neglected what he already possessed. His officials ruled as they pleased, and the Northmen and Saracens ravaged his territory almost unhindered. He more than once tried to buy peace of the Danes and altogether did little more than squander the resources of his kingdom.

His son Louis II., the Stammerer, succeeded him, but after a short, though promising, reign, died (879), leaving two sons, Louis III. and Karlman, and a posthumous son Charles, afterward known as Charles the Simple. Both Louis and Karlman were crowned king. Their reign was a most disastrous one. The Danes came every year, and in spite of their defeat near Saucourt in 881, by Louis III., the country suffered greatly from them. The young kings were forced to cede western Lotharingia to Ludwig of Saxony, and their brother-in-law, Count Boso of Vienne, compelled them to make him king of Arles (the Rhone Valley from Lyon to the sea, also called lower Burgundy; the old name, Provence, also stuck to it). Louis III. died in 882, and his brother Karlman in 884. The only Karling left in France was Charles the Simple, as yet only five years old. Rather than trust to a mere child, the nobles offered the crown to Karl the Fat, who, by the death of his brothers, was then king of the Germans (Karlman died 880, and Ludwig the Saxon 882). Karl the Fat had been crowned Emperor by the Bishop of Rome in 882, and now, in 884, was called to rule over the whole of the territory once governed by Karl the Great. He was, however, not equal to the task. He was afflicted with a chronic headache and corpulency, which incapacitated him from both thought and ac-

Count Boso of Vienne king of Arles.

Karl the Fat, Emperor of East and West Frankland.

tion. During his reign the Northmen besieged Paris, which made a stout resistance under count Odo and Bishop Gozelin. In 886 Karl collected an army and marched to the relief of the city. Meeting with a slight resistance he feared to attack the Northmen, and, in a most craven manner, offered them a large sum of money and the privilege of ravaging Burgundy if they would leave Paris in peace.

There was still one Karling of ability, Arnulf, an illegitimate son of king Karlman by a Slav concubine. Probably, in 876, his father had established him over Carinthia (Kaernthen), and, at the death of his father, his uncles had allowed him to retain it. The general dissatisfaction with Karl the Fat led Arnulf to aspire to the crown. In 887 he conspired with the east Frankish nobles, and began to lead an army against his uncle. Karl was deserted by his men, and being utterly helpless he sent the crown to Arnulf, resigned all claim to the throne, and begged only for the necessary food for subsistence. Arnulf gave him some crown lands in Suabia. He died a few months later at Neidingen, and was buried in the church of the monastery on the island of Reichenau in Lake Constance.

Arnulf king of East Frankland, or Germany.

With the deposition of Karl the Fat the Empire of Karl the Great broke up into its component parts, never again to be reunited. The four great German stems—Saxony, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria—were united under Arnulf. Lotharingia for some time passed back and forth from France to Germany. The Franks had been more and more assimilated to the Kelts of northern Gaul, among whom they had settled. They had by this time lost their nationality. They had given their name and their vigor to those whom they had conquered, but they were no longer Germans. They may from this time be called French. The French nationality was slowly developing. Charles the Simple was still a boy only eight years old, and therefore not to be thought of as a candidate for the

The Empire in pieces.

Count Odo king of West Frankland, or France.

French crown. Two others claimed the throne: count Odo of Paris, who had so gallantly defended the city against the Vikings, and Guido (Wido), duke of Spoleto, a grandson of the Emperor Lothar. The popularity of Odo won for him the election by the nobles.

Count Boso of Vienne had been made king of Lower Burgundy in 879. The power in Upper Burgundy was now seized by count Rudolf, one of its governors, who succeeded in getting himself crowned king. **Two New Kingdoms.** His kingdom was bounded on the west approximately by the Saône and by the Aar, and extended from Basel to Lyons. These two little kingdoms remained separate until 934, when they were united. The kingdom of Burgundy, or Arles, thus formed, continued its separate existence until 1032, when its royal line became extinct and the Emperor Conrad II. united it to the Empire.

In Italy still another kingdom was established. Berengar, Margrave (Markgraf) of Friuli, was elected king by the Lombards and crowned by the archbishop of Milan. **Berengar king of Italy.** This kingdom of Italy, however, was destined to have a short separate existence. In the struggles that arose for the possession of the crown the kings of Germany were invited to interfere. By doing so they obtained the crown of Italy, and at the same time the imperial crown. The political history of Italy, therefore, is from this time very closely bound up with that of Germany.

CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL HISTORY OF FRANCE, 887–1108

Odo, the newly elected king of France, was on the whole the best choice that could have been made by the Frankish nobles. Of all their number he had the largest landed possessions. He surpassed them all in valor. He was noted for his just and upright character. His popularity was greatly increased by that of his father, Robert the Strong, who lost his life in resisting the invasion of the Northmen (866). But his position was not safe because he was only one of several great nobles, all of whom regarded themselves as practically his equal. Although elected and crowned he could hardly be regarded as the legitimate king of France so long as a member of the Karling family still existed.

Odo king, 888–98.

Under the weak successors of Karl the Great the counts who had been the king's officers had greatly increased their independence, and had made their office hereditary. In this way there arose the powerful counts of Flanders, Poitou, Anjou, Poitiers, Gascony, Paris, and many others, whose lands came to be called the "great fiefs." Because of the imminent danger they had elected Odo, one of their number, as king, but it was hardly to be expected that they would tamely submit to him if he should attempt to exercise to the full his royal rights. The Northmen continued their invasions, but Odo was not always so successful in repelling them as he had been. From 893 on he had also to contend against the oft-renewed conspiracy of some of the strongest nobles to restore Charles the Simple to the throne. So long as

The great fiefs.

he lived he successfully defended his title. He was at last worn out with the struggle and died (898) after having named as his successor, not his brother Robert, who was his heir, but Charles the Simple (898–929). Robert did homage to Charles, and received the duchy of France (the strip of territory which included, among other cities, Paris, Tours, and Orleans).

Charles the Simple was in many respects an able ruler. His too ready confidence in the promises and loyalty of his subjects often brought him great trouble and loss, and won for him the title of Simple. The invasions of the Northmen continued without abatement, and many of their bands now spent all of the winter in France, having taken possession of some of the districts about the mouth of the Seine and elsewhere. In 911 Charles offered their principal leader, Rolf (Rollo), the valley of the lower Seine and his daughter in marriage if he would settle there and become a Christian. He also required of Rolf to leave the rest of the country in peace. They met at Clair-sur-Epte and the agreement was made. It proved to be a wise measure, for it was to the interest of Rolf and his people that the invasions should cease. The various bands of Northmen were soon gathered together under Rolf, and the new bands of invaders were repulsed. The district thus assigned to them received from them the name of Normandy. True to his promise, Rolf was baptized, and received Robert as his baptismal name.

Charles the Simple, 898–929.

Settlement of the Northmen on the Lower Seine.

Charles was successful in adding Lotharingia to his possessions. In 911, on the death of Ludwig the Child, the people of Lotharingia refused to submit to Conrad I. of Franconia, who was elected king by the other Germans, and transferred their allegiance to Charles. Feudalism was now in its most chaotic state, and the great fiefs were well established in France as elsewhere. The vassals of the French king were almost as powerful as their lord. They paid little or no regard to his wishes and were prac

Lorraine united to France for a short time.

tically independent. At length Robert of France repented that he had refused the crown in 899, and with two other great nobles conspired to overthrow Charles and make himself king. In 923 they met the king's forces near Soissons and defeated them, but Robert himself was slain. His son Hugo was unwilling to claim the crown, and the nobles, therefore, elected the son-in-law of Robert, Rudolf of Burgundy, king. By treachery they got possession of the person of Charles and imprisoned him. His wife, however, escaped with her son to England, where she was received by her father, king Edward the Elder. For twelve years Rudolf held the title of king, although during the first years of his reign his authority was very limited; many of the great nobles refused to obey him. A quarrel with some of his nobles finally led to a brief restoration of Charles but he was again imprisoned, and died soon afterward of starvation (929). During these internal troubles the Magyars (Hungarians) invaded France from both Italy and Germany, and escaped with large booty after committing great depredations. Lotharingia refused to accept Rudolf, and again became a part of Germany.

Rudolf died (936) without children, and Louis IV. (d'Outremer, Transmarinus) was recalled from England and made king. Duke Hugo of Paris was still unwilling to risk all for the sake of a title which brought with it great difficulties but little authority. He preferred to be the favorite adviser of the king, for he could thereby greatly increase his possessions. He was lord of Neustria, duke of Francia, and suzerain of Blois, Champagne, Chartres, Anjou, and many other counties. Louis d'Outremer married the sister of Otto I., king of the Germans, with whom he was generally on good terms, but their relations were disturbed by another attempt of Lotharingia to change its lord. More than once he was compelled to wage war with his great vassal Hugo. He showed a good deal of military ability. His sudden death in 954 placed the crown on the head of his eldest

Louis d'Outremer, 936-54.

son, Lothaire (954–86), a boy only eight years old. The support of Hugo was bought with the duchies of Aquitaine and Burgundy, but he died before he had made himself master of Aquitaine. His two sons, Hugo Capet and Otto, inherited his vast possessions. Hugo Capet also followed the policy of his great father and tried to gain possessions in the south of Gaul. He succeeded finally in obtaining Poitou and a partial control of Brittany. Lothaire was a man of good ability, but he made two fatal mistakes. He quarrelled with the clergy, especially Adalberon, archbishop of Rheims, and he set his heart on gaining Lotharingia, which was now a part of Germany. Consequently he was continually at war with the kings of Germany. Otto II. carried the war into France and even threatened Paris. Taking advantage of these hostile relations, Hugo Capet obtained the friendship of Otto III. When Lothaire turned to Germany for help he found an alliance existing between his great vassal, Hugo Capet, and Otto III. Lothaire died before the revolution came, and his son, Louis V., succeeded him in 986. His death, however, took place the next year, and there was but one Karling left, Charles, duke of Lower Lotharingia. He was, however, without power and could not hope to obtain the votes of the great vassals. Hugo Capet had the support of Otto III. of Germany. He was allied by marriage to some of the most powerful counts. The clergy and the monasteries were on his side, because he had taken special pains to win them by rich donations. The archbishop Adalberon of Rheims and the bishops of the whole country called the nobles together for the purpose of electing a king, and after a clever address, in which Adalberon proved that Charles was not the most suitable person for king, and that the crown was not hereditary but elective, he proposed the duke Hugo Capet and recounted his virtues and qualifications. The duke was unanimously elected and crowned as "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons."[12]

Lothaire, 954–86.

Duke Hugo Capet elected king.

In this way the crown came into the possession of the Capetians, a dynasty which was to rule France in the direct line for more than three hundred years (987–1328). The crown was thereby declared to be elective, but soon became hereditary in this family. It was of the greatest influence on the history of the line that there was never lacking a male heir, generally of mature years, able to take up and carry out the policy of his predecessors. There were, therefore, no disputed successions, no disastrous regencies, no troubled elections. The history of the kings of Germany offers a strong contrast in this respect to that of the kings of France.

The position of the new line of the Capetians had its points of strength and weakness. Both the Merovingians and the Karlings had been consecrated by the Church and were therefore regarded as legitimate rulers. The Capets, upon being hailed by the Church, were accepted by a large part of the nation as the true successors to those great houses. The king thus became for the majority of the people an absolute sovereign, a power ordained of God to rule, to preserve order, and to administer justice. But there was another class, composed mostly of the nobility, which at this time was living in accordance with feudal customs and ideas, and to them the king was by no means absolute. His authority over them and his demands on them were limited. They were themselves kings in their domains and exercised royal prerogatives. These feudal ideas and customs the Capets were forced to recognize. The royal power was greatly limited by them, and it was only by following a consistent policy and by the greatest good fortune that the Capets were able in the end to triumph over feudalism and to establish a strong central government. But this was a long and slow process. For more than a hundred years the disintegration of power and of territory went on. The Capets were not able to keep their officials from making their offices hereditary, and their family possessions, as well as

The position of the king.

Of the feudal lord.

the royal domain which they had inherited from the Karlings, were greatly diminished by constant usurpations. Their weakness was greatest in the eleventh century. The twelfth century brought a change in their fortunes, and their power from that time on steadily increased.

The reign of Hugo Capet (987–96) was quite as successful as could be expected under the circumstances. He was generally recognized by the great vassals, and maintained an independent attitude toward the German Emperors and toward the Papacy. Under him there was a distinct growth in the feeling of nationality which helped increase the separation between France and her neighbors, already caused by the differences in language and customs.

His son and successor, Robert II. (996–1031), was surnamed the Pious, because of his humble and upright character and his regard for the truth. He was also a warrior of ability, fighting vigorously for Lotharingia and adding by conquest several cities and districts to his estates.

Robert II., 996–1031.

The reign of Henry I. (1031–60) was very disastrous for the royal power, although the king himself was both brave and active. He was continually engaged in a struggle with the great vassals whose territories surrounded his own. These were especially the counts of Blois and the dukes of Normandy. The only outlet from his estates to the sea was the Seine, the lower part of which was in the possession of the Normans, whose numbers and warlike qualities made their duke a dangerous neighbor of the king. Henry I. appreciated the situation and made every effort to make himself master of Normandy. He met, however, with two severe defeats (at Mortemer, 1054, and Varaville, 1058) at the hands of duke William the Bastard, (1035–87), afterward known as William the Conqueror, the first Norman king of England (1066–87). Henry had to admit that he was beaten, but he had fought with valor for the

Henry I., 1031-60, and the great vassals.

increase of his power. His influence was great, but he was unable to carry out his schemes of aggrandizement. In fact he lost several of the royal possessions.

Philip I. (1060–1108) followed the policy of his father in regard to Normandy and the other great fiefs. He was too young to prevent duke William from making his conquest of England, but he did all he could to weaken him by fomenting quarrels in the family of William and by endeavoring to keep Normandy and England as independent of each other as possible. This policy he handed down to his successors, who eventually were successful in it. He carried on in a creditable manner several wars with other great vassals, and was successful in adding certain lands to his possessions. He refused to go on the first crusade, resisted the claims of Gregory VII., and treated that part of the clergy of France which supported the Pope with a good deal of severity. Such conduct, now regarded as specially creditable to him, brought upon him the disfavor of the chroniclers who have generally painted him in the darkest colors. According to them he was guilty of gluttony, laziness, debauchery, highway robbery, and many other vices and crimes. Some of the things with which he is charged may be true, but many of them may safely be set down as inventions or exaggerations of a hostile clergy. In his later years his activity was greatly limited by his abnormal obesity, which amounted in his case to a disease. His reign, however, was not without its achievements, although the growing feudalism of the country daily diminished the actual power of the king. Feudal castles and strongholds were everywhere, and the king met with resistance on all hands. The famous castle of Montlhéry was at the very gates of Paris, and the king was actually in danger of being taken prisoner by his own brigand subjects and held for a ransom if he ventured outside of his city without a strong guard. His authority had to be enforced by arms. Safe in his feudal castle, the vassal could with impunity refuse obedience to the king. The chaos and anarchy

Philip I., 1060–1108.

of feudalism were now at their height, but the reign of Louis VI. (1108–37) brought a change. Under him the power of the king increased, the lawlessness of the times was checked, order was reëstablished, at least in part, and feudal customs became more fixed, thereby greatly diminishing the violence that had been so prevalent and increasing the general security. The condition of the country was by no means perfect, but it was of the greatest importance that a large amount of stability was introduced into the customs and practices of the government and of society. The kings of France possessed a great advantage over the kings of Germany in that they were allowed to retain all fiefs which became vacant, while in Germany the great dukes compelled the king to relet all fiefs within a year after they had become vacant. The kings of France, therefore, had an excellent opportunity to increase their possessions, while the kings of Germany were cut off from that advantage.

CHAPTER VIII

GERMANY AND ITS RELATION TO ITALY (887–1056)

THE deposition of Karl the Fat (887) left Arnulf in possession of the German crown. He at once assumed that as successor of Karl the Great he had the right to a certain sovereignty over all the rulers of the west. He therefore demanded and received an acknowledgment of his supremacy from the kings of Burgundy, Italy, and the West Franks. The Northmen continued their invasions, until in 891, near Louvain, Arnulf almost annihilated their forces, whereupon for a few years the land was not disturbed by them.

Arnulf, 887-99.

Under its duke Swatopluk, the Moravian kingdom had gained great strength, and included nearly all of Hungary, Bohemia, and other lands both south and east of the latter. In 892 Arnulf attempted to reduce Swatopluk to subjection, but after two unsuccessful campaigns was obliged to desist; not, however, until he had persuaded the Magyars (the modern Hungarians), a Finnic people of the lower Dnieper, to invade the Moravian kingdom. This was most unfortunate, for the Magyars were not satisfied with what they obtained among the Moravians, but continued their depredations, and for many years overran Italy, Germany, and even France.

The Slavs and Hungarians.

Berengar of Friuli had been elected and crowned king of Italy in 888, but Guido of Spoleto, after being expelled from France, attacked him, drove him out, and caused himself to be crowned king in Pavia; shortly afterward Pope Stephen V., his devoted friend, gave him the imperial crown. Guido soon quarrelled with

Guido of Spoleto, king and Emperor.

the next Pope, Formosus, who sent to Arnulf and begged him to come and deliver him from the power of the tyrannical Guido. In 894 Arnulf went into Italy, drove Guido out of the territory north of the Po, and established Berengar in his former possessions.

As soon as he had withdrawn from Italy, Guido again began his operations against the Pope, and Arnulf was again summoned to come to Italy and was promised the imperial crown as a reward. When he reached Rome he found it in the possession of the widow of Guido, who closed all the gates against him. Arnulf took the city by storm and was crowned Emperor (896). He was unable, however, to settle matters in Italy or to satisfy any party. Hated by all, it soon became necessary for him to leave Italy, which continued to be the prey of contending factions. Arnulf was the first German king who made a journey to Rome expressly to obtain the imperial crown. The Pope had claimed and maintained the exclusive right to crown the Emperor.

Arnulf in Rome.

When Arnulf died (899), the nobles of the Empire chose his son Ludwig, a child only six years old, for their king. The government was in the hands of archbishop Hatto of Mainz, assisted by Adalbert of Augsburg, and Solomon, bishop of Constance. The reign of Ludwig the Child (899–911) was brief but fateful. Power was everywhere usurped, and the great duchies were established during these troubled years. Archbishop Hatto labored hard to preserve the royal power and to keep the various provinces from becoming independent. His opposition to local independence caused him to be heartily hated. The popular disfavor showed itself in many ways, especially in the formation of legends. He is the bishop of the famous legend of the mouse tower in the Rhine.

Ludwig the child, 899–911.

The dukes, counts, margraves, and possessors of great fiefs thus formed a powerful aristocracy, whose interests were, in common, opposed to those of the king. Much of the history

of Germany is the account of the struggle between the king and these nobles. Feudalism was thoroughly established during this period. Offices and lands were made hereditary and power usurped. It was in this period that the great duchies became established. In Franconia count Conrad succeeded in gaining the power and assumed the title of duke. In Suabia a comes palatinus, or missus dominicus, Erchanger by name, usurped the ducal title; Otto, the Ludolfinger, obtained the power in Saxony, while in Bavaria Arnulf, the son of Liutpold, who had the title of Markgraf, obtained the ducal power. Under Ludwig the Child, the four great original duchies of Germany were fully established—Saxony, Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria. In Lotharingia, or Lorraine as it may now be called, Reginar (Rainier) usurped the ducal title and gave in his adhesion to the king of the West Franks.

Establishment of the great duchies.

Besides these duchies there were also some marches (marks), or border counties, which had been established for the purpose of resisting the invasions of the Barbarians. The east march (Pannonia), the beginning of Austria, and the marches of Carinthia, Bohemia, and Thuringia were for defence against the Magyars, Moravians, and Slavs. The Danish march was on the frontier toward Denmark. The differences between the people of these duchies and counties are not geographical, nor administrative alone. They are, if not racial, at least tribal. The languages of the various duchies were not wholly the same, and were rapidly growing apart. Each district had chosen the lord to whom it clung with the greatest tenacity. These and other differences were great hindrances to the unification of the Germans. (German writers speak of this attachment of the people to the narrow interests of their little province as "Particularism.") The dukes were practically kings in their duchies; in fact the duchies were generally spoken of as kingdoms.

The marks.

At the death of Ludwig the Child (911), the nobles of Sax-

ony, Suabia, and Franconia elected Conrad, duke of Franconia, king, but his authority was small. The family possessions of the Karlings were now changed into crown lands and given to the king to use during his lifetime. At his death it was expected that they would be passed on to his successor. Although Conrad was a man of excellent ability, brave, active, and ambitious to rule well, his success was small. The feudal times were against him, and he wore himself out in trying to make good the traditional rights and authority of his office. The Danish invasions continued, and he was embroiled with the other great dukes. In 912 Otto the Illustrious, duke of Saxony, died, and Conrad tried ineffectually to wrest some of his power from his son Henry. In Suabia he succeeded in getting possession of duke Erchanger, and put him to death, but the ducal power was soon after usurped by a noble named Burkhard. Conrad met with only indifferent success in his struggles with Arnulf of Bavaria. He made a close alliance with the clergy, and used them in his struggle with the dukes. At a council at Altheim (916) the clergy threatened with the ban all who should resist the king. Political disaffection was to be regarded as heresy and punished in the same way. Just before his death (918) Conrad is said to have advised his brother Eberhard, who was also his heir, not to claim the crown, but to carry the royal insignia to his most powerful rival, Henry of Saxony, who alone was able to perform the duties of the high office.

Conrad I., of Franconia, king, 911–18.

The nobles of Saxony and Franconia came together in Fritzlar and elected Henry king (called the Fowler, also the Builder of Cities, 919–36). He was a practical man, who saw all the difficulties of the position and was persuaded that a feudal kingship was the only kind now possible. The days of the Karlings were gone forever. The power of the dukes was not to be broken. He must therefore rule over and through them. Their independence in their own territory was not to be questioned. They were to be

The Saxon Line, Henry I., 919–36.

held responsible to the king only for the feudal duties which they recognized as due him. The king could rule only indirectly. Between him and the people were the dukes, on whom he must rely. This feudal conception of the kingship was new, and radically changed the attitude of the king toward the clergy and the dukes. He meant to be friendly with the dukes, and therefore did not need the special help of the clergy. He did not wish to rule the kingdom by setting one party against another. After his election, the archbishop of Mainz, as Primate of the kingdom, wished to anoint him, but Henry refused, saying that the election alone was sufficient. He did not care to have that prestige which would come from the performance of such a religious rite. He did not base his kingship on the Church and its sanction. He was content to be a feudal king. It is quite in accordance with this conception of his office that he should devote himself almost wholly to the lands which he held as duke. For the internal defence and government of the other duchies he was in no way responsible. In accordance with these ideas he dealt with the dukes. He first marched into Suabia, whose nobles had not been present at his election. Duke Burkhard was compelled to recognize Henry as king, and was left wholly independent in the work of governing his duchy. Henry, however, reserved the right to fill all vacant bishoprics, and, of course, retained control of the crown lands in Suabia. In Bavaria duke Arnulf was able to preserve a little more independence. He recognized Henry as king, but retained the right to name the bishops and to coin money in his own name. He dated all documents after the year of his own reign, not after that of the king. Henry tried to obtain possession of Lorraine, but was for a long time unsuccessful. However, when Charles the Simple was taken prisoner and Rudolf of Burgundy made king of the West Franks, Henry succeeded in conquering Lorraine and attaching it to his crown. To its duke, Giselbert, he gave his daughter Gerberga as wife, and so

Henry I. and the Church.

The duchies.

strengthened the ties which bound it to Germany. For the administration of the affairs of the kingdom he held diets and councils, at which the highest nobles and the clergy (archbishops, bishops, and abbots) were expected to be present. The clergy of Bavaria, however, had their own councils.

In 924 the Magyars invaded Saxony and laid almost the whole land waste. Henry was unable to meet them in the field, and therefore made a nine years' treaty with them, paying them a heavy tribute. These years Henry used to put his country into a good state of defence and to improve his army. His preparations are described by Widukind (i., 35) as follows: "He first chose one out of every nine soldiers who were living in the country and compelled him to live in a city (urbs) in order that he might build dwellings for the other eight and lay by one-third of all the grain produced, while the other eight should sow and harvest for the ninth. In these cities, on the construction of which they labored day and night, the king ordered that all trials, meetings, and festivals of whatever sort, should be held, in order that the people in times of peace might become accustomed to what would be necessary in time of war (*i.e.*, to living together in close quarters)." Towns are mentioned which he fortified, such as Merseburg, Meissen, and Quedlinburg. It is said that he also founded other cities (cæteras quoque urbes fabricavit), although it is not known what ones are to be attributed to him. There were, of course, walled towns before his time, but most of the Germans lived in open, straggling villages. Henry gave a great impulse to town life, and it was due to his activity that the German towns now became more numerous, and that in the next century there was a large and important citizen class. Commerce was also thereby greatly promoted, for without it people cannot exist together in large numbers. During these years of peace Henry also developed a good army. All who did military service were trained in the use of arms by military

Progress in Germany.

sports, and a cavalry troop was formed. The Saxons, it would seem, up to this time, had fought only on foot. The new mode of fighting was soon to become common, since it was generally those who had some means who were called on to follow the king on his campaigns. The poorer people nearly all now sunk to the position of serfs or slaves and so escaped military service.

Some time between 924 and 929 Henry made a successful campaign against the Slavs. He first attacked those on the Havel and took their stronghold, Brandenburg. He then followed up the Elbe into Bohemia, conquering the people as he went. He took the town Jahne after a siege of twenty days, and then marched against Prague, which quickly fell into his hands. The king submitted to Henry and paid him tribute. On his return he reduced several tribes of the Slavs to the north of Brandenburg.

Brandenburg taken.

In 933 Henry felt that he was able to meet the Magyars. He therefore refused to pay the tribute and the Magyars at once invaded Saxony. They were repulsed, however, with great loss in several battles. The superiority of the improved method of defence, the walled towns, cavalry, and the trained army was now apparent.

The Hungarians repulsed.

In 934 Henry made a successful campaign against the Danes, who were compelled to cede to him the land between the Eider and Slie, which later was formed into the march of Schleswig. In 935 Henry is said to have planned to go to Rome, but the purpose of his journey is unknown. It is supposed, however, that he thought of asking for the imperial crown. He was prevented from carrying out his purpose by a stroke of paralysis. Fearing that his end was near, he called a council of all the nobles of the kingdom at Erfurt and had his son Otto recognized as his successor. He died not long afterward (936), mourned by the whole people. He had done a great work and had laid the foundation for the greatness of his son. Without the work of Henry the success of Otto would have been impossible.

Otto I. (936–73) came to the throne with entirely different ideas about his office from those of his father. His character was also very different. Henry was noted for his modesty and humility. He was practical and never strove for the impossible. He clearly recognized that he could not destroy the power of the dukes, and was therefore willing to recognize their independence. Otto, on the contrary, was proud and ambitious. He had high ideas about his royal rights and prerogatives and was determined to enforce them. He was not content with the position of feudal king, but regarded himself as the successor of Karl the Great. The sacred character of the king, acquired by anointment and by the peculiar relations existing between him and the clergy had been neglected by Henry, but Otto revived it at once. The dukes had been his father's equals. Otto determined to make them his officials. Henry had not relied on the clergy, because he was determined to be on friendly terms with the dukes. Otto, on the other hand, needed the help of the clergy to strip the dukes of their power. The events connected with his election and coronation show the difference between his ideals and those of his father. There had been some dissatisfaction with Henry because of his simplicity, and there was now a desire that the traditions of Karl the Great should be revived. In accordance with this wish, Aachen, the ancient capital, was appointed as the place for the formal election of Otto. All the dukes and the highest nobility were present, and Otto was anointed and crowned with great pomp. Afterward he partook of the coronation banquet, at which he was served by the dukes. Duke Giselbert of Lorraine was his chamberlain, *i.e.*, he had charge of the palace, Eberhard of Franconia was his steward or dish-bearer, Hermann of Suabia his cup-bearer, and Arnulf of Bavaria his marshal.

Otto I., 936–73.

His coronation.

The work of Otto may be best treated under three different heads: His struggles in Germany, his foreign policy, especially his wars with the Barbarians to the east, and his relations with

Italy. Henry I. at his death left four sons. Thankmar, the eldest, was a bastard, and therefore it was not probable that he would be considered as a possible candidate for the throne. Otto had been born before Henry had been made king. His two younger brothers, Henry and Bruno, were both born in the purple, but Bruno had been destined for the Church. Since Henry had been born after his father had been made king, it was claimed by some (among them his mother Matilda, whose favorite he was) that he should be king instead of Otto. Otto's haughty treatment of the dukes of Bavaria, Franconia, and Lorraine, angered them and they intrigued with Henry to place him on the throne. Thankmar, discontented because his estates were withheld from him, also joined them. The struggle lasted till 941, and during its course Thankmar was slain. Arnulf of Bavaria having died (937), his sons were defeated and their duchy taken from them. Eberhard of Franconia and Giselbert of Lorraine lost their lives and the duchies came into the hands of Otto. Henry at last submitted to Otto, and having received his pardon was forever after faithful to him. His policy toward the duchies was to break their independence by giving them either to members of his own family or to those who were devoted to him. His faithful friend, Berthold, a brother of Arnulf, was invested with Bavaria, but at his death, in 947, Otto gave it to his brother Henry. Franconia he gave to his son-in-law, known as Conrad the Red. His son Rudolf he had married to the only daughter of the duke of Suabia, and when that duchy became vacant, in 950, he invested him with it. Otto further limited the power of the dukes and kept a constant check on their movements by appointing palatine counts, *i.e.*, palace counts to reside in the duchies, manage his royal estates and represent his own interests. Otto now ruled as the head of a great family through its members. It was a personal administration without any great number of laws or capitularies. He had the whole of Germany well in hand, and had no further

Otto I. and Germany.

trouble at home until he went to Italy. As protector of the Church it was Otto's duty to enrich it and make it powerful. As a counterpoise also to the power of the nobles, Otto strengthened the clergy. The Church was enriched and the feudal power of the clergy greatly increased. He chose many of his officers from the clergy. They formed, indeed, a large and powerful nobility. This policy proved to be a most disastrous one, for in the struggle which came later between the Emperor and the Papacy the clergy of Germany turned against their benefactors and helped destroy them. They were the Pope's most efficient helpers.[1]

From the very first, Otto claimed a certain headship over all the west although he had only the title of king. He assumed a sort of lordship over the king of the Franks. He allied himself to both Louis IV. and Hugo the Great, by giving them his sisters in marriage. He interfered in the affairs of France and declared in favor of Louis in his struggles with Hugo. Conrad, the thirteen-year-old king of Burgundy, was about to be deprived of his crown (937) when Otto assumed the protection over him, and as his guardian and regent ruled in Burgundy until Conrad was old enough to govern in his own name.

Otto I. and France.

The Hungarians renewed their invasions in 937. Germany, France, and Italy were overrun by them. They even reached Naples in their marauding tours, and Rome was threatened by them. It was not till August 10, 955, that Otto won a decisive victory over them on the Lech River, near Augsburg. Their power was completely broken and they consented to settle in the lands offered them (practically the same territory that they still occupy). This was the end of their invasions.

The Hungarians.

Against the Slavs the contest was long and bitter. The defence in the northeast was entrusted to two margraves, Gero and Hermann Billung. The territory was wrested from the Slavs

[1] See Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, Chapter VIII.

little by little by the most desperate fighting. Otto's brother Henry, duke of Bavaria, carried on the struggle with vigor against the Bohemians. In 950 Otto himself led a campaign against them and compelled their king, Boleslav, to recognize him as his suzerain. For defence against those peoples a system of marches was thoroughly developed. Almost the whole east border of Saxony was under the margraves Gero and Hermann Billung. About 965 Gero died, and his march was broken up into several others, known as the north march, and the marches of Merseburg, Zeitz, Lausitz, and Meissen. South of Bohemia Otto restored the eastern march, which was the basis of the later Austria. Between the Germans and their enemies to the east there was then an unbroken line of marches which were to serve as a defence. While conquering these peoples Otto attempted at the same time to Christianize them. Hamburg was again made the seat of an archbishop and the central mission station for the north. From that city missionary bishops were ordained and sent into Denmark, and later into the Scandinavian peninsula. Magdeburg was made the religious capital of the Slavs by establishing there an archbishop. Mission work was vigorously carried on among them, and for this purpose Otto established the bishoprics of Havelburg, Brandenburg, Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, and Posen. German missionaries were also sent to the Magyars. Monasteries arose everywhere, and the monks became not only the missionaries but also the teachers and civilizers of these barbarian peoples. German colonists went with the monks and clergy, and the process of Germanizing the Slavs was begun. To Otto the Great belongs the honor of having pointed out the direction in which Germany should expand. The way to the west was closed, but to the east there were extensive territories which could be conquered and Germanized. If these peoples could be kept dependent on Germany for their civilization and

The Slavs.

The marks.

The Slavs Christianized and Germanized.

Christianity, it followed that they would inevitably lose their nationality and become German. From this time on the expansion of Germany to the east among these peoples, her conquest and absorption of them, is one of the most important parts of her history. In this way all of Prussia that lies east of the Elbe was won from the Slavs. Bohemia and Hungary were not Germanized because through the weakness of the successors of Otto they succeeded in getting an independent ecclesiastical establishment, and thereby their own nationality was preserved. The mountains which separate Bohemia from Germany also helped preserve the Bohemian nationality.

In order to understand the intervention of Otto in the affairs of Italy it will be necessary to sketch the history of that country since the coronation of Arnulf (896). Italy was hopelessly divided and the theatre of contending peoples and factions. The Greek Emperor still held many places in the southern part of the peninsula, while the Mohammedans had possession of Sicily and the other islands and a few places on the mainland. In Rome the Pope claimed to be master, but the city was the prey of factions among the nobility. The duchies of Benevento and Spoleto were practically independent. Venice acknowledged the eastern Emperor, but practically ruled herself. The Lombards were much divided but had not lost the desire of becoming an independent kingdom. After the deposition of Karl the Fat, Berengar of Friuli was made king of Lombardy, but actually possessed only the lands north of the Po. Guido of Spoleto held the rest of it, and in 891 was crowned Emperor. At his death, 894, his son Lambert received the imperial crown, but this act was annulled in 896 by the coronation of Arnulf. After the latter had withdrawn from Italy, Lambert again laid claim to the title, and in 898 succeeded in compelling his recognition

Italy hopelessly divided.

The Greek Emperor, the Mohammedans, the Pope, the Dukes of Benevento and Spoleto, Venice, Lombard Independence.

Berengar of Friuli, Guido of Spoleto, Lambert.

Arnulf.

by the Pope. He died a few days later, and his people, rather than submit to Berengar, offered the crown to Louis, king of Burgundy (son and successor of Boso). Louis came, and in 901 was crowned by Pope Benedict IV. The struggle between him and Berengar continued until 905, when he fell into the hands of Berengar, was blinded and sent back to his kingdom. This, however, he found had been seized by the duke Hugo. After ten years more of struggle Berengar was finally crowned Emperor (915) by Pope John X. The struggle for the kingship of Italy continued, however. The enemies of Berengar offered the crown to Rudolf of Burgundy, but he was unable to defend it. Duke Hugo of Provence was crowned king of Italy in 926 and held the office till 946, when he was driven out and his son Lothar set up in his stead. Lothar married Adelheid (Adelaide), the daughter of Rudolf of Burgundy. At his death, in 950, Berengar, margrave of Ivrea (a town and province about thirty miles northeast of Turin), seized both the crown and Adelheid, with the purpose of compelling her to marry his son Adalbert. Disliking the union, the young widow appealed to Otto I. of Germany to protect her.

Louis of Burgundy.

Berengar made Emperor.

Rudolf of Burgundy.

Hugo of Provence, Lothar.

Berengar of Ivrea.

During this period the Papacy fell on evil times. The magnificent claims of Leo the Great to be the Bishop of the whole Church were now entirely forgotten in the chaos of parties in Italy, and especially in Rome. The noble families of that city were divided into factions, each of which strove to make one of its number Bishop, in order to enjoy the authority which that office possessed. The duke of Spoleto had a party, as did also Berengar and the other phantom kings who displayed their weakness rather than their strength in the unfortunate peninsula. There was also a German and an anti-German faction, one of which was in favor of, the other against, the king of Germany, and objected to any

Roman factions.

interference on his part. The rage and violence shown by these factions is almost incredible. In 891 Formosus, a friend of Arnulf of Germany, was made Pope. Throughout his pontificate he was known to be an ally of the German Emperor, and the bitterness against him was intense. Before his election he had been bishop of Porto. His election to the bishopric of Rome was therefore contrary to the rule which forbade that a bishop of another diocese should be made the Bishop of Rome.[1] After his death Boniface VI. succeeded him, but died fourteen days after his election. The faction of Spoleto elected Stephen VI. one of their partisans. His hatred of the Germans was so great that he had the remains of Formosus exhumed in order to go through the forms of a trial. The body of Formosus was clothed in pontifical robes, placed on a papal throne, and charges made against him, in a synod called together for this purpose. The verdict was, of course, unfavorable, and his body was mutilated and thrown into the Tiber.

From 896 to 903 there were no less than eight Popes. The power of the feudal aristocracy is shown by the fact that the Papacy then fell under the power of Theodora, the wife of Constantine, a Roman senator, and her daughters. One of them, Marozia, it is said, was the mistress of Pope Sergius III. (904–11), to whom she bore a child, who was later Pope John XI. (931–36). In 914 Theodora raised one of her former lovers to the Papacy, who ruled as John X. (914–28). Italy was troubled by invasions of both Saracens and Magyars, and John X. showed his ability by valiantly resisting both enemies.

The Pornocracy.

Marozia had now become the wife of Alberic, margrave of Camerino. He quarrelled with Pope John X., but was unable to conquer him. At Alberic's death she married Guido, margrave of Tuscany, and continued the struggle with the Pope. She was now more

Marozia and her three husbands.

[1] According to a law made by Stephen III., 769, only the Cardinal Presbyters and Cardinal Deacons of Rome were eligible to the office of Bishop of Rome.

successful. John X. was overcome and died in prison, 928. After setting up two weak Popes, Marozia then elevated her son, John XI., to the papal throne (931–36). On the death of her husband Guido, she married Hugo, who had recently been crowned king of Italy. Her son Alberic, however, resented this marriage and succeeded in driving Hugo out of Rome and making himself the real master of the city with the title of "Princeps atque omnium Romanorum senator." Until his death in 954 Alberic held the power in Rome, not only over the city but also over the Popes. The writings of the times contain many invectives but few charges against Alberic. As a governor he had much ability. He restored order and enforced the laws. He tried to ally himself with the eastern Emperor, and he was interested in the Cluniac reform to such an extent that he asked bishop Odo of Clugny to restore the discipline in, and reform the monasteries of, Rome. His only offence, a great one to be sure in the eyes of the churchmen of his age, was that he kept the Papacy thoroughly under his control and used the Pope as one of his officials. During this period all Bishops of Rome seemed to forget the high claims that had been made by many of their predecessors. They were no longer bishops of the whole world, but simply of the city of Rome, and their energies were expended in the local political struggles. The Popes were chosen not for their fitness and by the clergy and people, but by the noble families who held the power. Alberic wished to make the office hereditary in his family. His son Octavian, a boy of sixteen years, succeeded him in authority, and a year later was made Pope. He took the title of John XII. (955).

Her son Alberic.

The Papacy to become hereditary.

When Adelheid appealed to Otto I. to rescue her from the threatened marriage with Adalbert, the German king hastened at once to relieve her. In October, 951, he reached Pavia, took possession of the city, and a few days later married the princess, to protect whom he had made the long journey. He was in-

tending to go to Rome, but revolts in Germany compelled him to return quickly to the north. His subjects at home resented his interference in Italy. Otto was able, however, to quell the disturbances. He did not deprive Berengar of his crown, but compelled him to come to Germany the next year, take an oath to him as his lord, and cede several marches in the northeast of Italy (Verona, Aquileia, Istria, Friuli, and others) to Henry, the brother of Otto. Berengar, however, on his return, continued his resistance to Alberic, and after his death to his son, John XII. This boy Pope had shocked the city with his mad pranks and open debauchery. Being in danger from Berengar, he is said to have appealed to Otto. It is, at any rate, certain that the bishops and nobles of Lombardy asked for help from the Emperor against the encroachments of Berengar. In August, 961, Otto crossed the Alps, and after having been crowned king of Italy at Pavia, proceeded to Rome. Before entering the city he took an oath that he would respect the rights of the Pope, who, on his part, bound himself by an oath never to aid Berengar or his son. February 2, 962, Otto was crowned Emperor by the Pope, and a few days later an agreement was entered into by them; the Emperor confirmed the donation already made to the Pope (Rome and its duchy, the Exarchate, some parts of Campania, and certain other territories, such as Naples and Gaeta) "if the Pope should, by the help of God, make himself master of them." On the other hand, it was agreed that no Pope should thereafter be consecrated until he had first taken an oath of allegiance to the Emperor. The Pope was regarded as the Emperor's man.

Otto's first journey to Italy.

Otto's second journey and coronation.

Otto soon set out for the north of Italy, but as soon as he had left, John XII. repented that he had acknowledged him as his lord, and began to intrigue with Berengar. He tried to make an alliance with the eastern Emperor, and sent to ask the Magyars to invade Germany. Otto returned to Rome, which he took by force, called a senate,

Revolt of John XII.

which deposed John XII., and elected in his stead a Roman nobleman, who was a layman, Leo VIII. He then compelled the Romans to swear that they would never elect a Pope without his consent. But as soon as he left the city the people revolted, drove out Leo, and received John XII. back. Again Otto returned, took the city without a siege, restored Leo, and carried away many persons, among them Pope Benedict and the ex-king Berengar.

The next year Leo VIII. died, and fearing the vengeance of the Emperor, the people of Rome applied to him before electing John XIII. But soon the nobility of the city conspired against him, and Otto again crossed the Alps (966), and put to death the leaders of the opposition. For nearly six years Otto remained in Italy, ruling both city and Church as an absolute master.

Otto's third Italian journey.

Being desirous of allying himself with the eastern Emperor, Otto sent an embassy to Constantinople and asked for the hand of the Greek princess Theophano for his son Otto. Nicephorus Phocas, the Emperor, not only refused the alliance, but would not even recognize Otto as Emperor. This led Otto to attack the Greek possessions in the southern part of Italy. In the meanwhile Nicephorus Phocas was assassinated and John Zimisces crowned in his stead. The latter was less obstinate, another princess bearing the same name was offered, and the marriage was celebrated at Rome (972).

Theophano.

In the same year Otto returned to Germany after an absence from that country of six years. In 973 he celebrated Easter at Quedlinburg, and held there a great assembly. His commanding position in Europe is seen from the fact that he there received embassies from Rome, Constantinople, from the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Russians, Slavs, and Danes. The dukes of Bohemia and Poland came in person to do him homage. A few days later he died at Memleben, and was buried in Magdeburg, his favorite city.

Death of Otto I. 973.

The reign of Otto the Great is an important one in the

THE EMPIRE
in the time of
OTTO THE GREAT.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200 300
0° 5° 10° Longitude East 15° from Greenwich 20°
55° 50°
SWEDEN
DENMARK
BALTIC SEA
NORTH SEA
PRUSSIA
JAZWINGES
Danzig
POMERANIA
DANISH MARCH
NORTH SAXON MARCH
Hamburg
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Bremen
Verden
Havelberg
ENGLAND
FRISIA
Utrecht
SAXONY
Brandenburg
Magdeburg
Hildesheim
Munster
Paderborn
Halberstadt
Gnesen
Vistula R.
Oder R.
POLAND
LAUSITZ MARCH
Bruges
FLANDERS
LOWER LORRAINE
Tournai
Luttich
Cologne
Aachen
Merseburg
THURINGIA
Meissen
MEISSEN MARCH
Breslau
Arras
Fulda
FRANCONIA
Elbe R.
Cracow
Trier
Mainz
Frankfurt
Wurtburg
Bamberg
Prague
Rheims
Verdun
Worms
GERMANY
BOHEMIA
Olmutz
Paris
Metz
UPPER LORRAINE
Speier
MORAVIA
Ratisbon
Toul
Strasburg
Wimblingen
Regensburg
ALAMANNIA
Augsburg
Freising
EAST MARCH
Vienna
RUSSIA

Burgundy was a Vassal-State of the Empire until 1032, when it was incorporated under Conrad II.

history of the civilization of Germany. It has already been stated that he allied himself with, and strengthened, the clergy in order to resist the dukes. While using the clergy in this way, Otto did not lower the tone of the clergy. His bishops and archbishops were all men of ability and genuine piety. In fact his reign is noted for a revival in both religion and learning. Several members of his family occupied high positions in the Church; Bruno, his brother, became archbishop of Köln. One of his sons, William, was archbishop of Mainz, his uncle, Robert, bishop of Trier; other relatives became prominent bishops, abbots, and abbesses. All these performed their duties to the Church as well as to the Emperor without any conflict. At the court itself no immorality was tolerated. Being a model in its morals, the court of Otto differed very much from that of Karl the Great. He surrounded himself also with learned men, and his age is marked by great literary activity. Many of the great monasteries kept chronicles. Some important biographies were composed, poems and comedies were written. Among the most important Latin compositions were Liutprand's History of Otto, the Annals of Quedlinburg, Hildesheim, and St. Gall, Widukind's Res Gestæ Saxonicæ, Ekkehard's Walthari Lied, and the historical poems and dramas of Hrotsuitha, a nun in the monastery of Gandersheim. Her "Lapsus et Conversio Theophili" is regarded as the oldest poetical treatment of the Faust legend of the Middle Age. In the monasteries, Terence, Horace, Virgil, Sallust, and Cicero were read. The Scola Palatina of Karl the Great was also imitated by Otto. His brother Bruno was with him continually, and a kind of court school was kept up. Otto himself tried to learn Latin. He never became able, however, to speak it well. The German tongue also became a literary language during his reign. A harmony of the gospels was composed in German and a great epic poem written called the Heliand (The Saviour). It is a life of Jesus put into a German

Importance of his reign.

setting. It is full of German customs, manners, and ways of thinking and is one of the most important sources of our knowledge of the condition of the German mind in those times.

Otto believed that he was restoring the Empire of Karl the Great, and this was essentially the case. All the west lived in the idea that there must be an Emperor, that the world could not exist without one. He was an essential part of the social order. According to the ideas of the times, therefore, Otto was restoring the Roman Empire. But there were some very important differences between his Empire and that of Karl the Great. Karl had passed his Empire on to his son Ludwig without any question. The imperial crown was treated as if it were hereditary in his family; but in the time of Otto it was regarded as wholly elective, because it was connected with the kingship of Germany, which was itself elective. Karl himself had crowned his son. Now the Pope made good his claim to be the only one who had the right to confer the imperial crown. He was indeed bound to crown as Emperor the man who held the German crown, but it was his exclusive privilege to do so. In extent, too, it was not the same Empire. Karl the Great had ruled over the whole west, but now France, Spain, and England were thoroughly separated from the Empire and were going their separate national ways. Otto held only Germany, Italy, and, later, the guardianship of the young king of Burgundy. The west was irrevocably lost to the Empire. To indemnify itself for this loss it must look to the territory of the Barbarians who lived to the east. Otto inaugurated on a grand scale a policy which would, if properly carried out, have led to the conquest and Germanization of the numerous Slavic peoples and Magyars who bounded Germany on the east. The indirect effects of Otto's reign on the west were very great. He was in sympathy with the Cluniac reform, and he did the Church an incalculable service in putting an end to the Por-

Karl the Great and Otto I.

nocracy, reforming the Papacy, and reminding the Popes that their office was universal and not local.

Otto has been severely blamed for seeking to restore the Empire and for taking the crown of Italy. Certainly some of its results were disastrous to Germany. Otto and his successors were constantly drawn into Italy and compelled to spend their best energies in keeping control of that country while their presence was greatly needed at home. In trying to rule Italy they governed Germany badly or not at all. In their absence, dukes, counts, archbishops, abbots, and bishops were able to seize land and power, and in many ways to limit the authority of the Emperor. As the nobles of Germany became more and more powerful and independent, the power of the central government declined. In claiming Italy the Emperors were drawn into the long and fatal struggle with the Papacy which ended so disastrously to the Hohenstaufen line. The best powers of Germany were not used in building up a strong central government, but were squandered for a mere bubble in Italy. While in England and France the monarchy gradually overcame feudalism and centralized states were formed, in Germany the feudal states became sovereign and there could be no political unity. Germany was not a nation, not a great political power as were France and England and Spain, but the battlefield of Europe. These evils were undoubtedly due to the restoration of the Empire.

Effects of the restoration of the Empire.

But Germany also profited by her connection with Italy. She received much in the way of art, learning, and culture from beyond the Alps. She suffered much from the Papacy, but thereby gained an intimate acquaintance with the papal system. The result of this was that she had such a reformation as no other country had. The political disintegration of Germany seems to have been necessary for the success of Luther's reformation. If Germany had no political unity and no central power, she was at least spared the absolutism of the

Tudors and Stuarts of England and the Louises of France. She escaped the horrors of a revolution. A still greater advantage has accrued to Germany from the lack of a central government in the number of cities which she possesses. In both France and England the towns were greatly limited in their freedom by the king, while in Germany they preserved their freedom and became little republics, forming leagues among themselves for mutual defence and commerce. Besides this, every principality, whether large or small, had its capital. Since the princes were generally too weak to engage in politics and war, they often turned their attention to other things, such as the fostering of art and literature and learning. In this way their capitals became important centres of culture and civilization. The best talent of the country went to other occupations than the practice of politics. Germany is rich in important cities, while up to this century France and England had perhaps not more than a half dozen towns which would at all compare with those of Germany. It would not be difficult to make out a long list of German cities each of which has a history of which any community might be proud.

German cities.

During the lifetime of his father, Otto II. (973–83) had been not only recognized by the German nobles, but even crowned as Emperor by the Pope. Although a man of no mean ability, his reign shows that a period of decadence had begun. In Lorraine there were disturbances, and in 978 Lothaire, king of France, invaded that duchy. Otto II. had to flee from Aachen, which fell into the hands of Lothaire. Otto, however, quickly collected a large army, reduced Lorraine, and even threatened Paris. In the peace that was made (980), Lothaire gave up all claims on Lorraine.

Otto II. 973–83 and France.

Otto's cousin, Henry the Quarrelsome, had been duke of Bavaria since 955, and now tried to get control of the appointment of bishops, and, in general, to increase his independence. He tried also to stir up the dukes of Poland and Bohemia against Otto. He was

Bavaria and the eastern frontier.

finally driven from his duchy and fled to the Bohemians. Otto then made a campaign against them, got possession of Henry, and kept him in close confinement. The Danes troubled the northern frontier and were put down with great difficulty.

In 980 Otto II. went to Italy, with the desire of extending his power over the whole peninsula. He planned a campaign to drive the Saracens out of Calabria and the Greeks out of Apulia. They united their forces, however, and totally destroyed Otto's army (982). At the same time the Slavs invaded the marches on the eastern frontier and destroyed the bishoprics of Havelberg and Brandenburg. About one-half of the diocese of the archbishop of Magdeburg was reconquered by them and remained heathen for nearly two hundred years. Hamburg was pillaged and burned. The whole march system broke down under their attacks. Overcome by the sad news, Otto died in Rome, in December, 983.

Otto II. in Italy.

Otto III. (983–1002) was but three years old when his father died, and a struggle at once arose for the possession of the king and the regency. Henry the Quarrelsome at first seized the child and tried to make himself king. He was compelled to yield, however, but retained the duchy of Bavaria. Under the regency of Theophano the nobles were able to usurp many privileges and increase their power. The clergy also greatly enriched themselves at the expense of the crown. The political disintegration of the Empire made great progress. Toward the Magyars and Slavs the policy of the regency was especially bad. Geiza, duke of Hungary, was permitted to receive the title of king from the Pope, to whom he did homage for his kingdom. The Pope thus became the feudal lord of Hungary. At the same time the Hungarian Church was freed from the control of the German archbishop and made independent. In the same manner the Church of Bohemia was separated from the archbishop of Magdeburg and put under its own bishop of Prague, and the Church of Poland, under the archbishop of Gnesen. Otto III., in this way, himself did

Otto III. and the eastern frontier.

much to establish independent states on the eastern frontier of his territory, whereas he should have striven to make them integral parts of the Empire.

Otto III.'s Roman Imperial Ideas.

Through the influence of his mother and his two teachers Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim and Gerbert, Otto's thoughts were all centred on Rome. He dreamed of restoring that city and making it again the capital of the world and the residence of the Emperor. In 996 he went to Italy at the invitation of the people of Rome, who were again in wretched plight from the factions of the nobles. He made his cousin, Bruno, Pope (Gregory V.), and drove out Crescentius, who was the most powerful man in the city. Being unable to remain in the south because of the effect of the climate on his health, he returned to Germany. The city at once revolted, and Gregory V. was driven out while Crescentius again became leader. The factions prevailed and the city was full of violence. In 998 Otto III. again came, took the city without a siege, and put to death Crescentius and his anti-German Pope, John XVI. On the death of Gregory V. (February, 999) he elevated his teacher, Gerbert, the most learned man of his age, to the Papacy, under the name of Silvester II. With the accession of Gregory V. and Silvester II. the Papacy ceased to be a city office, and again took up the ideas of Gregory the Great, Nicholas I., and the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals. The high claims of the Papacy over rulers were now made against Robert II. of France. The Pope claimed also the right to create kings. The influence of Silvester over Otto III. was very great. The ancient titles and formulas were revived, and Otto believed that he was restoring the ancient Empire. He modelled his court after that of Constantinople, introducing a great many pretentious forms and ceremonies.

Otto III. and the Papacy.

While Otto was occupied with chasing this and other such shadows, the imperial power was rapidly growing less. He neglected Germany, and his reign was, for the imperial power as

for Germany itself, a most disastrous one. In the last years of his life he was much given to a kind of ascetic mysticism. He fasted and wore next his body the hair shirt of a penitent. A third time he crossed the Alps into Italy (1001) and took up his residence on the Aventine Hill. The people of Rome, for whom he was so enthusiastic, did not understand his wild dreams and troubled him with their revolts. He died January 23, 1002, at the foot of Mount Soracte, and was buried in Aachen.

Otto left no children, and the struggles that now arose over the possession of the crown only increased the political confusion. Ekhard, margrave of Meissen, Hermann, duke of Suabia, and Henry, duke of Bavaria, were all candidates for the throne. Fortune favored the latter and he was crowned as Henry II. (1002–24). **Henry II., 1002–24.**

On the east frontier Henry II. strove in vain to undo the mischief of Otto III. and to destroy the independence of the Slavs, who were the enemies of the Germans. From 1003 to 1018 he struggled bravely against the Polish duke Boleslav, but the latter was victorious and took a large amount of territory from the Empire and added it to his own duchy. The beginnings of German culture and domination there were destroyed. **Poland independent.**

In Burgundy king Rudolf, an uncle of Henry, had lost all his power to the nobles. Since he had no children he made Henry his heir. It was not till 1032, however, that Burgundy was actually made a part of the Empire. **Burgundy.**

In Germany revolt was everywhere and the king was constantly busy struggling against it. Baldwin, count of Flanders, tried to make himself independent, and two campaigns were necessary to reduce him. The turbulent counts of Luxemburg were a source of great trouble to the king. When the duchies, counties, and marches, and even other offices fell vacant, Henry found it impossible to fill them according to his own choice. He had to yield much to the hereditary principle. Every such office was looked upon as a **Condition of Germany.**

fief, and fiefs were now hereditary. He enriched the high clergy to offset the power of the nobles. He favored the Church very much, but it was for the purpose of having her on his side and to use her in the work of government.

Otto III. had wished to make Italy the seat of his government. Henry II., on the contrary, based his rule on Germany. He, indeed, went to Italy three times, but he spent little time there. To him Germany was the more important of his possessions. At the death of Otto III., Ardouin, margrave of Ivrea, had made himself king in Pavia, while at Rome the son of Crescentius was made Patricius of the city, and controlled the Pope, John XVIII. In 1004 Henry went to Pavia and had himself crowned king, but almost lost his life in an attack which a mob of the city made on him. The troubles on the frontier compelled him to hasten back to Germany, and Ardouin was left in undisturbed possession of northern Italy.

Henry II. bases his power on Germany.

In 1013 he was again called to Rome to settle the quarrel between John Crescentius and the count of Tusculum. The latter had set up an anti-Pope, Benedict VIII. Henry decided in favor of Benedict and was crowned Emperor by him (1014). He left imperial officers in Rome to keep order and defend his interests. Again, in 1020, Henry went to Italy to make a campaign against the Greeks and Saracens in the south. He returned without accomplishing anything. In Germany Henry did much to put an end to the local private wars. He went from province to province, and with the help of the Church proclaimed peace for each district, compelling all the people to take an oath not to engage in private war nor to do any violence to anyone. Henry enriched the Church and the monasteries, and was always surrounded by clergymen who served him as councillors. He was indeed devout, but he had also a political purpose in this. He hoped to make the clergy a counterpoise to the nobles. In following out this policy he often went so far as to invest abbots and bishops

His coronation.

with rich fiefs, such as cities, counties, and other territories, thus making them equal in rank as well as in power to the secular nobles. He was in sympathy with the Cluniac movement and brought about a thorough reform in the monasteries. Although Henry was noted for his piety he was by no means the monk he was later represented to have been. His rich gifts to the monasteries and the churches caused all the clergy to praise him inordinately and magnify his devotion into asceticism. He was afterward canonized.

At his death, since he left no heir for the throne, it is probable that Henry II. designated Conrad of Franconia as his successor. Germany was again threatened with a period of violence. Since there was no one to punish, murder and robbery raged through the land. There was pressing need of united action, and the nobles of all the Empire soon came together and camped in the valley of the Rhine, between Worms and Mainz, to elect a king. Conrad of Franconia was elected and taken to Mainz to be anointed and crowned. He at once proceeded to Aachen to take his seat on the royal throne of Karl the Great. He held a diet and regulated the affairs of Church and State. This showed that he regarded himself as the successor of Karl the Great, and meant to follow in his footsteps as far as it was possible for him to do so. He made a journey through the Empire to settle matters and set the machinery of government in motion. Everywhere it was his policy to attach the people to himself that he might have their assistance in his struggles with the high nobility. While he denied the hereditary character of the duchies he affirmed it of the possessions of the smaller vassals. He brought it about that the fiefs of the knights, soldiers, and freemen should be hereditary and pass from father to son according to the principles of feudalism.

Conrad II.'s ideas and policy.

Against the nobles and the bishops, who had become too powerful for the crown, he now had the enthusiastic help of the smaller nobles and the people. He further diminished the power

of the great lords by decreeing that the vassals owed him military service directly, and must come at his call if he gave them the command to do so a sufficient length of time in advance. To the five original duchies of Germany several others had now been added. It was Conrad's policy to get possession of these. Franconia was already his. On the death of the respective dukes of Bavaria, Suabia, and Kaernthen he gave these duchies as fiefs to his son, who was to succeed him. After some difficulty he inherited the kingdom of Burgundy (1032), but his authority there was very much limited by the bishops and counts. In Germany itself, however, he greatly increased the royal power by attaching the smaller nobility to himself and by getting possession of the duchies. On the east he succeeded in reducing Poland and Bohemia to partial subjection, but his campaigns against the Magyars were without success. He also ceded the territory north of the Eider (the march of Schleswig) to king Knut of Denmark. Although by this act the Empire lost some territory, it seems to have been a wise step on the part of the king since he had no further trouble on that frontier.

Under Conrad II. the character of the clergy was much changed through simony. He sold church offices openly to the highest bidder, regardless of his qualifications or character.

Conrad II. in Italy. Conrad II. made two journeys into Italy. In 1026 he was called into Lombardy to settle quarrels and restore order. He was crowned that year king of Italy at Milan, and the next year, Emperor, at Rome. He continued his expedition to the south to extend his power over the whole peninsula. Benevento and Capua with other places fell into his hands, and he is said to have given possessions in the south of Italy to some Norman knights, as Henry II. had done, on condition that they fight against both Saracens and Greeks. In 1036–37 he made a second campaign into Italy but without much military success. At a Mayfield held in the Valley of the Po, however, he issued an edict making the smaller fiefs in Italy also hereditary.

Conrad II. by increasing the territory of the Empire and strengthening the frontier, by attaching the smaller nobility to himself and getting full possession of the duchies, gradually strengthened the imperial power in Germany and laid the foundation for the greatness of his son, Henry III., who succeeded him (1039–56).

Henry III. had been admirably trained by his mother along both intellectual and religious lines. He was deeply interested in the Church as a divine institution and did all in his power to keep her up to her high calling. He was called to make three campaigns against the Hungarians, in the first two of which he was successful. He added a small strip of Hungarian territory to the Empire and compelled king Aba, and later king Peter, to acknowledge his suzerainty. But in 1051 king Andrew I. regained his independence and Hungary was lost to the Empire.

Henry III., 1039-56.

He was equally unsuccessful in his contests with the Slavs. The duke of Bohemia tried to add Poland to his territory, hoping to unite all the Slavs in one great state. In 1040 Henry undertook to punish him, but was unable to do so. The eastern frontier and Saxony were more than once invaded by Slavic tribes and suffered much from their depredations. The king was unable to punish or hold them in check.

Opposition abroad and at home.

In Germany Henry III. met with much opposition from the nobles, and found it necessary finally to yield to the wishes of the people and give up the duchies which he held. Taking advantage of the invasions and revolts of the Slavs and Magyars, many of the nobles conspired against him and caused him much trouble.

According to feudal principles everyone had the right of private war. If violence were done to anyone, the injured person had the right to gather as many troops as he could muster and avenge himself on the offender. The results of such a custom were chaotic in

Efforts to secure peace.

the extreme. Following the example of their brethren in Aquitaine, the clergy of Germany tried to enforce peace by the authority of the Church alone. All violence was forbidden under heavy ecclesiastical penalties. But here, as in France, the time had not come when such a complete peace could be brought about; a compromise had, therefore, to be effected. Henry added the authority of the state to that of the Church, and ordered that from Wednesday evening till the following Monday morning all private feuds should cease and no acts of violence be done. Henry III. attempted to enforce also a general peace throughout the whole land, but with only partial success. He was very severe with those who broke the peace.

Church reform.

The simony which had been practised by his father so openly he opposed with all his might. He still continued to appoint both bishops and abbots, but he chose always the best men, and never received any bribe or showed favoritism. Only the most learned and pious men were advanced to positions in the Church. He endeavored to reform the clergy also. It was customary for them either to marry or to keep a mistress. Henry took up the idea of the Cluniac reform and endeavored to enforce celibacy among all the clergy of whatever rank. To effect this he held many councils and had the assistance of some of the Popes as well as that of the Cluniac reformers. He labored hard to improve the morals of the clergy and bring about a genuine religious awakening among them. The monastery schools were fostered, and besides the schools for the clergy there were others for the laymen, especially for the children of the nobles. The plan was even entertained of making it compulsory on all the rich, at least, to place their children in these schools. Henry made two journeys into Italy (1046 and 1055), only the first of which is of any importance. The Papacy had again become a local city-office in the hands of the factions of the nobles. Each party elected a Pope whenever its needs seemed to demand such action. When

Henry III. and the Papacy.

Henry reached Italy (1046) he found three Popes claiming the office. In councils at Sutri and Rome he deposed all three, assumed the title of Patricius, and declared it was his right to name the Bishop of Rome. Thereupon he elevated to that position Sudgar of Bamburg, who took the name of Clement II. During the rest of his reign he three times filled the office, always with excellent men. In Italy he opposed simony in all its forms and refused to take bribes from the candidates for the papal throne. The Cluniac ideas were rapidly gaining ground, and, since Henry was in hearty sympathy with them, he did all he could to establish them. He worked harmoniously with the Popes and other reformers to make the Church what she should be. In 1047 he was crowned Emperor at Rome and soon after went into southern Italy to settle the quarrels of the Normans who had established themselves there and were rapidly increasing their power.

Henry III. wished to be an absolute master and rule in an autocratic way. He was, therefore, constantly involved in wars with his great vassals who longed for independence. His treatment of them was especially distasteful to them, and at his death in 1056 the opportunity was offered them to regain their much coveted power. He left a son, Henry IV., only six years old, who was no match for the discontented nobles. The Emperors, Henry III. not least of all, had done everything they could to make the Church great and powerful, believing that the clergy would always be grateful and true to their benefactors and support them against the nobles. Just at the critical time, however, when Henry IV. was a mere boy and more than ever needed their help, they basely deserted him and supported the high pretensions of a foreigner, the Bishop of Rome. The Emperor had claimed and exercised the right to appoint the Pope. The tables were now to be turned and the Pope was soon to claim the authority to make and unmake both kings and Emperors. The fatal struggle between the Papacy and the Emperor for the supremacy of the world was about to begin.

CHAPTER IX

ENGLAND AND THE NORSEMEN (802–1070)

THE struggle for supremacy, which lasted for three hundred years, among the small kingdoms of England, was practically ended during the reign of Ecgberht, who ascended the throne of Wessex in 802. Northumbria and Mercia, the two great rivals of Wessex, were worn out with the long wars, so that Ecgberht found it comparatively easy to make himself the over-lord of all the country. He had spent thirteen years in exile at the court of Karl the Great, and had no doubt learned much and had his ambitions quickened by what he saw of the successes of the great Frankish king. Karl the Great had for some time given much attention to the affairs in Britain; he was in frequent communication with the various English kings, received the numerous political exiles from all parts of England, and showed his friendship for the English monasteries by making them rich presents; he cherished the hope that he might reunite Britain to the Empire after its four hundred years of isolation. In his government Ecgberht showed wise consideration. In order to conciliate the people of Northumbria and Mercia, who were Angles, he determined in a council (826) that the land should be called, not Saxony, although he himself was a Saxon, but Anglia.

Ecgberht, 802–839.

The supremacy which Wessex now enjoyed might have been as ephemeral as that of some of the other kingdoms but for the fact that for nearly one hundred and fifty years after Ecgberht the throne of Wessex was occupied by able kings who wisely secured the assistance of the clergy in all that they did. The

fusion of the kingdoms into one people was also hastened by the great common danger which now threatened them from the Northmen. As early as 787 the eastern coast of England had been attacked by pirates from the continent. Their ravages became more and more frequent, and the king found it difficult to defeat them or to derive any solid advantage from a victory over them, no matter how great it was. During the reign of Ecgberht they harried all the country incessantly. His son and successor, Aethelwulf (839–858), was unable to stem the tide of invasion. In 851 they were bold enough to spend the winter on the island of Thanet. Till this time they had withdrawn to their home in the late autumn. Shortly after this a large band of them came up the Thames and sacked Canterbury and London.

Invasions of the Northmen.

Aethelwulf was succeeded by his four sons in the order of their age: Aethelbald (858–860), Aethelberht (860–866), Aethelred (866–871), and Aelfred the Great (871–901). The task of defending the country against these barbarian invaders became more difficult as great numbers of them began to settle on the east coast. In 866 the Danes began the work of conquest and settlement in earnest. Northumbria was quickly overrun and subdued by them. East Anglia and the Fen were next attacked and conquered, their famous monasteries were burned and the king of East Anglia, Eadmund, was slain. He was later canonized, and over his remains there was built the great abbey of St. Edmundsbury. Mercia was not yet attacked, but in 870 its king paid the Danes tribute and acknowledged their leader as over-lord. Back of this submission was not only fear of the Danes, but also dislike of the West Saxon supremacy.

King Aethelred was left with only the territory south of the Thames, since all north of that river was in the hands of the Danes. Even Wessex was now invaded by them, and for some time it seemed that all England was to be conquered by the Northmen. They pushed up the Thames and out into Wessex,

and Aethelred was unable to drive them back. In the midst of the war he died, leaving his crown to his brother Aelfred, who tried in vain to repel the invaders. After several defeats, in which his army was destroyed, he was compelled to buy the withdrawal of the Danes, hoping that in the meantime he might be able to put the country into a proper state of defence. Reënforcements continued to come from Denmark and Scandinavia, and in 876 Guthrum, the Danish king of East Anglia, attacked Wessex. For two years the struggle was severe, but it ended in favor of Aelfred by the treaty of Wedmore (Chippenham) in 878; Guthrum accepted Christianity and was ceded the eastern half of England north of the Thames. This territory was called the Danelaw. The conquerors settled as lords of the soil, and for a long time kept themselves separate from the conquered English. The fusion of the two peoples, however, came eventually.

Aelfred the Great, 871–901.

Wedmore, 878.

During the remaining years of Aelfred's rule he had peace with the Danes, except in 886, when he was successful in wresting from them London and the surrounding districts, and again in 893, when he was also successful in his defence. The condition of his territory at the peace of Wedmore was wretched in the extreme. Churches and monasteries had been burned, the clergy slain or driven out, law and order destroyed, and there was great want and desolation everywhere. His first care was to train up an army to have it ready at his call. The country was divided into five districts, each of which was bound to furnish a certain number of men with provisions and equipment. Every town also was required to do the same. Half of the troops raised in this way were required to be ready to go whenever called, while the others were to remain at home as a guard. A threefold duty was laid on every landed proprietor. He must serve in the army, and contribute to the support of bridges and fortifications (trinoda necessitas). Aelfred created a fleet which pa-

Aelfred's Government.

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Poss. of Alfred the Great
Danes and Norsemen
Celts
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56°
54°
52°
50°
Firth of Forth
Firth of Clyde
ALBANIA
BERNICIA
Tyne R.
Tees R.
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
I. of MAN
NORTHUMBRIA
IRISH SEA
Humber R.
THE DANELAW
Dublin
Trent R.
MERCIA
WALES
Wexford
GUTHRUMS KINGDOM
POSSESSIONS OF ALFRED THE GREAT
Thames R.
London
Ethandune
Wedmore
WESSEX
KENT
WEST WALES
CHANNEL
ENGLISH
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trolled the coast and kept off the invaders. Aelfred restored order, punishing severely and impartially all offenders. As on the continent, so in England, everyone had the right of private war, but Aelfred enforced peace. This was called the king's peace. The king's justice also took the place of the local justice. He carefully controlled the decisions of the lower courts, and changed them if they were not according to his ideas. The independent legislation of Aelfred was probably not very great, but he had the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings and peoples collected and reduced to writing in the Anglo-Saxon language.

Aelfred labored hard to restore learning in his kingdom. Late in life he began the study of Latin, and mastered it so well that he was able to translate from it into his mother tongue. He surrounded himself with scholars, most of whom he brought from the continent, and established a court school very much like that of Karl the Great. His own translations, however, were of most value to his people. From the Latin he translated the "Consolations of Philosophy," by Boethius; the "History of the World," by Orosius; the "Ecclesiastical History of the English," by the Venerable Bede; and the "Pastoral Rule," by Gregory the Great. It was under his direction, also, that the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" was compiled and continued. While all these works, except the latter, are translations, they contain also many additions from the pen of the king himself. Because of his moral greatness, and because of the fact that he regarded himself as the servant of his people, he has been given the well-earned title "Great."

Learning

The task that devolved on the successors of Aelfred was to prevent, if possible, any further migration from the continent, to reconquer the Danelaw, to hasten the fusion of the Danes with the English, and to keep down the tribal revolts and make England really one. Fortunately his successors were all able men (Eadward the Elder, 901–925; Aethelstan, 925–940; Eadmund, 940–946; Eadred, 946–955), who carried on the

work well. Eadwig (955–959) was a mere boy and his reign was troubled by quarrels among the nobles. But with the accession of Eadred (946) a new power in the person of Dunstan had come in. He was the first of that line of remarkable ecclesiastical statesmen which England has produced. Under Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar (959–975), Eadward the Martyr (975–979), and Aethelred the Redeless (979–1016), until his death in 988, Dunstan was much of the time the power behind the throne. Commerce with the continent was fostered, order was preserved, and the Church and monasteries thoroughly reformed. The old slavery was disappearing, but in its stead the feudal rule was becoming established. The power of the king greatly increased and he was looked upon as king of all England and not simply of the West Saxons. The influence of the Church in uniting England was very great. The king now developed a court composed of his friends and officials, who formed a new nobility over against the old nobility of blood. The king took possession of the folk land, that is, the land which had been left for the common use, and enriched his servants by dividing up much of it among them. At the same time the Folkmoot, the meeting of all the freemen, ceases, being replaced by the Witenagemot, the meeting of the wise men (*i.e.*, the officials, with the highest clergy).

Dunstan.

The reign of Aethelred the Redeless (*i.e.*, without council; not the unready) was very disastrous. Utterly incapable of ruling he involved England more and more deeply in ruin and misery. In 991 the Danes began to invade England again, and he bought a truce of them and allowed them to settle in East Anglia. Other invasions followed, led by Olaf of Norway and Swein of Denmark. Frightened at the danger which now threatened him, he tried to secure the assistance of Normandy by allying himself to its duke, whose sister, Emma, he married. Goaded to frenzy by the presence of the Danes who had recently come.

Renewed Invasions of the Danes.

the English planned to massacre them. In 1002 they rose and put to death all the Danes among them. Among the slain was Gunhild, the sister of king Swein, who now swore to avenge her death by taking England from her king. From 1003 to 1007 he overran England, plundering and burning. Aethelred bought a truce of him, but he went on preparing for a larger invasion. In 1013 Swein came back, and soon had all England in his power, while Aethelred was compelled to flee to Normandy. But Swein's rule was of short duration. He died the next year, and the Danish warriors chose his son Knut as his successor, while Aethelred returned from Normandy and was recognized as king by the English. The struggle between him and Knut for the possession of England began at once, but he died (1016) and his son Eadmund Ironside succeeded him. He, too, died in a few months, and Knut was left master of all England. He reigned from 1016 to 1035 with a strong hand and wisely over his newly acquired realm. Under him the old kingdoms lost more and more of their character as kingdoms and became known as earldoms. He became a Christian in character as well as in name, and allied himself to the clergy for the purpose of having their assistance in the government. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he attended the coronation of Conrad II., and made an alliance with him. He tried to make the people forget that he was a foreigner by renewing the laws of his predecessors and preserving English customs. He further strengthened his position by marrying Emma, the widow of Aethelred. He brought England peace, for, during his reign, the land was free from disturbances. Denmark, however, profited most by this conquest of England, for she was thereby brought into close contact with a nation far more civilized than herself. The work of Christianizing Denmark and the other countries of the north was greatly hastened by her union with England. The Danes differed from the people in England very little in blood, language, customs, and laws, and their

Swein, the Dane, King of England.

Knut, 1016–35.

settlement in England may be regarded as a reënforcement of German blood and a strengthening of the English character.

At the death of Knut (1035) he was succeeded by his two sons in turn, Harold (1035–40) and Harthaknut (1040–42). They were, however, thoroughly barbarous and unfitted in every way to rule. England was again given up to violence, and as the people disliked them there was general joy when Harthaknut died and Eadward the Confessor (1042–66), son of Aethelred and Emma, came back from Normandy and was acknowledged as king. Tired of foreign rulers the people expected great things of Eadward, who was in blood an Englishman. But most of his life having been spent in Normandy he was far more Norman than English. He returned with a large following of Normans, whom he placed in high offices, both secular and ecclesiastical, greatly to the disgust and anger of the people.

The English line restored, 1042.

The real power in England, however, was in the hands of the great earl, Godwine of Wessex, whose earldom consisted of all the land south of the Thames. Eadward himself had little ability and less energy, and was content to pass his time in quiet. The two great earls of the north, Siward of Northumbria, and Leofric of Mercia, were kept busy with the affairs of their earldoms, so that Godwine had ample opportunity to carry out his plans. These were concerned with increasing the power of his own family. For his sons and other relatives he obtained small earldoms, and in 1045 strengthened himself by giving his daughter Eadgyth to the king in marriage. Soon after this, however, the earl incurred great popular disfavor by defending his son Swein, who had been guilty of gross crimes.

Earl Godwine.

Count Eustace of Boulogne visited his brother-in-law, King Eadward in 1050, and on his way home demanded of the people of Dover quarters for his attendants. The people refused and a riot ensued in which some of the count's men were slain. When the king demanded that the inhabitants of Dover

be punished, Godwine declared that they should first be tried. Leofric and Siward, who were jealous of Godwine, supported the king, and in the end Godwine and his family were banished. Seeing that his case was hopeless, Godwine withdrew to Flanders (1051). The next year, however, the English were glad to see him return, because the king had, in the meanwhile, shown even greater favor to the Normans. In 1051 William the Bastard, duke of Normandy, visited the childless Eadward and is said to have received from him the promise of the crown of England. The court was filled with Normans, but on the reappearance of Godwine they hastily fled to the continent. Among them was Robert of Jumièges, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury. At his flight the high office was given to an Englishman. This action offended the Pope, for, according to the papal claims, no Church official could be deposed except by ecclesiastical authority. Godwine died soon after, and was succeeded in the leadership by his son Harold. All the earldoms of England except Mercia gradually fell into the hands of Harold and his brothers.

William visits England.

Since Eadward was childless, it was necessary to determine who should succeed him. Although not of the royal line, Harold was the only possible candidate. His earldom was the largest in England. He was the right-hand man of the king, and he had shown the greatest ability both as a ruler and warrior. There was nothing to do but revive the old German custom of electing the ablest man king. It was accordingly agreed that Harold should succeed his royal master.

Harold promised the crown.

During his last years Eadward became even more inactive than before. The management of affairs was wholly in the hands of Harold who put down a dangerous revolt in Wales, maintained peace and order throughout the kingdom, and administered justice equitably. In England there was but one family which could contest the crown with him, that of Leofric of

Mercia. This family he conciliated by making Morkere, the brother of Leofric, earl of Northumbria, in the place of his own brother Tostig, against whom the Northumbrians had rebelled. On the death of Eadward, January 5, 1066, Harold was at once elected and crowned without opposition.

The Northmen.

The German tribes of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were almost entirely free from Roman influence till the ninth century. Christianity had certainly gained no hold upon them. They had scarcely even heard of it. They lived in small independent tribes, without any central government. But during the ninth century several leaders arose in various parts who united many of the tribes, much as Chlodwig had united the Franks in the fifth century. During this time three kingdoms were established, known respectively as the kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. Since the leaders and nobles of the conquered tribes were too proud to submit to a conqueror they turned to the sea, hoping to preserve their independence. At first they played the part of pirates, attacking the coasts of Gaul, Germany, northern Spain, and even Italy. Ascending the rivers for many miles they robbed, plundered, and burned all the towns they could. They singled out monasteries and churches for special attack because of the treasures which they were known to contain. At first these raids were made in the summer, and the pirates returned to their homes in the north for the winter. Gradually, however, they began to spend the winter also in the countries which they were plundering. They seized the land and settled upon it, and these winter settlements became permanent. As their success became known at home they were joined by large numbers of their fellow-countrymen who were eager to have a share in their prosperity. Terms were made with the lord of the land and these unwelcome guests made themselves at home and quickly identified themselves with the country in which they settled. It was plainly to their interest that not too many Norsemen should join them, since their own portions would be

thereby diminished. They therefore resisted all further immigration as well as piratical invasions by their countrymen.

These Norsemen possessed the German characteristic, adaptability, to a marked degree. Wherever they settled they quickly adapted themselves to the customs and life of the people about them. In France they became Frenchmen, in England, Englishmen, in Russia, Russians. They did not, however, lose their individuality. They preserved their courage, their genius for governing and their bodily vigor, their love of war and their thirst for fame. Like the Goths, when they migrated they left their religion at home, but not their religiousness. In common with all the other Germanic peoples they were strongly religious. They accepted Roman Christianity with a heartiness which soon made them the champions of the Papacy. They at once rebuilt the burned monasteries and churches and soon became the most zealous pilgrims of all Europe. They had the greatest regard for holy places and persons. From pirates they became Christian knights. They began their piratical raids in the eighth century, and for about two hundred years they were the scourge of the more civilized portions of Europe. Germany suffered greatly from their depredations. They passed up the Rhine and other rivers, desolating even the interior, until in 891 Arnulf met them in Lorraine and punished them so severely at the battle of the Dyle that they never again seriously threatened Germany.

Their character.

The lands to the east of the Baltic were attacked by them in the same way. About the middle of the ninth century they began to make settlements on the coast, and their leader, Rurik, succeeded in uniting the tribes of Finns, Lapps, Letts, and others who were scattered over what is now western Russia. He and his successors extended their power into the interior. Novgorod, on Lake Illman, and Kiev, on the Dnieper, became their most important centres. For more than seven hundred years the family of Rurik held the kingship and ruled over a large part of what is now Russia. In

The Norsemen in the east.

their raids to the east and south they came into contact with Constantinople, from which they received Christianity and the rudiments of civilization. In the tenth century a large body of Norsemen sailed down the Volga and raided a part of Persia. All the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea the Norsemen made settlements along the rivers, and thus was opened up a great route of travel and commerce between the Scandinavian countries and Constantinople and the East. In Sweden there have been found many coins of Bohemia, Hungary, and Constantinople, and even of the Khalifs of Bagdad. From the large number of these we must infer that this commerce was very considerable. Christian pilgrims from the north regarded this as the most convenient way of reaching Palestine, because they found some of their countrymen all along the route. In the eleventh century many Norsemen went to Constantinople to seek their fortunes and offer their services to the Emperor. He enrolled large numbers of them in his body-guard.

About 800 they began to settle in the Hebrides, Orkneys, and Shetland Islands, which up to this time were occupied only by Irish monks and hermits. From these islands they spread to the mainland of Scotland. In the course of about a hundred years all these settlements were united into one kingdom. They took possession of Iceland in the ninth century, which soon became thoroughly Norse. There the Norse customs and traditions were preserved in greater purity and for a longer time than in their original home.[1] In the tenth century they settled in Greenland. These colonists kept in constant intercourse with their mother country till the fourteenth century when they disappeared. From what cause is unknown.

In the west.

About the year 1000, Norse sailors discovered the coast of America, and several efforts were made to plant colonies there, but without success. On the east and south coasts of Ire-

[1] Cf. the Eddas and Sagas of the Norsemen, which were written in Iceland.

land they also made many settlements, some of which continued to exist till far into the twelfth century. Their invasions of England have already been recounted, as well as those of France. The settlement of Rolf in the valley of the lower Seine (Normandy) resulted in the establishment of a powerful duchy which soon put an end to the invasions from the north. Duke Rolf (911–927) and his successors (William Longsword, 927–943; Richard the Fearless, 943–996; Richard the Good, 996–1027; and Robert the Magnificent, 1027–35), ruled with a strong hand, and Normandy was soon one of the strongest as well as best-governed duchies of France. The laws were enforced, order preserved, and the vassals kept in subjection. In 911 Rolf had agreed to accept Christianity, and in spite of occasional backslidings these pirates became devoted adherents of the Church. Normandy was noted for its churches, monasteries, and schools. The abbey of Bec was known throughout Europe because of its founder, Lanfranc, and its great prior, Anselm. Robert the Magnificent, at his death, in 1035, left only a bastard son, William, seven years old, to succeed him. When William attained his majority and attempted to rule independently many of his subjects revolted. There was a bitter struggle, but William proved himself master of all his enemies and administered the affairs of his duchy with as much ability and firmness as any of his predecessors.

Normandy.

William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, 1035–87.

Eadward the Confessor is said to have promised his crown to William, who was his cousin. Another story of still more doubtful authenticity relates how Harold was shipwrecked on the coast of France and fell into the hands of William, who compelled him to take an oath that he would support William's claim to the throne. When the news of the accession of Harold reached William he fell into a great rage and began at once to prepare to invade England and make good his pretensions to

William claims the English crown, 1066.

the crown. He is said to have called on Harold to keep his promise, but Harold paid no attention to his summons. He sent to the Pope certain charges against Harold, and promised, in return for the papal support and sanction, to put the Church of England under the control of Rome. Alexander II., probably at the advice of his counsellor, Hildebrand, gave William his blessing on these terms and sent him a consecrated banner with a ring containing a hair from St. Peter's head. The Pope further assisted him in his negotiations with the Emperor and the king of Denmark. William, in the meantime, built a fleet and collected his troops from every possible source.

King Harold was threatened with a double danger on his accession to the throne. His brother Tostig had revolted and fled to Harold Hardrada, king of Denmark, whom he urged to invade England. Harold also learned of the preparations of William, but was uncertain when these attacks would be made. He collected an army and patrolled the coasts, but since no enemy appeared his men gradually left and went to their homes. Suddenly Harold Hardrada and Tostig landed on the coast of Yorkshire, defeated the troops of the earls Edwin and Morkere, and took the city of York. Harold Hardrada was at once proclaimed king. King Harold hastened to the north, met the invaders near Stamford Bridge and utterly defeated them, September 25th. On the same day William landed, unhindered, near Pevensey, with an army of about fifty thousand men, and began to ravage the country. By forced marches Harold now hastened to the south to meet this new foe. Although deserted by the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin and Morkere, he nevertheless determined to risk a battle without first collecting new troops and allowing his army to recuperate. On a hill, known later as Senlac, he took up a strong position with his men and awaited the attack of the Normans. His centre was composed of the best Anglo-Saxon troops, his house Carls (or huscarls), while both wings consisted largely of peasants

King Harold at Stamford Bridge.

The battle of Hastings.

badly equipped and badly trained. William made all his attacks against the centre. Charge after charge was made up the hill, but Harold and his men held their own and repulsed the Normans with heavy loss. More than once the day seemed lost for William, but he succeeded in rallying his troops and leading them again to the attack. At last by a ruse, a pretended flight, the troops of Harold were drawn out of their position to pursue the retreating enemy, when William's cavalry fell upon them and cut them to pieces before they could recover themselves. Taken at this disadvantage they could no longer withstand the heavy charges of the Normans. The defence was broken down and the battle raged around Harold, who was surrounded by his body-guard. Harold fell by an arrow which pierced his eye. His guard was cut down to a man, and the rest of his army fled. William had won the day, and with it the crown of England.

William's first care was to get possession of Kent and Sussex, the inhabitants of which were frightened into submission by his violence toward those who resisted him. He marched toward London and hoped to overawe the city by burning Southwark. The gates, however, were closed against him and the people elected as their king Eadgar the Aetheling, a grandson of Eadmund Ironside. The Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin and Morkere, were present at the election, but when William crossed the Thames and threatened their territories they withdrew from the city to look after their own interests. Seeing that resistance was hopeless the people determined to offer the crown to William. He entered the city, and on Christmas-day, 1066, was crowned in Westminster by the Archbishop Ealdred. The crown was his by right of conquest, but he was also formally elected by the people of London, and now by the action of the Archbishop in his coronation the Church set its seal upon his title and supplied what was lacking in the legitimacy of his claims.

London.

William crowned, 1066.

Thus far only the southeastern portion of England (bounded by a line from the Wash to Dorsethead) was actually in William's hands. To secure London he built a strong fortress, which afterward became the famous tower. The earls of Mercia and Northumbria submitted to him nominally, but in fact were still independent. In order to justify the seizure of whatever lands he might desire, William declared that the election and acknowledgment of Harold as king was an act of treason, punishable with forfeiture and death. All England was, therefore, guilty, and all the land was forfeited to William. He at once seized the possessions of all those who had borne arms against him, the others being permitted to retain their lands on the payment of a fine. Otherwise there was for the present little change. William apparently wished to rule in accordance with the laws and customs of the land, which undoubtedly did much to quiet the people and persuade them to submit to the new king.

The land forfeit to William.

In 1067 England had become so quiet that William returned to Normandy, leaving the government in the hands of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, now earl of Kent, and William Fitz-Osbern, earl of Hereford. These, however, were untrue to their trusts and allowed the English to be oppressed by the Norman nobles. The English endured this oppression for only a short time. The people of Kent called on Eustace, the count of Boulogne, while those in the west sought aid of the Welsh. William returned in the same year and easily put down the rebellion. But in the year 1068 a real national uprising took place. King Swein of Denmark came with a fleet to contest the possession of England with William. On his arrival in the Humber all the northern, western, and southwestern parts of England openly revolted and the king of Scotland came to their aid. William hastened to the Humber and bought the withdrawal of the Danish fleet. He then turned to the revolted provinces and easily overcame them since they were not united. Yorkshire

The English revolt.

especially suffered from his anger. So thoroughly did he devastate it that a famine followed which is said to have carried off more than a hundred thousand people, and nearly a century passed before the land was restored to its former state of cultivation. The most determined of the English had fled to the Fens (the swampy district south of the Wash), and there offered brave resistance under the leadership of Hereward. Their destruction, however, completely broke down all opposition, and England was thoroughly conquered. Scotland was next invaded and its king subjected. Being now in full possession, William set himself to keep in subjection and govern his hardly acquired kingdom. The history of his reign will be considered in a later chapter.

Effect of the Conquest.

This Norman conquest of England had great influence on the future history of England not simply because of the political changes which William introduced. He was not only king of England, but duke of Normandy, and a subject of the king of France. He was, moreover, a devoted friend of the Papacy. It was, therefore, inevitable that England should be closely associated with the continent; the English kings, proud of their continental possessions, would be involved in the territorial struggles of the French kings; and the claims of the Popes for universal dominion would the more easily include England. The conquest brought England again into intimate relations with the rest of Europe and made of her a continental power.

CHAPTER X

THE NORMANS IN ITALY

Robert Guiscard, a vassal of William, had almost as great a career in southern Italy and the adjacent countries as his ducal master in England. But he was not the only able Norman who sought his fortune in the south. From the middle of the ninth century the Saracens had complete possession of Sicily, and also held many places on the mainland. The principal part of southern Italy, called the Theme of Lombardy, still belonged to the Emperor at Constantinople and was ruled over by his officers. On the east coast these possessions extended to the north as far as Mount Gargano, and on the west almost to Salerno. To the north of this district was a large group of independent or semi-independent principalities, such as Salerno, Amalfi, Naples, Capua, Benevento, and Spoleto. Neither the Greek nor the German Emperor had been able to attach these permanently to his interests. They spent their time in warring with one another, or with the garrisons of the Greeks or Saracens about them. They were mere political fragments, and their condition seemed hopelessly chaotic.

Southern Italy.

By accident the attention of the Normans was directed to this field which offered them very great opportunities for advancement. In 1016 a band of Normans returning from a pilgrimage to Palestine was shipwrecked near Salerno, the prince of which needed help against the Saracens. The Normans aiding, he was successful. He repaid them well and dismissed them, since they were unwilling to take permanent service with him. On their

First appearance of the Normans in Italy.

return to Normandy, their accounts of their treatment in Italy, as well as of the political situation of the country and the great opportunities for making one's fortune, fired the cupidity and ambition of their fellow-countrymen. From this time on we find many Norman soldiers of fortune in southern Italy, offering their services to the highest bidder. About 1027 the duke of Naples granted Aversa to a band of them, and by conquest other small territories were soon added to this. Toward 1040 they were reënforced by three of the sons of Tancred of Hauteville—William of the Iron Arm, Drogo, and Humphrey. At first they assisted the Greeks against the Saracens, but having quarrelled over the distribution of the spoil they took their revenge by attacking Apulia. In a short time they had driven out the Greeks and established themselves as masters of the province.

The sons of Tancred.

Apulia taken.

A kind of republic was now organized under twelve counts, with William of the Iron Arm at their head. The prince of Salerno conferred on him the title of count of Apulia and gave him his niece in marriage. On the death of William of the Iron Arm, in 1046, his brother Drogo succeeded him, was recognized by the prince of Salerno and received his daughter in marriage. The third brother, Humphrey, followed in the succession. In the meanwhile two more brothers had come from France, Robert Guiscard and Roger. As the power of the brothers increased they turned toward the north, and it soon became evident that they were going to add Benevento to their possessions.

Benevento threatened.

Pope Leo IX. (1048–54) was greatly alarmed at their encroachments, and sought help in vain from the Greeks, the Lombards, and the Germans. He could enlist only a small army of Suabians, with which he marched south to attack the Normans. He met them near Civitate, but his troops were utterly routed and himself taken prisoner (1053). He feared violent treatment at their hands, and hence was surprised when their leaders approached him,

Vassals of the Pope, 1053.

fell at his feet, begged for forgiveness, and offered to become his vassals. Leo was too wise to let such an opportunity slip. He therefore confirmed them in their possessions.

In 1057 Humphrey died and Robert Guiscard succeeded to the title of count of Apulia. Two years later he appeared before Pope Nicholas II. (1059–61), gave him the oath of allegiance, and received in return the title of duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. Sicily and a part of Calabria were still in the hands of the Saracens, and the newly made duke at once set about their conquest. His brother Roger quickly conquered nearly all of Sicily, although the Saracens were not wholly driven out till about 1090. Robert ruled his duchy well, and Amalfi was for awhile one of the principal commercial cities of Italy. The schools of Salerno added lustre to his name.

Robert Guiscard made duke, 1059.

Sicily conquered.

A revolution in Constantinople gave Robert an opportunity to attempt to extend his territories to the east. In 1081 Alexius Comnenus usurped the power and expelled the Emperor Nicephorus III. Constantine, the son of the preceding Emperor, Michael VII., had married the daughter of Robert Guiscard. Apparently to restore his son-in-law, but probably to secure the crown for himself, Robert Guiscard gathered an army to invade the Greek Empire. He sought the support of Gregory VII., who gave him his blessing and promised to invest him with all the lands he might conquer. Durazzo, on the coast of Epirus, was first besieged, and, in spite of a stubborn resistance, was finally taken. Alexius sent Henry IV. of Germany large sums of money, and begged him to make an invasion into southern Italy. He secured the aid of the Venetians by granting them great commercial privileges, such as the freedom from tolls and the possession of a Venetian quarter in Constantinople. After capturing Durazzo, Robert forced his way into the interior. Towns and fortresses fell into his hands

Robert attacks the Greek Emperor.

until he controlled all of Epirus and a large part of Thessaly. Thessalonica and Larissa were threatened, but at this moment Gregory VII., who was hard pressed by Henry IV., called on Robert to come to his aid. He at once left his army in charge of his son Boemund, and hastened to Rome, where he succeeded in driving off the Germans and freeing the Pope. But in Thessaly the diplomacy of Alexius won the victory. By offering large bribes he succeeded in winning over many of the Norman knights. He levied fresh troops in other parts of the Empire. Boemund's forces were gradually weakened by losses in battle, by sickness and desertions, so that Alexius was able to defeat him and gradually force him back to the Adriatic. At last, even Durazzo was retaken, and Boemund with his handful of men returned to Italy. Robert Guiscard soon renewed the attempt, but Alexius had in the meanwhile so strongly fortified and garrisoned the coast that Robert met with small success. His untimely death in the following year (1085) put an end to the invasion, and Boemund made peace with Alexius.

Death of Robert 1085

Robert Guiscard's attack on the eastern Empire had failed, and, besides, had stirred up among the Greeks great animosity against the west. Alexius had seen how great the danger really was and had been thoroughly frightened. Ten years later the first crusade, of which Boemund was one of the leaders, was organized and marched east by way of Constantinople. Is it any wonder that Alexius should have been distrustful of them and have endeavored to outwit them? The failure of the first crusade was due, in some measure at least, to this invasion of Robert Guiscard.

The work of Robert Guiscard was to live after him. By his conquests he had united Sicily and the southern part of Italy into one great duchy, which was to be the basis for the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. He was succeeded as duke by his brother Roger in 1085, who in turn was followed by his son Roger II. (1101). This second Roger

Basis for a new kingdom.

inherited the well-known family characteristics—ambition and great ability. The struggles by which he obtained the title of king will be described in another place. This new Norman power, established in the south, was to play a very important rôle in the history of Italy and of the Papacy.

The influence of the Normans in Europe.

We have followed the Normans in their settlements throughout Europe and shown how great their activity and importance were. They settled the islands far to the west and north, established a kingdom among the mixed peoples of what is now western Russia, added to the stock of German blood in England, established a great duchy in France, whose dukes and nobles conquered England and impressed upon it the Norman character; Norman nobles created the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, threatened the eastern Empire, led the crusades, and established kingdoms in Asia; they were the most efficient allies of the Papacy in its long and bitter struggle with the Empire, and materially assisted in securing the Papal victory. One great movement, in which they were the most prominent leaders, is yet to be described, the crusades, the first of which resulted in the establishment of several Norman principalities in the east. Although they eventually either lost their possessions or were thoroughly amalgamated with the people of the conquered country, they nevertheless left their impress on Europe in many ways, and their history is one of which any people might be proud.

CHAPTER XI

FEUDALISM

FEUDALISM is the name applied to the economic, social, and political relations and conditions existing in Europe from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. These economic relations are expressed by the phrase "feudal tenure of land," the theory underlying which was that the tenant or holder of any piece of land had only the use of it, for which he must pay certain dues as rent, to the man (lord or suzerain) from whom he had received it. Property in land was not absolute, but of a beneficiary nature; that is, the holder had only the benefits of the use of it, not the land itself. In theory the land belonged to God, who let it to the king, who, in turn, sublet it to his great vassals, and these then parcelled it out to their subjects.

Feudalism defined.

Economic relations, feudal tenure.

The general word expressing the social relations is "vassalage," which indicates the personal relation and bond existing between the man who thus held land and the man from whom he had received it. It conveys on the side of the vassal the idea of social inferiority and the obligation to perform certain services for his lord.

Social relation, lord and vassal.

The political relations are expressed by the word "immunity," which means that the holder of an estate is, in the matter of its government, free from all interference on the part of his lord; that is, with the use of the land he has also received from his lord the right, within his own territory, to perform the judicial, executive, and even, to some extent, the legislative functions of government, and in the

Political relations, immunity.

ordinary exercise of these functions he is free from all interference on the part of his lord. He is, therefore, on his own domain, to all intents and purposes, and, within certain limitations, an independent king.

These three things—feudal tenure, vassalage, and immunity —are the essential features of feudalism.

This condition of affairs was the outcome of the chaos of the two centuries which followed the death of Karl the Great.

Origin of feudalism.

Not even he had been able wholly to centralize the power, and to sustain a personal relation to all his subjects. He struggled during all his reign against the tendency to separation, and the ambitious efforts of various parts of his Empire to achieve local independence. The machinery of his government was not inherently weak; it needed only a strong and vigorous man to conduct it. Under his successors, in the ninth and tenth centuries, because of their weakness, and the struggles of rebellious sons and nobles, his Empire broke up into many pieces. The process of decentralization made rapid progress. There was no one to enforce the laws and preserve order, since the Emperor was too weak to do so. Men found that they could break the laws, therefore, with impunity. The strong oppressed the weak, seized their goods, their lands, and even their persons, forcing them into the position of vassals or serfs. This is the period of violence and usurpations, or what the Germans most appropriately call "Faustrecht," or fist right; the man with the strong arm might do whatever he chose. The wheels of government stopped, and the people had, therefore, to take care of themselves. Duruy ("History of the Middle Ages," Book v., chap. 15) has well stated this point: "Royalty no longer performed the duties for which it was instituted, and protection, which could not be obtained from the nominal head of the state, was now sought from the bishops, counts, barons, and all powerful men." Their attempts to take care of themselves resulted in a complicated set of customs and practices, the sum of which was

feudalism. The weak man, in order that he might not be utterly destroyed by the violence of those who were stronger than he, often willingly surrendered all that he had to some bishop or count, put himself under his protection, and assumed the vassal relation. The violence and chaos of the ninth and tenth centuries produced these changes and brought about this condition of affairs. There were many customs prevalent among the peoples of Europe before the ninth century, which furnished certain elements of feudalism, but they were not what produced it. Such things as the German "comitatus," or "Gefolge," and the Gallic "commendation," undoubtedly were prototypes of some of the feudal customs, but these would not have developed into feudalism if it had not been for the chaotic economic, social, and political condition of Europe in those two centuries.

Under Karl the Great the tenure of office had depended upon his will; under his successors, many of the imperial and royal officials declared that they not only held their offices by a life tenure, but that these were also hereditary in their family. These claims they were able to make good in spite of the imperial opposition. In this way, the judicial, executive, and legislative functions of the central government were usurped. Karl the Great had rewarded his officials with gifts of lands. Under his successors, all the holders of such lands succeeded in making their possessions hereditary in their family, while still recognizing the Emperor as the actual possessor of them.[1]

Office and lands become hereditary.

[1] The Edict of Kiersy, which was proclaimed June 14, 877, by Charles the Bald, King of France, is ordinarily referred to as the act which established the hereditary character of all such lands. The text of this edict is as follows:

Si comes de isto regno obierit, cujus filius nobiscum sit, filius noster cum ceteris fidelibus nostris ordinet de his qui eidem comiti plus familiares ac propinquiores fuerunt qui cum ministerialibus ipsius comitatus et cum episcopo in cujus parochi fuerit ipse comitatus ipsum comitatum prævideant, usque dum nobis renuntietur, ut filium illius qui nobiscum erit de honoribus illius honoremus.

Si autem filium parvulum habuerit, isdem filius ejus cum ministerialibus

Many who held land by the allodial (freehold or fee simple) tenure were deprived of their lands by force and reduced to the position of vassals. Others, when they saw themselves exposed to so great danger, bought protection by offering to surrender their lands to some lord on the condition that he would protect them and permit them, as his tenants or vassals, to hold the same lands. In a former chapter attention has been called to the fact that under the Emperors of the sixth and seventh centuries, such a process was going on because of the heavy taxation and the oppression by the government. Previously all land had been held by the allodial tenure, but gradually this was so thoroughly changed that by the end of the twelfth century the principle was generally acknowledged that all land must have a feudal lord and be held by the feudal tenure. In the thirteenth century there was very little land in western and northern Europe held in any other way. Fiefs and vassalage, therefore, arose from grants, usurpations, seizures, and voluntary surrender.

Freehold lands become feudal.

Since feudalism grew out of the chaos of the times, it could hardly be expected that it would have a uniform character. In fact, the feudalism of one province differed from that of another. In the general stress and danger each one made such terms as he could with his lord. Feudalism is not a system, therefore; it is as chaotic and ir-

Feudalism not a system.

ipsius comitatus, et cum episcopo in cujus parochia consistit eumdum comitatum prævideant, donec obitus præfati comitis ad notitiam perveniat nostram et ipse filius ejus per nostram concessionem de illius honoribus honoretur.

Si vero filium non habuerit, filius noster cum ceteris fidelibus nostris ordinet qui cum ministerialibus ipsius comitatus et cum episcopo proprio ipsum comitatum prævideat, donec jussio nostra inde fiat. Et pro hoc ille non irascatur qui illum comitatum præviderit si eumdem comitatum alteri cui nobis placuerit dederimus quam ille qui eum eatenus prævidit.

Similitu et de vassallis nostris faciendum est. Et volumus atque præcipimus ut tam episcopi quam abbates et comites seu etiam ceteri fideles nostri hoc erga homines suos studeant conservare.

This edict, however, presupposes that all such fiefs were hereditary. Charles only insists on his rights as lord.

regular as the period in which it arose. To almost every general statement about it exceptions could be found. Classifications are impossible, because of the great and numerous variations which are everywhere met with. It is a misnomer to speak of the feudal "system," since by that word the idea is conveyed that it is an orderly and uniform set of customs and regulations. At the beginning of the eleventh century, however, order began to be restored. People were worn out by interminable strife and private wars. The Church was the first to try to put a stop to that state of things. The clergy in southern France (at the end of the tenth century) first attempted to enforce the peace of God; that is, people were forbidden to fight, on the ground that they were Christians, and were threatened with the punishments of the Church, ban and excommunication, if they persisted in fighting. This peace of God it was impossible to enforce. The times were too wild. The next step was a compromise. Since the clergy could not secure the total cessation of hostilities, in the eleventh century they proposed the "Truce of God;" that is, from Wednesday evening to Monday morning no one should engage in war (about 1030 to 1050).

Peace of God, Truce of God, Peace of the Land.

A great step toward better things was taken in the same century when Henry III. declared himself to be the guardian of the public peace, or "peace of the land," and threatened to punish all who disturbed it. By this means private warfare was greatly limited. The chaos and anarchy of the ninth and tenth centuries yielded to regularity and order. The customs were more fixed and better observed. Feudalism became less chaotic, and society, therefore, more stable; violence became less and security greater; travel was possible because of the greater safety along the highways. The effect was seen at once in the steady revival of commerce, which became more pronounced as the eleventh century advanced.

The Church was completely drawn into feudal relations

The Church and Feudalism.

In those days of violence and rapine, the robber and plunderer had little or no regard for the property of the Church, or the lives of the churchmen. Churches and monasteries were, therefore, compelled to seek protection, just as individuals were. The bishop or priest, for his church or diocese, and the abbot or prior, for his monastery, surrendered the church's or monastery's property to some lord and received them back in return for the payment of certain rents and dues. Such churches and monasteries were legally feudal individuals, and were, of course, required to perform all feudal duties. The lands, indeed, belonged to the Church, and, theoretically, could not be alienated from the Church and ecclesiastical uses. As late as the eleventh century it was not at all uncommon for the clergy to marry. Since fiefs were hereditary, it seemed perfectly proper that their children should be provided for out of the Church lands which they held. But, unless all their children became clergymen, these Church lands would pass into the hands of laymen and therefore be lost to the Church. One of the purposes of the prohibition of the marriage of the clergy was to prevent this alienation and diminution of the Church lands.

Feudal terms.

The land, office, or any right or privilege granted and held as indicated above was called a fief, feud, or benefice. The lord, liege, or suzerain, was the one who granted a fief. The receiver of it was his vassal or liegeman. Subinfeudation was the regranting of a fief by a vassal to a third person, who, therefore, became a vassal to a vassal. In connection with the infeudation of a fief there were certain rights and ceremonies called homage; kneeling with uncovered head, folded hands, and sword ungirt before his prospective lord, the vassal made a set speech in which he vowed that he would become the lord's "man" and perform all the duties which this relation demanded. The lord then raised him, received his oath of fidelity, and by a symbolic act (usually the presentation of a sword, standard, sceptre, ring, staff, a bit of

earth or a twig) invested him with the possession of the fief in question.

The one great duty of the lord to his vassal was to protect him. The lord must avenge his vassal's wrongs, defend him in all his privileges, and secure him justice in all matters. The vassal, on the other hand, owed his lord service, which might be of various kinds. Military service was, in some respects, the most important, and in accordance with the ideas of the times was regarded as noble. Service in labor, gifts, money, and produce, was regarded as menial or ignoble. Military service in the days of Karl the Great had been required of all freemen. The army was composed of the whole people under arms. As the use of cavalry was introduced and became general, and the practice of wearing armor universal, it became impossible for everyone to equip himself with the required paraphernalia. Continuous and far-distant campaigns made it necessary for many people to remain at home to till the soil. Karl the Great had the right to call his army together at any time, and demand their service in any part of the empire, and for any length of time. By offering united resistance the vassals succeeded in acquiring two important limitations to this: they could be compelled to serve only forty days in the year, and only within a reasonable distance from their homes.

Noble or military service.

Feudal armies could not be levied directly by the king; he must first send the summons to his great vassals, with the order to appear with a certain number of men at a certain time and place. These, in turn, delivered the order to their vassals, and so the command was passed along until it had reached the end of the line of vassals. Under such conditions it is easily apparent that a feudal army was of little use, even when it was got together. Since wars must be fought, the rulers ceased to rely on their feudal levies, and engaged mercenary troops, which they kept as a standing army. Among the special duties laid upon a vassal were the following:

Feudal armies.

If in battle the lord were unhorsed the vassal must give him his own; if the lord were in personal danger, the vassal must defend him with his life; if the lord were taken prisoner of war, the vassal was bound to go as a hostage for him.

Feudal dues.

There were various circumstances under which the lord might demand money from his vassals. When he knighted his eldest son, or gave his eldest daughter in marriage, or himself was taken prisoner, he might demand any sum which his vassal was able to pay. Such payments were called "aids," and tended to become fixed. A relief was a sum of money paid by an heir when he entered upon his inheritance at the death of his father. Ordinarily this was the entire income of the estate for a year. The same rule existed in regard to ecclesiastical offices. The newly appointed bishop or priest was compelled to pay the first-fruits (the annates), which meant the income of his office for a year. If a vassal died without heirs, his property reverted to the lord (escheat), and might then be relet to another vassal. If a vassal wished to surrender his fief to another, he had first to get the consent of his lord and pay a certain sum of money (fine upon alienation). If a vassal were guilty of treason, the lord might claim his possession by forfeiture. In England the king claimed, also, certain other rights, such as wardship and marriage; that is, if a vassal died leaving only children who were minors, the king became their guardian, and managed, and had the income from their estates until they became of age. His consent to their marriage must be obtained, for which they were expected to pay well. One of the most oppressive rights of the lord was that of fodrum; that is, the maintenance of himself and retinue, or even his army; when passing through any district he might demand that its residents supply himself and his followers with food. In the same way, he might require the people along the way to furnish him a sufficient number of horses and wagons to transport him and his train from one place to another.

The rents due from the vassal were of various kinds. Generally a certain sum was due for the land, another for the house, sometimes another for the fire (chimney), and ordinarily a small tax for each head of stock (cattle, sheep, hogs, etc.). Of course the lord received a certain share of all that was produced on the soil, of the wheat, hay, wine, chickens, stock, honey, beeswax, and everything, in fact. A charge was also made for the privilege of pasturing the stock in the forests or fields of the lord, for obtaining firewood from his forests, and for fishing in the streams which were regarded as his property. The peasants were forbidden to sell their grain for a certain length of time after the harvest, or their wine after the vintage, in order that the lord might have a temporary monopoly in these articles. They were compelled to bake their bread in his oven, grind their corn at his mill, and press their grapes in his wine-press, for all of which a suitable toll in kind was charged. The lord could also seize the grain, wine, and other produce of his tenant, paying him what he chose, either in cash or at the end of a certain time. The tenant was required to labor also for his lord a certain number of days in the year. He must till his fields, care for his crops, make his wine, furnish horses and wagons on demand, haul his wood for the fires in the house, stones for building purposes, keep his castle and other buildings in repair, build defences, repair the roads and bridges, and render a multitude of other services.

Feudal justice.

The lord exercised over his tenants the power of a judge. All cases were tried before him or his officers. He had the right to impose and collect fines for all sorts of offences. For every crime and misdemeanor there was a fixed fine. The administration of justice on a great domain was, therefore, the source of a considerable income. The lord held court three times a year, at which all his vassals were expected to be present; but such attendance was soon felt to be burdensome and they secured permission to absent themselves on the payment of a fee.

These are only some of the rights of a feudal lord. It was to the lord's interest, of course, to multiply them and enforce them whenever possible. The vassals did all they could to limit them and to preserve their liberty and independence. It is apparent, however, that they were subject to innumerable burdens, and if their lord or his overseer was so disposed, their lives could be made unendurable.

Feudal society.

Feudal society may be divided into three classes, the peasants or tillers of the soil, the citizens or inhabitants of the towns, forming the industrial class, and the aristocracy, who lived from the labors of the other two classes.

Disposition of the soil.

The land was ordinarily divided into large estates, or domains, in the hands of what we may call great landlords, who, of course, did no work themselves. Very often they did not even oversee their estates but left that work to the care of a foreman or agent. This office of agent often became a fief, but sometimes it was farmed out for a certain sum. The holder of it received no salary, but was expected to get his pay out of the administration of the office itself. This he did at the expense of the peasants. The central house, or manor of the estate, was regarded as the residence of the lord, although it often happened that he spent little time at it, especially if he possessed several domains. The manor was often the residence of the agent. About the manor was often a considerable amount of land which was held by the lord and cultivated for his benefit. Since all his tenants owed him a certain number of days' labor, he never had any difficulty in having this land well cultivated.

All the rest of the tillable land and meadow was divided into small lots and parcelled out among the tenants and became hereditary in the family of the one who tilled them. These tenants lived, generally, in little houses grouped together, forming a village. All the inhabitants of the country were known as peasants (rustici, villains), and may be divided into two

classes, serfs and free. But within these two divisions there were many variations.

The slavery of the early Empire had been changed into serfdom. The slaves had become attached to the soil which they tilled. They were no longer sold. They were allowed to marry, and in accordance with the prevailing feudal customs received a bit of land. At first the lord could tax his serfs at will, but gradually limits were set to the demands which he might make. The serf paid an annual poll-tax, and if he married some one belonging to another domain he also paid a certain sum for the privilege of doing so. He could neither alienate nor dispose of his possessions by will. At his death all that he had went to the lord. The serf could neither be taken from his land, nor might he leave it; yet many of them ran away from their lords, and, passing themselves off for freemen, took service with other lords. If caught, however, they could be restored to their former lord; but if they could secure admission to the ranks of the clergy they thereby became free men. They might also become free in other ways. They might, if their master were willing, formally renounce him, surrender all their goods, and quit the domain. On the other hand, the lord might set a serf free on the payment of a certain sum. This became, indeed, a favorite way of raising money. The lord would set free all the serfs of his domain and demand the payment of the fee. Since they became his free tenants and must remain and till his land, he really lost nothing by setting them free, but rather gained. On the other hand, people might be reduced to serfdom by force. The conceptions of free and servile had become attached to the soil. Certain parts of a domain were called free, probably because they had always been occupied by free peasants, while other parts were called servile, probably because they had always been tilled by slaves who gradually became serfs. If a free peasant occupied this servile land he thereby lost his free character and became a serf. The free peasants were more

Serfs.

nearly like renters who pay so much each year for the use of their lands either in money or in produce. Their lands were also hereditary. Being independent of their lord they could dispose of their possessions. There was nothing to prevent them from amassing a considerable amount of property.

In a later chapter will be found a description of the class of citizens. The cities themselves arose after the establishment of feudalism, but were forced into the feudal relations. They were, in fact, regarded as feudal personalities and were treated much as a feudal individual. The city, as a whole, owed feudal duties. As the cities grew large and rich they resisted the feudal claims of their lords and were one of the powers that destroyed feudalism.

Citizens.

Sharply separated from the laboring classes were the nobility. This nobility was divided into two classes, the secular and the ecclesiastical. The only occupation of the secular nobility was the use of arms. Only he could enter this class who had sufficient money to equip himself as a warrior and to support himself without work; for work was regarded as ignoble. It is probable that for centuries the acquisition of sufficient wealth enabled anyone to pass into the ranks of the nobility. But in the thirteenth century nobility became hereditary. The line was sharply drawn between the noble and the ignoble families. Noble birth was added to the requisites of nobility, and eventually became the only requisite. Wealth alone was no longer the passport to noble rank. Intermarriage between nobles and commoners was forbidden, or at least regarded as a mesalliance. In Germany and France all the children born into a noble family inherited the title, while in England the title and wealth passed only to the eldest son. He only was required to marry within his class. The younger children might marry into ignoble families without thereby forming a mesalliance, a fact which accounts for the community of interest which has ever existed in England but not elsewhere between commoner and aristocracy.

Nobility.

From the tenth century it became customary to fight on horseback. Whoever was able to equip himself with a horse and the necessary armor was regarded as a member of the aristocracy of arms. Only the common people still fought on foot. From this use of the horse came the terms "chivalry" and "chevalier." Both man and horse were protected by armor in such a way that they were almost invulnerable. The knight wore a helmet, coat of mail, and a shield for defence, and for attack carried a sword and lance. Improvements were constantly made in the armor, which gradually became so heavy that the knight was almost helpless except on his horse. For ordinary purposes he kept a light horse, but for battle, a strong animal was required because of the weight of the armor. Every knight was also attended by an esquire, whose duty it was to care for his horse and weapons and to serve as a body-servant.

Cavalry.

Among this great body of men of arms there grew up a set of customs and ideas to which the name of chivalry was given. It came to be regarded as a closed society into which, after certain conditions had been fulfilled, one could be admitted by initiatory ceremonies. Every young nobleman was required to learn the use of arms by serving an apprenticeship of from five to seven years. Generally he was attached to some knight, whom he attended everywhere, serving him in all sorts of ways. Such service, however, was not regarded as ignoble. At the close of his apprenticeship the young man bathed and put on his armor. His master then girded him with a sword and struck him with his hand on the shoulder, at the same time addressing him as knight. This is the earlier form of the ceremony. From the twelfth century on, the clergy added thereto many rites, all of a religious character. The candidate must also fast, spend a night in prayer, attend mass on the following morning, and lay his sword on the altar that it might be blessed by the priest, who then addressed him on his special duties as a knight.

Chivalry.

The warlike character of the times showed itself in the dwellings as well as in the sports of the nobility. They dwelt in forts rather than in houses. Their castles were built in the places most easily fortified and defended. Ditches, moats, and walls formed the outer defences, while the castle itself, with its high lookout tower, made a stronghold which alone could endure a heavy siege. The sports of the nobility consisted principally of hunting, hawking, and the holding of tournaments. The tournament was supposed to be a mimic battle, but it often resulted fatally. At one tournament alone it is said that sixty knights were killed.

Castles.

The Church was profoundly influenced by feudal ideas and customs. The whole clergy, the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, through their great temporal possessions, were drawn into the feudal relation. The Church taught not only that almsgiving was one of the cardinal virtues, but also that she herself was the fittest object on which it might be practised. Everywhere people gave liberally to the Church, hoping thereby to secure the greatest possible intercession with God from the clergy. Monasteries, churches, and colleges of canons became rich from such gifts; in the course of centuries the clergy became possessors of vast tracts of land and great privileges. Every bishop and archbishop was therefore a landlord on whom the care of these great estates devolved. Because of their immense wealth, as well as the high honor attached to their calling, they also belonged to the aristocratic class and ranked with the secular nobility. Since they were the most learned they were also used by the kings and Emperors as counsellors and high officials. The great incomes of the monasteries and bishoprics made them especially attractive, and it early became the custom to put the younger sons of noble families into the best of such positions. These ecclesiastical lands, however, could not escape the feudal relation. The ruler of each country declared that all such lands owed him the customary feudal dues. Every bishop or abbot, on his acces-

The high clergy.

sion to the office, became the king's vassal and must take the vow of homage and the oath of fealty to him and receive from him the investiture of the temporal possessions of his office. He must therefore perform, in addition to his ecclesiastical duties, also the civil duties which were required of other vassals. This dual character of the clergy was destined to become one of the principal causes of the bitter struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. It was impossible for the clergy to be faithful to two masters, both of whom demanded the fullest obedience.

Feudalism reached its height from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries and then gradually declined. The invention of gunpowder revolutionized the methods of warfare. Against fire-arms, the knight's armor and castle were equally useless. The close of the Middle Age is marked by the rapid growth of the power of the kings, who succeeded in gathering the power into their own hands. The nobles were deprived of their authority. Out of the fragments of feudalism the king built up an absolute monarchy. The growth of the cities, also, did much to break down feudalism, for as they increased in power and wealth they wrested independence from their lords and threw off the feudal yoke. Various forces were at work to diminish the number of serfs and villains, such as the crusades, the great pests, and the constant wars. The feudal lords were left without a sufficient number of tenants to do their work. The demand for laborers created the supply, and we find at once a growing number of free laborers who work for wages without any feudal ties. Gradually feudal tenures were changed into allodial tenures. The fifteenth century saw the breaking up of feudalism, although in France and elsewhere certain fragments remained till the French Revolution, and the social organization of Europe is still largely feudal in its fundamental ideas.

Causes of the decay of feudalism.

CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPACY

The organization of the Church.

At the beginning of our period, when Christianity was made a legal religion, the Church was already organized, though somewhat loosely. The clergy was not only separated from the laity, but within itself there was a regular gradation of rank, honor, and authority. The principal grades were deacon, presbyter or priest, and bishop. At first each congregation had had its bishop, but it had become the custom for one bishop to be at the head of all the churches of a city and its environs and to direct and oversee the work of all the clergy of his district or diocese.

The bishop had obtained this monarchical character only after a long struggle, which was practically ended by Cyprian (died 258). The question was whether the Church should be governed by a single ruler (the bishop) or by an aristocracy composed of bishop, presbyters, confessors, and others. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, successfully resisted the last great attempt to make the government of the Church such an aristocracy.

During the first two hundred years of the Church's existence its organization was very loose. Each bishop was practically independent of all other bishops. But there was a steady development throughout the Church toward a closer union of all its parts. The magnificent political and civil organization of the Empire furnished an excellent model, which was copied by the Church almost unconsciously. Corresponding to the political head of a province, there grew up an ecclesiastical

official whose authority extended over the province and whose residence was the capital of the province; that is, there was gradually developed above the bishops of a province an archbishop or metropolitan. The civil province thus became also an ecclesiastical province. The new office naturally fell to the bishop of the capital of the province. The Church followed the organization of the Empire so closely that the ecclesiastical rank of the bishop was always determined by the political rank of the city in which he lived.

Archbishops.

A further step in the organization was then taken. As several political provinces were grouped together to form a larger division (eparchy), so also several ecclesiastical provinces, with archbishops at their respective heads, were grouped together and formed a larger province, with an over-archbishop at its head. For this officer and his diocese the word patriarch and patriarchate were used in the fourth century. The capitals of these patriarchates were Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Heraclea (which was early replaced by Constantinople), Corinth, Alexandria, and Rome. In the sixth century only five of these were recognized—Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Rome. It is perfectly clear that during the first three centuries the Bishop of Rome had no authority outside of his diocese of Rome. He was not officially recognized by the other bishops of the west as their primate, whose will was their law. Cyprian of Carthage affirmed that all bishops were equal, but was willing to concede to Rome a certain precedence in church matters because of her size, and the fact that she was the capital of the Empire.[1] The Bishop of Rome was gladly consulted in all doubtful matters, but so were many others also; he did not thereby have authority over those who consulted him.

Patriarch

The authority of the Bishop of Rome limited to his own diocese.

An important document is furnished by the Council at Nicæa, 325, in its sixth canon. The rights of each Patriarch

[1] See his Letters, No. 52.

in his own diocese (the eparchy) were there defined and proclaimed. There is not the slightest suggestion that the Bishop of Rome had any authority outside of his own diocese. He had no primacy over the whole church. It is not at all certain that his diocese was thought to include all the west. There is much to indicate that it was supposed to include only the territory within one hundred miles of Rome, if not limited simply to the city itself. It is possible that the limits of his diocese were not fixed, and thought of only in a vague and indefinite way. At any rate, it is certain that at that time his authority did not extend over all the west. As the old capital of the Empire, Rome so far overtopped all other cities in the west that there was never another patriarch developed there. Besides, there was no other church in the west of any importance that boasted that it had been established by an apostle.

In tracing the growth of the Papacy there are two things to be kept clearly separate; the one is the development of the Bishop of Rome as the head of the whole Church, and the other is the growth of his power as temporal sovereign. These will be traced separately till the year 755, after which they will be treated together.

Two lines of development.

In the fourth century the Bishop of Rome already had two offices; he was, first, the Bishop of Rome, and, second, he was also Archbishop or Patriarch over the territory about Rome. We must endeavor to discover how he added to these two a third, the office of Bishop of the whole Church. Among the influences which brought this about may be mentioned the following:

Rome was the capital of the Empire, and as such stood far above all other cities, at least in the west. It was but natural that the congregation of the capital and its bishop should be regarded with more honor than those of less important cities. Since the Church was certainly, though perhaps only half-consciously, organizing itself after the model of the Empire, the thought of having an

The Bishop of Rome as Head of the Church.

absolute head of the Church corresponding to the absolute head of the state was not at all strange. It was, in fact, logically to be expected. What more natural than that such an idea should occur to the Bishop of Rome, since he was at the capital and living in the atmosphere of absolutism? As early as the fourth century this idea seems to have floated, rather hazily perhaps, before the minds of some of the Bishops of Rome; as if, because he was the bishop of the Church in the capital of the Empire, he in some way owed a duty to, and possessed some right over, all the world. Rome was actually in the centre of the west and of its life. All roads led to Rome, and its bishop could easily keep more closely in touch with all parts of the Church than the bishop of any other city. The advantages of his geographical location were very great, and materially aided him in securing a wide influence. Furthermore, he had no competition with any other patriarch. All the others were situated in the east, and the archbishops of the west never seriously threatened to replace him in universal favor. It would hardly be too much to say that Rome made the Papacy, and that afterward a religious basis was invented for it.

Rome's influence.

The growth of the powers of the Bishop of Rome was greatly hastened by the invasions of the Barbarians. They really broke the Empire into fragments, and tore the provinces, one after another, from the main body. All the cities of the west were much weakened in actual power. But the name of Rome was sufficient to preserve her. The Germans were Arian, and generally persecuted the orthodox Christians among whom they settled. Up to this time the Bishop of Rome had found it impossible to extend his authority over the bishops of Gaul, Spain, and Africa. But in their distress they needed help. Under the stress of persecution they appealed to the Bishop of Rome, who made use of this opportunity to make himself champion of all the churches in the west. The Christians of all the provinces were thus brought

The Invasions.

under his headship. Persecutions resulted in the closer union of all the orthodox Christians in the west under the Bishop of Rome.

The Church in Rome was large, and while not, perhaps, very rich, it was liberal. It gave freely to all the needy congregations, and applied large sums to the ransoming of those Christians who, in times of persecution, were condemned to exile, to penal labor in the mines, or to any other form of punishment. In this the Bishop was the agent of the congregation of Rome. All the money passed through his hands. Much of the credit was therefore given to him personally, though he shared the honors with the congregation.

The Bishop of Rome disbursed the funds of the Church.

The Church in the east has had a very different history from the Church in the west; this was caused largely by the difference in their mental make-up. The east was philosophical, inquiring, restless, and never satisfied with a truth until it had been adequately and fully stated, all the possible inferences drawn from it, and its exact place in their system of thought fixed. Besides, the east possessed in Greek the most perfect language ever spoken. It was capable of expressing the finest distinctions and shades of thought. In the great theological discussions of the third and fourth centuries the east played a far more prominent part than the west. The principal question discussed was concerning the person of Jesus and his relation to God. Was Jesus a created being, or God himself? Had he two wills, the divine and human, and how were they related? Had he two natures, a divine and a human, and how were they connected? In all these and similar questions there was much diversity of opinion, and in the east, at least, it was for a long time doubtful what would be the final belief of the Church on these questions. Politics and the intrigues of the court caused constant changes in the creed, and what was declared by one council to be true was often denounced as heresy

The supposed orthodoxy of Rome and her Bishops.

by another. While the leading bishops of the east changed from one side of a question to the other, the Bishops of Rome stood firmly by the Nicene Creed, and never wavered in their adherence to the doctrines which, in the end, were recognized as the "orthodox" faith of the church. The "orthodoxy" of the Bishops of Rome brought them great honor and influence, because in consequence of it the feeling arose that they alone of all the bishops could be depended upon to maintain and preserve the orthodox creed of the Church in all its integrity.

The bishops (patriarchs) of the east quarrelled not only about the creed, but also over political questions, and there was intense rivalry among them. In their disputes they often appealed to the Bishop of Rome, and each one did all he could to secure his favor. He was so often made a judge between them that he could soon affirm that the position belonged to him by right. At the Council of Sardica (343) it was proposed to make the Bishop of Rome judge in all cases where bishops, who had been condemned by a council, wished to appeal to a higher power. This was an important step in the development of his universal jurisdiction.

Appeals to the Bishop of Rome.

The first steps in the development of saint worship were taken in connection with the apostles. Very little was actually known of their life and work, and therefore all the greater was the field for the imagination. There arose gradually an exaggerated opinion of their powers, authority, and work. They were regarded as the princes among saints. Great honor and authority attached to the churches which had been founded by them, and many churches whose origin was obscure now boldly traced themselves to the work of some apostle. Among others the church of Rome was declared to have been founded by Peter, who was the prince of the apostles. To his successors he had passed on all his rights and dignity, so that as Peter was first among the apostles, so also were his successors first among all the bishops

The Petrine theory.

of the world. The Bishops of Rome were not slow to perceive that this was a powerful argument with the people, and did not hesitate to use it on all occasions. Leo the Great (440–61) always acted in the proud consciousness that he was the successor of St. Peter, and therefore had inherited all his prerogatives along with his superiority over all others. All that had been said to, and about, Peter, he applied to himself.

The great synods also played a certain part in this matter. The sixth canon of the Nicene Council (325) ordained that the bishops of the capital cities of the eparchies (Alexandria, Rome, and Antioch are named; Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Heraclea are implied) should have patriarchal rights; that is, each of these bishops should have the oversight of all the churches in his eparchy. In all respects it is apparent that the Bishop of Rome is put on the same plane as the bishops of these other cities; he has authority in his own eparchy, but not beyond its limits. It is probable that the territory over which his authority extended was composed of the ten small provinces which politically were under the "vicarius urbis," and included the central and southern portions of Italy. The rest of the west was independent of him. In the fourth century the bishop of Milan, and in the fifth century the bishops of Aquileia, Ravenna, Vienne, and Arles, were independent metropolitans, owning no subjection to the Bishop of Rome.

The Council of Nicæa, 325.

The Council of Constantinople (381) decreed that the bishop of Constantinople should have the second place after the Bishop of Rome, in honor and dignity, because Constantinople was the New Rome. It is evident from this that the new capital of the Empire had not yet fully replaced the old. This canon simply fixed a matter of etiquette; it only said that the Bishop of Rome possessed a little more official dignity and honor than the others. It did not touch the question of the relative amounts of their authority. The Council of Chalcedon (451), in its twenty-

The Council of Constantinople, 381.

eighth canon, admitted that the Bishop of Rome was entitled to very high honor because he was bishop in the ancient capital; but the bishop of New Rome (Constantinople) was entitled to equal honor, because he was the bishop of the city in which the Emperor resided, and the Senate had its seat. In accordance with this view, the jurisdiction and rights of the bishop of Constantinople were extended. Against this action Leo the Great protested. He admitted that Constantinople was the capital of the Empire, but declared that political rank did not determine the ecclesiastical rank of a city. It is the apostolical origin of a church that entitles it to a higher ecclesiastical rank. Constantinople, therefore, had no right to equal authority and honor with Rome, because her church had not been founded by an apostle, as had been the church of Rome. The Bishop of Rome has the first place in the Church, because he is the successor of St. Peter, the first of the apostles. He bases all his claims and arguments on the famous Petrine theory. God had ordained that the Bishop of Rome should have the care of the whole Church; other bishops were only in part responsible for the condition of the Church, while he was called on to exercise absolute power over the whole Church (plenitudo potestatis). He spoke of the "sollicitudo quam universæ ecclesiæ ex divina institutione dependimus," and his "cura totius ecclesiæ." Leo was the first to give a full and clear-cut expression to this Petrine theory, which from that day to this has been regarded as the basis of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. Leo's statement of it has been expanded, but not radically changed.

And of Chalcedon, 451.

Leo the Great (440-61) protests.

About the year 510 A.D. Dionysius Exiguus,[1] an abbot who lived in Rome, published two books, which, taken together, had a large influence on the power of the Bishop of Rome. He collected the canons of the various councils, and published them under the title of "Canones Ecclesiastici." His second work

[1] Dionysius was the first to reckon time from the Birth of Christ.

was called the "Decrees of Former Popes" (Præteritorum Sedis Apostolicæ Præsulum Constituta), and contained such letters, opinions, and decisions of Popes on various matters as were accessible to him. These were treated by him as if they had the same authority as the action of a Council. These works were afterward united into one, and widely used in the west, and had much to do with the formation of the general belief that the Bishop of Rome's authority was supreme in the Church.

Dionysius Exiguus.

The Popes were greatly benefited by the Christianization of western and northern Europe, because the work was inspired by them and carried on very largely by their agents or by those who were ardently devoted to them and to the Papal ideas. All of the German tribes who settled on Roman soil, with the single exception of the Franks, were Arian. The Popes set to work at once to convert them and were eventually successful. The Franks were heathen until, in 496, Chlodwig, who had been for some time married to a Catholic princess, was converted to the orthodox faith. The Bishop of Rome saw the great advantages that might accrue to him from this, and did all he could to attach the Franks to himself. His efforts were very successful, and the alliance formed between the Pope and the Frankish king had a most potent influence on the course of events throughout the Middle Age. After the conversion of Chlodwig the priests who preached to him addressed him as a second David, whose duty it was to protect the kingdom of God and destroy its enemies, namely, the heretics and the heathen. In all his wars among the Arian West Goths, Burgundians, Bavarians, and others he received the heartiest support of the Bishop of Rome.

The Roman Catholic Conquest of the west.

The Angles and Saxons in the fifth century were still heathen. The Christian Kelts who occupied the country had been driven out and Christianity had entirely disappeared. The bitter hostility engendered between the Kelts and their

German invaders prevented any successful mission work among them by Keltic missionaries. The Irish monks who settled in Iona gradually began to work among the Angles in the north, but their progress was slow. In the year 596 Pope Gregory the Great (590–604) sent Augustine with about thirty monks to England. They reached the court of Aethelbehrt, king of Kent, and within a year were successful in converting him and many of the nobles about him. They were ably assisted in their work by his Christian wife, who was a Frankish princess. From Kent Christianity spread to other tribes, and eventually came into conflict with the Christianity of the Irish missionaries, who had begun their labors in the north of England. The points of difference between the Irish and the Roman monks were trivial enough, but back of these differences was the great and important principle of obedience to the Bishop of Rome. In 664 the king of Northumbria called a synod at Whitby, and summoned the two parties to meet before him and present their cases. He was persuaded by the champions of Rome to accept their forms, and the Irish missionaries withdrew from England.

England Roman Catholic.

Scotland continued to preserve its peculiar forms, which differed from those of Rome, and maintained a separate existence until the end of the eleventh century. King Malcolm the third married a Saxon wife, Queen Marguerite, who was a devoted Roman Catholic. Through her exertions the Church of Scotland was subjected to the Pope and made to conform in all respects to the Roman Catholic Church. The Irish Church also remained independent, and yielded no obedience to Rome until Henry II. (1154-89) conquered a part of Ireland and brought its Church into subjection to Rome.

But while the missionary activity of the English monks was limited on the north and west, it was far more spirited in another direction which was to result in even greater advantages to the Papacy. English monks began to go to the con-

tinent, where they labored for a better organization of the Church, and at the same time subjected it to the Bishop of Rome. The Franks, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, and the Germans of the Rhine valley had indeed been converted to the Christian faith, but in name only. Many of them continued to worship other gods. The clergy were independent and led such lives as they pleased. Many of them were not attached to any church or monastery, but wandered about using their clerical character to gain a livelihood and as a cloak for evil lives. There was no central church organization, and no one who had the authority or the power to keep the clergy under control and compel them to lead lives worthy of their calling. The Christianity of Germany seemed to be rapidly deteriorating. It was the work of English missionaries to restore it and reorganize the Church, and give a great impulse to the work of Christianizing the Germanic tribes.

Englishmen become missionaries of Rome.

About 680 there was born in Wessex Winfried, or, as he was later called, Boniface. He was brought up in a monastery, and was ordained a priest when thirty years old. Soon after this he determined to go as a missionary to those parts of Germany whence his forefathers had come. He went to Friesia about 715 and labored for awhile, but without success. About 718 he went to Rome to visit the Pope, and received from him a commission to Christianize and Romanize all the Germans of central Europe. For nearly five years he travelled throughout Germany, from Bavaria to Friesia, in the prosecution of his work.

Boniface.

In 721 he again went to Rome, where Gregory II. made him a missionary bishop without a diocese. Gregory compelled him to take the same oath of obedience that he required of the titular Bishops of Rome (Sabino, Porto, Ostia, etc.). It was expected that Boniface would act as bishop throughout all Germany. It would appear, therefore, that the Pope wished to regard Germany as part of his diocese, and as closely at-

tached to him as were the districts about Rome. Boniface was now able to carry on his work with much more success. On his behalf the Pope appealed to Karl Martel, who gave him aid in many ways. He kept himself in constant touch with Rome, and everywhere established the authority of the Pope. In 732 he was made archbishop, but still without a see, and so received authority over all the bishops of Germany. They were now compelled to obey him. He received supplies of both men and means from England, and was able to establish many monasteries, such as Erfurt, Fritzlar, Ohrdruf, Bischofsheim, Homburg, Fulda, and bishoprics, such as Salzburg, Passau, Freising, Regensburg, Wuerzburg, Buraburg, Erfurt, and Eichstaedt. In 743 he was made archbishop of Mainz. He called councils, at which the work of organization was perfected, heresies refuted, superstitious rites and customs forbidden, the lives of the clergy regulated, his opponents condemned, and the authority of the Bishop of Rome acknowledged.

In 753 he resigned his position as archbishop of Mainz, and went again, with a large number of helpers, as a missionary to Friesia, where he met a martyr's death (754 or 755) not far from Groningen. The principal part of his work was done. He had organized the Church throughout Germany and subjected it to Rome. It was from this Church of Germany, now truly dependent on Rome, that Christianity was to be carried to the remaining German tribes, such as the Saxons, Danes, and the people of Scandinavia, and to the Slavic peoples to the east of the Elbe. In this way the doctrine of the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, which had become a part of the Roman creed, was spread throughout all Europe, and was regarded as an essential part of Christianity. This movement may be called the Roman Catholic Conquest of the West. For it was a conquest, the outcome of a policy, the full results of which could not be foreseen by the Popes of that time. But this policy was dictated not so much by worldly considerations as by

the desire to Christianize the world in accordance with what was conceived to be the commands of Christ. The effect of it, however, on the growth of the Papacy, was very great.

The work of Boniface has been variously judged. He has been exalted as the apostle of the Germans and condemned as the enslaver of the German Church. It was, indeed, unfortunate in its later results, that the Church of Germany was so completely in the hands of the Bishop of Rome, but at that time the choice was, in reality, between subjection to Rome and heathenism. Boniface chose the former, because it was by all odds the best thing to do. The Church among the Franks and Germans was in a wretched condition. Many of the Church lands were in the hands of laymen. There was little or no discipline, and no control exercised over the clergy. Each priest did what was right in his own eyes. There were, at this time, many vagabond priests and monks wandering about over the country, obtaining a precarious living by imposing upon the people. There was also much heathenism among the people. Such a state of affairs was little better than heathenism pure and simple, and such Christianity, such a Church, would certainly be unable to maintain the Franks in the leading position they were now holding. Boniface put an end to this disorder. He forbade all monks to leave their monastery without sufficient reason. The wandering clergymen were put under the control of the bishop of the diocese in which they might be found. Strict discipline was everywhere introduced in the monasteries. All the monks were compelled to live according to the rule of St. Benedict. Laymen were forbidden to hold church property. In a word, the Church was reformed, and a much better type of Christianity was established among the Franks. This was the work of Boniface and deserves praise and admiration.

An estimate of his work.

The growth of the temporal power of the Papacy is, in some respects, even more difficult to trace. We have to discover how the Pope acquired political power; first, the civil

authority in Rome and its duchy, and, then, the temporal headship over the whole world. In the first place, it should be noted that the bishops everywhere, from the time of Constantine on, were entrusted with an ever-increasing amount of civil power. Bishops might be called in as umpires in civil suits, and their decisions were recognized by the state as valid. Since the clergy were the guardians of morals, they came to exercise the right to rebuke all officers, and even the Emperor himself. They acquired, therefore, a kind of indefinite authority in all temporal matters. Justinian gave the bishops civil jurisdiction over monks and nuns, and authority to see that justice was impartially administered. They were given a legal influence over the choice of magistrates and of city officials, and might interfere with them if they did not perform their duties properly. In some cases the bishops were even made judges over such officers. They were allowed a part in the government of the city, especially in the management of its finances. The powers of the bishop, even in civil matters, were therefore large, and he was fast becoming the most prominent man in the towns and cities. The Bishop of Rome exercised all these powers and others in addition. The Pragmatic Sanction of Justinian (554) made him, in connection with the Senate, master of weights and measures in Italy, with the right to punish all offenders. It is evident that the Bishop of Rome, since he exercised all these rights, was easily the most important and powerful man in Rome. Especially during the reign of the East Goth Theoderic, and that of Justinian, the Bishops of Rome had many opportunities of acting with authority in civil matters.

The growth of the temporal power of the Bishop of Rome.

It early became the custom to make grants of land to the Church for the benefit of the soul of the donor (in remedium animae). These grants were generally made in the name of the patron saint of the church thus enriched. Those given to the church of Rome were of course given in the name of St. Peter, and were entirely man-

Gifts of land.

aged by the Bishop of Rome. They were called the patrimony of St. Peter. Several of the men elected Bishop of Rome were possessed of a good deal of wealth, which they invariably made over to St. Peter, thus increasing the patrimony. It had been a patriotic custom among the Romans to make grants of land and money to the state. This custom continued, but since the Bishop of Rome was practically at the head of political affairs, all such grants were placed in his hands and were added to the patrimony of St. Peter. The Bishop of Rome, in the eighth century, was probably the largest landholder in Italy. His possessions, however, were not confined to that country, but were to be found even in Africa, Spain, and Gaul. To his power as bishop he added that of a landlord. From his lands he derived a large income, and was naturally very much interested in the taxes, public improvements, and the general administration of the government. There is no doubt that his great landed possessions throughout Italy formed a good basis for his claims of temporal sovereignty. It was already customary to entrust the government of a province to its largest landed proprietor.

It was as a landlord that the Bishop of Rome was first brought into conflict with the Lombards. As they extended their sway to the south they seized the Pope's land, and so diminished his income. He was compelled to fight to preserve his interests. Since the Emperor at Constantinople was unable to keep a standing army in Italy, and to resist the encroachments of the Lombards, the whole work of defence fell to the Bishop of Rome. From his great income he was able to enlist and support troops, to rebuild the walls of Rome, and to restore the defences of the city.

The Emperor at Constantinople claimed and exercised the ancient imperial right to rule over the Bishop of Rome. The Pope was his subject, and therefore owed him obedience. Justinian more than once during his reign compelled the Bishops of Rome to yield to his will. Pope Vigilius was little more

than his tool. In the seventh century a contention arose in the Church as to whether Christ had two wills or only one. The Church and court of Constantinople declared that he had but one will, and Honorius I. of Rome (625–38) agreed with them. But his successors, Severinus (638–40), John IV. (640–41), Theodore I. (642–49), and Martin I. (649–55), dared oppose this in spite of the commands of the Emperor. Constans II. (642–68) seized Martin, carried him prisoner to Constantinople, and exiled him to the Crimea because he refused to yield. Martin's successor, Vitalianus, was compelled to accept the doctrine of one will.

The Bishop of Rome and the Greek Emperor.

At the Quinisextum Council, held in 692, at Constantinople, it was again declared that the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople were equal in rank. Sergius I. of Rome (687–701) refused to accept this action. The Emperor Justinian II. tried to seize him, but the people of Italy threatened to revolt because of their attachment to the Pope. The Emperor was compelled to yield, and the Pope scored a victory. He had shown that he could successfully resist the Emperor when the people of the west would stand by him.

This incipient revolt was quickened into open and active rebellion by the struggle about the worship of images. During the seventh and eighth centuries there was a strong movement, headed by the most intelligent people of the Empire, against the use of images in worship. The Emperor Leo III. (the Isaurian, 716–41) decided against the images, had them removed from the churches, and forbade their further use. This action met with a violent opposition, not only from the common people and the monks in the east, but also from the people in the west, the Bishop of Rome at their head.

The Image controversy.

Gregory II. (715–31) was a vigorous defender of images. He called on the cities to arm and defend them, and the Exarch of Ravenna could not offer him effectual resistance. The

Lombards were also enthusiastic for the use of images, and at once became allies of the Pope. All Italy refused to obey the Emperor's orders. The proposition was even made to elect a new Emperor in the west, but Gregory II., feeling that such an Emperor would be far more dangerous to him than the one at Constantinople, prevented such action.

Gregory II., 715-31.

Liutprand, king of the Lombards, had long coveted the exarchate, and since the feeling throughout Italy against the Emperor was so strong, he thought it a favorable opportunity to seize it. In 726 he entered the exarchate, and within a year had obtained possession even of Ravenna. The Exarch, however, soon recovered the city, and with it most of the exarchate.

The Emperor wrote Gregory II. saying that he himself was both Emperor and priest, and the head of the Church. But Gregory replied that not the Emperors, but the Bishop of Rome, had authority over the beliefs and practices of the Church. Gregory II., for the first time, drew a sharp line between the Church and the state, and so laid the foundation for the great struggle of the next centuries. Gregory III. (731–41) made the breach still greater. In a Council held at Rome, 731, he put the Emperor under the ban. The Emperor replied by seizing the patrimony of St. Peter in Sicily and southern Italy, and in 732 fitted out a fleet to send to Italy to reconquer the lost territory and to arrest Gregory III. and carry him to Constantinople. The fleet, however, was wrecked and accomplished nothing. The rebellion of the Pope had succeeded, and the eastern Emperor never again received his allegiance.

Gregory III.

The Pope had escaped from one master but was at once threatened by another, more dangerous because nearer at hand. Liutprand, the king of the Lombards, was making strenuous efforts to conquer all Italy. The dukes of Spoleto and Benevento were first reduced, and Rome was next threatened, be-

cause it was the natural capital of the kingdom which Liutprand was trying to establish. It was the policy of the Pope to keep Italy divided. In the course of the struggle he allied himself with the Exarch, and with the dukes of Spoleto and Benevento in turn, as occasion demanded. But he found it impossible to stem the tide against the Lombards when they laid siege to Rome (739). Gregory III. was compelled to look abroad for help. Karl Martel, the mayor of the Franks, had greatly assisted the Pope's missionary Boniface, and so the Pope might hope for further help. In 739 he sent a deputation to Karl with rich presents and important relics. Among other things they carried him the keys of the grave of St. Peter, which indicated that he was by that act made the protector of this shrine. Karl was besought to free the Pope from the oppression of the Lombards. It was a difficult situation for him, for he was a friend and ally of Liutprand. He did not absolutely refuse, but he sent no help. Gregory then wrote him a letter, addressing him as "Subregulus," telling him of the great damage done the Church by the Lombards, and again begging his help. This letter was also without avail, and in 740 Gregory sent him a second deputation, with a letter in which he calls the people of Rome the people of St. Peter; in Rome, at least, the Church and state were regarded by him as one, and he, of course, was the ruler. Here for the first time we meet with a complete confusion of the ecclesiastical and the political governments in Rome. The "res publica" of Rome is the peculiar possession of St. Peter, and is entirely controlled by the Pope. But even this appeal was in vain. Karl was old; he was still troubled by the Saracens and local revolts, especially on the frontier, and he could not bring himself to break completely with the Lombards. He acted, therefore, as a mediator between Gregory and Liutprand, and succeeded in restoring peace.

Danger from the Lombards.

Karl Martel.

For some years the Pope was not again disturbed by the

Lombards, although it became more and more apparent that the latter must eventually become master of all Italy, if they were to have a national existence of any great duration. In 749 Aistulf conquered the Exarchate and again took up the thought of conquering and uniting Italy under the Lombard rule. At this time Pippin, mayor of the Franks, was ambitious to become king, and, since the Pope needed his help, it was altogether probable that each would do all in his power to advance the interests of the other. It will be remembered that the Pope gave his sanction to the deposition of Childeric III. and the election of Pippin. In 754 he even went to St. Denis and anointed both Pippin and his sons. In return for this, Pippin came into Italy, defeated the Lombards, and compelled them to give up their acquisitions, which he now turned over to the Pope. The exact limits of the territory thus given to the Pope are not known, but it consisted of a large strip of land to the south of the Lombards. This marks the beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. All allegiance to the eastern Emperor was renounced, the Pope was recognized as the political as well as the ecclesiastical ruler of Rome and its surrounding territory, under the over-lordship of Pippin who had the title of Patricius. Karl the Great confirmed the Pope in the possession of these lands, and exercised throughout his reign the rights of over-lord. We have seen in another place how he rebuked the Pope, and acted as if he were absolute master over him. Karl regarded himself as the highest and final authority in the Frankish Church, and after his coronation in 800 he took the same attitude toward the whole Church. And although the Pope submitted to him, there were certain indications that he might not do so always.

Alliance between the Pope and Pippin.

It was in connection with Karl the Great, probably, that the Pope, or some of his adherents, forged the famous Donation of Constantine, which declared that Constantine had, out of regard for the Bishop of Rome, removed his capital to Con-

stantinople, and had given to the Pope his Lateran palace as a residence, and Rome and all the provinces, districts, and cities of Italy, with the right to wear the imperial crown and robes, and to bear the sceptre. Furthermore, the Pope should have supremacy over all the Church, both in the east and in the west. The effect of this forgery on the power of the Pope cannot be exactly determined, but it is certain that it was not without influence.

By the act of crowning Karl the Great, the Pope, all unconsciously, established a precedent which was to be of the greatest importance for the Papal claims. We have already seen that this was a revolt and an assumption of power on the part of the Pope, and that it was very displeasing to Karl. But it had been done, and later Popes found it easy to interpret the act in accordance with their claims. But Karl never for a moment admitted that he had received the crown as a gift at the hands of the Pope. He himself probably crowned his son, Ludwig the Pious; at any rate the Pope had nothing to do with it. But later Ludwig foolishly allowed himself to be recrowned by Stephen V. (816–17), thus establishing one more precedent by which the Popes might claim the right to confer the crown on the Emperor.

The Pope crowns Emperors.

In 823 Lothar, who had been established by his father in the imperial government, was sent to Italy to take charge of affairs there. The Pope invited him to come to him to be anointed and crowned as Emperor. Lothar did so, and the Papal claim was never again questioned.

Lothar was displeased at the way in which things were going, and in 824 published his famous "Constitutio." By the terms of this the Pope was to exercise executive authority, while the Emperor was to be the final authority in all appeals and in matters which the Pope could not settle. Officers were to be appointed jointly by Pope and Emperor, who should make full reports

Constitutio Lotharii, 824.

to the Emperor on the state of affairs. It is probable that it was also stipulated that no one should be made Pope until he had first received the sanction of the Emperor. At any rate the rights of the Emperor as over-lord were carefully guarded.

It remained for another Emperor to acknowledge, in the fullest way possible, that the Pope was the source of imperial authority. In 871 Louis II. wrote to the Emperor at Constantinople, vindicating his right to the title of Emperor, on the ground that he had been anointed and crowned by the Pope. The papal claims were thus fully admitted, even by an Emperor.

Admissions of Louis II., 871.

The Papacy needed, however, a legal basis for its claims, which were growing every day more ambitious. Since such a thing did not exist, it must be invented. Probably between the years 847 and 853, in the diocese of the bishop of Rheims, there was made a famous forgery, known as the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals. The author of them is not known. In the first part there are sixty forged decrees, attributed to the Popes, from Clement, in the first century, to Melchiades (314). The second part consists of the canons of the Councils down to 683, based on the work falsely attributed to Isidore of Seville. The third part contains the decrees of the Popes, from Silvester I. to Gregory II. Then follow eighty "*capitula Angilramni*," thirty-five of which are forged. A previous forgery, made by Benedictus Levita, is one of the sources used by the author. These capitula are decrees supposed to have been issued principally by Pippin, Karl the Great, and Ludwig the Pious, concerning the trials of bishops. The thesis maintained is that bishops, by virtue of their clerical character, cannot be tried by civil courts, but only by their fellow-bishops. Not every one is competent even to make charges against a bishop, but if the proper sort of person should make the charges, they should be investigated and judgment passed, not by laymen, but by twelve bishops. The Bishop of

Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals.

Rome is accorded the right to confirm or reject the decisions thus reached. The purpose of this forgery was to free the clergy from the civil law, and make them a law unto themselves. It seems, also, that the forger wished to break down the too great power of the archbishops. The clergy was to possess the fullest immunity from the civil laws. Over against the law of the state there was now established the law of the Church. Incidentally these decretals give a legal basis for the unlimited power of the Pope over the Church, since all judgments might be revised by him. They freed the clergy from the state, but they also put them into the hands of the Pope, and tended to concentrate all power in him. The forger really overshot the mark; in freeing the clergy from one master, he delivered them bound to another.

Thus far, in discussing the growth of the Papacy, we have not taken into account the personal element. Such men as Leo I., Gregory I., Gregory II., Gregory III., and Nicholas I. (858–67) have, with great justice, been called the makers of the Papacy. The work of the first four named has already been briefly described. That of Nicholas I. will be found not less important. Throughout his pontificate he acted on the theory that he was responsible for the conduct of affairs in the whole Empire. He did not wait for questions to be brought to him, but considered it his duty to take the initiative whenever he discovered anything wrong.

"The makers of the Papacy."

Nicholas I., 858-67.

Ignatius, the aged Patriarch of Constantinople, had been deposed by the Emperor, and Photius, a most learned and capable man, but a layman, put in his place. Nicholas, who was appealed to by Ignatius for help, assumed a tone of authority with the Emperor and the whole eastern Church, and demanded that Ignatius be restored. He received a respectful hearing, but since there were many other things at issue between the two Churches, such as the use of images, the addition of "filioque" to the creed, and the

His relation with Constantinople.

claims of the Pope to the direct control of Bulgaria, he was, in the end, entirely unsuccessful. The quarrel ended in the final separation of the eastern from the western Church.

"The National Frankish Church."

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, was the natural primate of the Frankish Church, and fostered the idea of a national Church, which should be free from the Pope, but subject to himself. He was the opponent of the forged decretals, and did all he could to fix his rule upon the Frankish Church. In following out his idea he seems to have been somewhat tyrannical, and to have abused his power. Rothad, the bishop of Soissons, had detected a priest in the commission of some crime, and on his own authority had removed him from his office. Hincmar reprimanded him for displacing one of his clergy without first consulting his superior. Rothad appealed to Nicholas, and was about to set out for Rome, when he was seized and imprisoned by Hincmar. Nicholas wrote to both Hincmar and the king of the Franks, Charles the Bald, demanding that Rothad either be restored or allowed to come to Rome to be heard. Hincmar protested vigorously, but ineffectually. The king needed the assistance of the Pope, and hence was pliant. Rothad was restored to his office and Hincmar was thoroughly humbled. His authority as archbishop was shaken, and the Pope had successfully interfered in the affairs of the national Church. The Frankish Church was shown to be in the power of the Pope. The archbishop of Rheims was no longer its master. The independence of the national Church was destroyed and replaced by the control of the Pope.

Papal jurisdiction over morals.

Even a wider jurisdiction was claimed by Nicholas over the morals and conduct of all people, even of the kings and Emperors. In Lorraine king Lothar attempted to divorce his wife Teutberga, a Burgundian princess, in order to marry Waldrada, with whom he had had unlawful relations before his marriage with Teutberga. After being treated with the rankest injustice and sub-

jected to strong pressure of various kinds, Teutberga publicly confessed herself guilty of the crimes charged against her, was divorced, and sent into a nunnery. This action was taken by the king's council and the leading clergy of his land. But Hincmar of Rheims became informed of the true state of affairs, and wrote an elaborate defence of the queen. She also appealed to Nicholas, who, in spite of the repeated action of the clergy in Lorraine in favor of Lothar, annulled all their decisions and sent his legates to compel the king to take her back. Although Lothar yielded only in form, and the affair was not definitely settled at his death (870), the precedent established by Nicholas was important, and his high claims were not forgotten. Under Nicholas the Papacy possessed more influence and power than it had ever had before, and under none of his successors did it reach so high a plane until the appearance of Gregory VII.

Roman political factions and the Papacy.

For a while, in the tenth century, however, it seemed that the Papacy was to be destroyed by the local political factions of Rome. The Pope had obtained a fourfold character; he was, first of all, Bishop of Rome, and as such exercised the highest ecclesiastical authority there; he was the Patriarch of the duchy of Rome; he was also political head of the same territory, performing the same duties there that were performed by the governor of any other province; lastly, he had vindicated his title to the headship of the whole Church. To these four offices he was yet to add a fifth; he was to claim to be the political ruler of the world. There was great danger of a conflict between the duties of these various offices. In the tenth century this danger was actually realized. The political character of the office made it a thing to be coveted by all the great families of Rome. Factions were formed, and intrigues were common. The dignity of the office was dragged through the mire of the ward politics of Rome. It was controlled by infamous women, and directed by licentious men. Its political character completely

overshadowed its religious character, and the Popes forgot that they owed any duty to the outside world. The first half of the tenth century is one of the most disgraceful periods in the history of the Papacy. It has been called the Pornocracy (Reign of the harlots), because of the character of the women connected with it. The principal facts about it have already been given. John XII., the last Pope of the period, even thought of marrying and making the office hereditary. It was the work of Otto the Great to rescue the Papacy from this slough, and remind the Popes of their universal character. As soon, however, as the imperial control was withdrawn, they were again immersed in the local political struggles. Otto III. again rescued the office and freed it from the control of the Crescentian family. During the eleventh century the Papacy grew steadily in self-assertion. Its former world-wide authority was well kept in mind. Its theories were being slowly worked out to their logical consequence. The Cluniac reform was spreading, and its ideas were gradually taken up by the Popes, and their policy shaped in accordance with them. Two important questions had begun to be agitated, celibacy and simony. In the Council at Pavia (1018) Benedict VIII. (1012–24) forbade the marriage of the clergy. The reason of this prohibition was not so much religious as financial and political. It had been customary to provide for the children of the clergy out of the church lands. There was danger that such lands would be alienated from the Church and her income thereby greatly reduced; hence the marriage of the clergy was forbidden.

Reform.

The Pope found another obstacle to his absolutism in the fact that the Emperor had control over the election of bishops. The clergy generally were not so much elected as appointed, either by the Emperor, the king, or the leading noble of the diocese, who claimed the rights of a patron. Not only were these offices often sold to unworthy men, but all who received an office in such a way owed allegiance and yielded obedience, not to the Pope, but

The election of bishops and abbots.

to the patron or lord. The Popes began to see clearly that they could never control the clergy until they could control their election. Simony, the obtaining of office in any other way than by a canonical election, was therefore forbidden.

Henry III. made and unmade Popes, and treated them as subjects who owed him obedience. Toward the end of his reign, however, Leo IX. (1048–54) exhibited a spirit of independence in his government which indicated the coming storm. He was appointed by Henry III., but documents of a later date (perhaps forged) declared that he refused to accept the office until he had been elected by the people and clergy of Rome. He travelled incessantly throughout Italy, France, and Germany, holding councils, settling disputes, and regulating affairs with a vigor and independence born of his authority as Pope. He went one step further in the question of simony. Every bishop in the Empire was not only a clergyman, but also, by virtue of his office, a kind of political official of the Emperor. That is, he was compelled to perform certain civil duties. He was, besides, a feudal subject of the Emperor, and as such owed him homage for the church lands which he held. The Emperor, of course, received certain taxes or income from all the lands in the Empire, whether owned by the Church or by laymen. No bishop could be inducted into his office until he had taken an oath of allegiance to the Emperor and been invested by him with the episcopal lands. The Pope had no part either in his election or his investiture or induction into office. Leo IX. was the first to see the disadvantages of this to the Papacy, and in the Synod of Rheims (1049) asserted the right of the Pope to invest the bishops with the insignia of office. He made no attempt, however, to enforce it. Henry III. permitted Leo IX. to act with great authority. It never occurred to him that the Papacy could or would make claims which would conflict with his own power. He did not foresee the coming struggle.

Leo IX., 1048–54.

The question of investiture broached.

Gradually the Papal theory was working out into all its logical conclusions. The Popes were slowly perceiving how vast were the opportunities offered them. The vision of universal dominion floated dimly before them. The questions at issue between the Papacy and the Empire were being stated with more precision. The conflict was ready to break out. There were wanting only the opportunity and the man to make use of it. The opportunity came when Henry III. died, leaving a boy only six years old to succeed him, and the man was Hildebrand, a Papal officer, but already at Henry's death the power behind the throne. As fate would have it, the Pope was made the guardian and protector of the boy-king.

The conflict at hand.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PAPACY AND THE EMPIRE (1056–1254)

THE early death of Henry III. gave the Papacy a great opportunity, which it was not slow to improve. Victor II. (1055–57) was following the policy of Leo IX., holding synods and acting as the master of the Church. Henry III. had indeed acted with a good deal of short-sightedness in allowing Leo IX. to exercise so much power, but he did so because he needed his help, and was, therefore, glad that the papal authority was unquestioned. He never dreamed that there could be a conflict between the Empire and the Papacy. His confidence in the friendship of the Pope is shown by the fact that he entrusted his child to Victor's care. The king was only six years old. The German nobles, tired of Henry III.'s heavy rule, were ready to revolt, and the German Church was split into two factions. Under these circumstances it looked as if the Pope might do as he pleased.

At the death of Victor II. nothing was said to the regent of the young king about the election of a successor, but a coalition to elect an anti-German Pope was formed between the various parties in Rome and the Tuscans. They agreed on the brother of Godfrey, duke of Lorraine, and he was made Pope. This act betrays a distinctly hostile attitude on the part of the papal party to Germany. The new Pope, Stephen X., was a member of a Lorraine family

Stephen X. hostile to Germany.

which was the hereditary enemy of the Frankish kings. Stephen was wholly controlled by Hildebrand during his short reign. At his death (1058) the noble families of Rome put forward one of their number, and, in spite of opposition, elected him. Hildebrand was not in the city at the time, but he hastened at once to undo their action. Calling on Godfrey for help, he succeeded in placing the bishop of Florence on the throne as Nicholas II. (1059–61). Nicholas' reign is noted for two events which are of the greatest importance: the Normans in southern Italy became his feudal subjects, as has been told above, and the famous edict fixing the mode of the election of the Pope was published. By accepting the oath of fealty of Robert Guiscard, and making him duke of Calabria and other parts of Italy, the Pope secured an ally who was to render him the greatest assistance in his struggle for supremacy.

Nicholas II., 1059-61, and the Normans.

The recent action of the nobility of Rome in setting one of their number on the papal throne, showed Hildebrand how insufficient were the laws concerning the election of the Pope. The first work of the new pontiff, Nicholas, was to make laws to safeguard the papal elections. In a council (1059) he promulgated a decree to the effect that the seven cardinal (or titular) bishops of Rome should in the future have the sole right to nominate Popes, and their nominee must be accepted and elected by the clergy of Rome. The Emperor probably had the right to confirm, but not to reject, the Pope thus elected.

The Election decree, 1059.

"Cardinal" was a title given to the clergy attached to the oldest and most important churches of Rome and its vicinity. The churches in Rome itself were all under the Bishop of Rome, and were ministered to by presbyters and deacons. There were cardinal presbyters and cardinal deacons. These were, of course, attached to the principal churches. There were seven cardinal bishops, who formed a kind of council to the Bishop of Rome, had charge of the

"Cardinal."

affairs of the diocese when he was absent from the city, and assisted him in all great functions, such as the coronation of the Emperor. To these seven the sole right of nominating the Pope was now confided. They were the bishops of Palæstrina, Porto, Ostia, Tusculum, Candida Silva, Albano, and Sabino. This was the beginning of the formation of the College of Cardinals. The decree was an important step in the process of freeing the Papacy from all temporal control. It made the Papacy self-perpetuating, and made it almost impossible for the laity to interfere in the elections.

This decree was received with the greatest hostility in Germany. A council of German bishops refused to accept it, and even deposed Nicholas. The step was really unfortunate, for it arrayed Germany on the wrong side of the question of reform. The Empress, as regent, had the opportunity to regain the lost influence at the death of Nicholas, but foolishly failed to improve it. Hildebrand secured the election of Anselm of Lucca as Alexander II. (1061–73). This Alexander II. was filled with the ideas of the Cluniac reform, and was besides thoroughly in touch with the party in Milan known as the "pataria." This was a party composed largely of the masses of the common people, who were somewhat hostile to the higher and more wealthy classes in the city. They had also imbibed certain peculiar philosophical ideas as to the nature of matter which led them to regard marriage as an unholy state. Consequently they were opposed to the marriage of the clergy, and in so far agreed with the Cluniac reform. This party was coming to feel its power as a political factor, and was, in the hands of unprincipled and able leaders, capable of exerting much influence on the course of events. It was this party which was now attached to the Papacy by the election of Alexander II.

Germany opposes the decree.

The Pataria.

The German bishops, however, refused to acknowledge Alexander II., and elected an Antipope, who took the title of

Honorius II. As he was guilty of simony and lived in open concubinage, he was not a fit person to lead a reform of the Church, and consequently not acceptable to the best elements in it. With the help of the Lombard cities, however, he was able to force his way into Rome, but was soon compelled to flee. Having been deserted by the Germans who had elected him, he soon submitted to Alexander.

Meanwhile affairs in Germany had become very chaotic. There was general dissatisfaction with the regency of the Empress Agnes because of her inactivity and her procrastinating policy. Taking advantage of this, and wishing to gratify his political ambition, Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, kidnapped the young king and carried him off to Cologne. He then forced Agnes from the regency and assumed it himself. The honor was soon shared, however, with two other archbishops, Adalbert of Bremen and Siegfried of Mainz. They assumed a conciliatory attitude toward the papal party, and eventually acknowledged Alexander II. It was this change which caused the failure of Honorius II.

Germany more conciliatory.

In 1065 Henry IV. was declared of age, and took up the reins of government. He had exceptional talents, and if he had received better training and possessed sufficient moral earnestness, might have had a far different history. But he hardly appreciated his position. He had no thought of a reform, and spent his time in the chase or with his mistresses, to enrich whom he robbed churches and sold offices. He was imperious and insolent, and the great dukes were soon alienated from him. Saxony was deeply offended by his conduct and ready to revolt. At last, in 1069, a crisis was reached when he proposed to divorce his wife. The diet refused to consent to this, and formal complaints were made against him to Alexander II. The Pope excommunicated his council and summoned him to Rome. The death of the Pope, which occurred shortly afterward, put an end to the strife for a brief time.

Henry IV.

Hildebrand, who during several pontificates had been the power behind the throne, was now made Pope, it would seem by a popular demonstration. Apparently the decree of Nicholas was disregarded in that the Cardinal bishops did not nominate the candidate. The people demanded Hildebrand for their Bishop and the clergy of Rome elected him. He assumed the title of Gregory VII. Hildebrand was not personally ambitious; his conduct as Pope was determined by his theory of that office. He was not a theologian; by defending one of his friends he almost incurred the charge of heresy. He was a practical man of affairs, as is indicated by the fact that he was first a deacon and then an archdeacon. He had served the Curia principally by looking after its financial interests and affairs. He was a diplomat and politician, obtaining by artifice or well-timed concessions what was otherwise unattainable. He made use even of heretics, if they could be of service to him. He could make compromises in everything except in the question of the supremacy of the Papacy. His principles are expressed in the famous document known as the "dictatus papæ," the text of which is as follows:

Gregory VII., 1073-85.

1. Quod Romana Ecclesia a solo Domino sit fundata. 2. Quod solus Romanus Pontifex jure dicatur universalis. 3. Quod ille solus possit deponere Episcopos vel reconciliare (reinstate). 4. Quod legatus ejus omnibus Episcopis præsit in concilio, etiam inferioris gradus, et adversus eos sententiam depositionis possit dare. 5. Quod absentes Papa possit deponere. 6. Quod cum excommunicatis ab illo, inter cætera, nec in eadem domo debemus manere. 7. Quod illi soli licet pro temporis necessitate novas leges condere, novas plebes congregare, de canonica abbatium facere et econtra, divitem episcopatum dividere, et inopes unire. 8. Quod solus possit uti imperialibis insigniis. 9. Quod solius Papæ pedes omnes principes deosculentur. 10. Quod illius solius nomen in ecclesiis recitetur. 11. Quod unicum est nomen in mundo. 12. Quod illi liceat Imperatores deponere. 13. Quod illi liceat de sede ad sedem, necessitate cogente, Episcopos transmutare. 14. Quod de omni ecclesia, quacumque voluerit,

Dictatus Papæ.

clericum valeat ordinare. 15. Quod ab illo ordinatus alii Ecclesiæ præesse potest, sed non militare, et quod ab aliquo Episcopo non debet superiorem gradum accipere. 16. Quod nulla synodus absque præcepto ejus debet generalis vocari. 17. Quod nullum capitulum, nullusque liber canonicus habeatur absque illius auctoritate. 18. Quod sententia illius a nullo debeat retractari, et ipse omnium solus retractare possit. 19. Quod a nemine ipse judicari debeat. 20. Quod nullus audeat condemnare apostolicam sedem appellantem. 21. Quod majores causæ cujuscumque ecclesiæ ad eam referri debeant. 22. Quod Romana Ecclesia nunquam erravit, nec in perpetuum, Scriptura testante, errabit. 23. Quod Romanus Pontifex, si canonice fuerit ordinatus, meritis b. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus, testante s. Ennodio Papiensi Episc., ei multis ss. Patribus faventibus, sicut in decretis b. Symmachi P. continentur. 24. Quod illius præcepto et licentia subjectis liceat accusare. 25. Quod absque synodali conventu possit Episcopos deponere et reconciliare. 26. Quod catholicus non habeatur, qui non concordat Romanæ Ecclesiæ. 27. Quod a fidelitate iniquorum subjectos potest absolvere.

The Church as the Civitas Dei.

Gregory was controlled by the idea of the Kingdom of God on earth (civitas Dei). It was taken for granted that this existed. For a long time the Emperor had been regarded as the representative of God and the Empire as the Kingdom of God. Gregory declared against this. The Church must be the Kingdom of God and the Pope its head on the earth. All authority belongs, therefore, to the Pope, not to the Emperor. It is impossible that the Empire should be really the Kingdom of God, because the Emperors are ambitious and tyrannical and practise injustice. Their rule is based on force. On the other hand, the Church is based on righteousness. She can do no wrong. Gregory's fundamental position is, therefore, that the Church is the Kingdom of God, and the Pope who is at its head has absolute authority over all the world. His whole programme may be deduced from this.

But Gregory further declared that the Church must be re-

formed in accordance with the Word of God. She must be really the Kingdom of God. His practical genius told him that the Church must be a compact unit, thoroughly organized and completely under the control of the Pope. The unity of the Church could be secured only by concentrating all the power in one man. The Church must obey one will. Gregory could say with all truth that he was the Church, because no part of it was independent of him. This would be possible only when one creed and one liturgy were everywhere accepted, and when all the clergy were bound directly to the head of the Church, the Bishop of Rome. He therefore required all bishops to take an oath of allegiance to him similar to that which vassals rendered to their lords. He gave all the clergy the free right of appeal to himself, and encouraged them to make use of it. This, of course, diminished the power of the bishops and raised his own accordingly. He replaced the authority of synods by assuming the right to decide all questions, either in person or through his legates. His legates played much the same part in his government that the missi dominici did under Karl the Great. He developed the idea of papal legates, and sent them to all parts of Europe. They were to oversee for him all the affairs of the state to which they were sent, control the action of synods, and bind all the countries to the Pope. They were to be his hands and eyes. He definitely assumed control over the Councils by declaring that he could act without the advice of Councils, and that their acts were invalid until sanctioned by him. He was at once supported in this by several writers on church law, whose controlling principle was the absolute authority of the Pope. They developed church law in accordance with Gregory's ideas. Among these were Anselm of Lucca, and the Cardinal Deusdedit. They attributed more authority to the decrees of the Pope than to the action of Councils.

Necessity of a central power in the Church.

Bishops take oath of allegiance to the Pope.

Appeals.

Papal legates.

Being himself a monk, Hildebrand was filled with the monkish ideas of his time. He saw that the only way to rule the world was by means of a clergy that had renounced the world. Two things were therefore necessary; the clergy should never marry nor receive any authority from anyone except the Pope. Gregory declared at once against the marriage of the clergy. All sorts of arguments were used against this institution, but the principal reasons which Gregory urged were that the unmarried clergy could be made to lose their nationality and be attached to Rome, and that if the clergy were unmarried, there would be no danger that the church lands would be given to their children and so lost to the Church. In the synod at Rome (1075) the marriage and concubinage of the clergy were strictly forbidden. The prohibition met with much opposition, since those who were married refused to give up their wives. Gregory was unyielding, however, and in the end the rule was enforced. The clergy must owe all their authority to the Bishop of Rome, therefore Gregory declared that no bishop should receive the investiture from the hands of a layman, whether king, noble, or common man.

Celibacy of the Clergy.

Lay investiture forbidden.

Gregory surrounded himself with men of the highest morals and strictest ascetic principles. Many of them would have much preferred the quiet of the cloister, and begged Gregory to let them return to their monasteries; but their conscientiousness and stern sense of duty made them just the tools which he needed. The first two years of his reign were spent in getting the Church well in hand. He was then ready to turn his attention to the temporal powers of Europe. His principles were all included in the statement that the Pope has the right to depose Emperors, and in 1080 he said that he would show the world that he had the right to confer all temporal power and also to take it away. He was the source of all temporal power. This claim he based on the fact that he was the successor of "Blessed Peter, whom the Lord Jesus Christ

had established as Prince over all the kingdoms of the world." To prove this he made use of many forgeries. Although it cannot be proved that he made the forgeries himself, yet he made use of anything that served his purpose. His credulity in such matters is amazing. There can be no doubt that many of the forgeries were made at his own court.

From the very first Gregory put his theory into practice. In 1073 he wrote to the Spanish princes that the kingdom of Spain had from ancient times been under the jurisdiction of St. Peter, and, although it had been occupied by Barbarians, it had never ceased to belong to the Bishop of Rome. In 1074, in a letter to Solomon, king of Hungary, he claimed that country on the ground that it had been given and actually transferred to St. Peter by king Stephen. He made the same claims to Russia and to Provence, to Bohemia, Sardinia, Corsica, and Saxony. He made the duke of Dalmatia his subject, and gave him the title of king. France, he said, owed him a fixed amount of tribute. He laid claim to Denmark, but its king resisted him successfully. He wished William the Conqueror to hold England as his fief, but William refused to acknowledge the Pope as his feudal lord. He consented, however, to make the payment of the Peter's pence binding on England.

Gregory VII. and the temporal rulers.

The action of the Council at Rome (1075) in regard to simony was the beginning of the struggle. Gregory threatened to excommunicate all bishops and abbots who should receive their offices from the hand of any layman, and every Emperor, king, or temporal ruler, who should perform the act of investiture. This was a hard blow at all rulers, but especially at the Emperor, because the German clergy were his principal support and were the holders of large tracts of land. If the Pope should be successful in carrying this point, the Empire would be almost destroyed. Philip I. of France made a bold show of resistance, but the condition of Germany was such as to make a decisive papal victory there

The struggle with Germany.

very probable. Gregory, therefore, ended his struggle with Philip and gave all his attention to Germany. In a Council at Rome (Dec., 1075) Gregory had received charges of simony against five of Henry IV.'s privy counsellors and had excommunicated them. Henry refused to put them away from his court and continued to invest bishops and abbots as before. The Pope then cited him to appear at Rome and excuse himself in person, and coupled the citation with the threat of excommunication if Henry persisted in his present course. Henry regarded this as a declaration of war, and answered it with defiance. At the council of Worms (Jan., 1076) he charged the Pope with having obtained the papal dignity by improper means and declared him deposed.

Henry IV. and Gregory VII.

The war was begun. Gregory could count on the support of the Normans in southern Italy, the Pataria in Lombardy, Matilda, the great countess of Tuscany, and her allies, the Saxons, the discontented nobles of Germany, and that rapidly increasing class of people all over the Empire who were becoming imbued with the ideas of the Cluniac reform. Henry had for his support a large number of his faithful subjects who remained uninfluenced by the action of the Pope, a large part of the clergy who were patriotic but probably guilty of simony, the imperial party in Italy, and all those who for any reason were opposed to the papal control in Italy.

Gregory's allies.

Henry's allies.

The historical literature of this period presents insuperable difficulties. There is scarcely an important event in all this struggle of which we do not find two versions, one papal, the other imperial. Writers who were in sympathy with the Pope made their accounts favorable to him, while the friends of the Emperor wrote in his interests and colored everything accordingly. How much of this was due to blind partisanship, and how much to wilful falsification, it is impossible to say. The result is the same. It is often impossible to get at the exact facts.

The literature of the period.

Henry's letter of deposition to Gregory was bold and vigorous. He declared that he had endured the misdeeds of Gregory because he had wished to preserve the honor of the apostolic throne. This conduct the Pope had attributed to fear, and had, therefore, dared threaten to deprive Henry of the royal power, as if this had been received from him, and not from God. Henry had received his office through the Lord Jesus Christ, while Gregory had obtained the papal power without God's help. The steps by which he had mounted to the throne were cunning, bribery, popular favor, and violence. While seated on the throne of peace he had destroyed peace. He had attacked the king, God's Anointed, who, by the teaching of all the holy fathers, could be judged and deposed by God alone. The Church had never deposed even Julian the Apostate, preferring to leave him to God's judgment. The true Pope, Peter, had commanded all to fear God and honor the king, but Gregory has no fear of God. Let him, therefore, vacate the throne of St. Peter and depart. Henry, with his bishops, pronounces the anathema upon him. Let another occupy the papal throne who will not cloak his violence under the name of religion. Henry, with all his bishops, orders Gregory to vacate the throne at once.

Charges and counter charges.

The reply of Gregory was equally imperious and vigorous. He calls on Peter, Paul, and all the saints to witness that he had unwillingly accepted the papal office thrust upon him by the Roman Church. This was sufficient proof that the Christian world had been committed to him. Relying upon the help of St. Peter and God, he therefore deposes Henry, because, in his unspeakable pride, he has revolted against the Church, and he absolves all his subjects from obedience to him. Because Henry persists in his claims and disobedience to the Pope, Gregory excommunicates him. He expects that St. Peter will make his anathema prevail, in order to make the world know that he, Peter, is the rock on which the Church

is built, and that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it. This was, indeed, a new language in the mouth of Gregory. No Pope had ever made such claims or spoken in such a tone to the Emperor before. For the first time the claim is openly made that the Empire is a dependency of the Church.[1]

This action of Gregory was answered by the imperial party in Lombardy in a Council which again deposed Gregory. A German Council at Mainz (July, 1076) repeated the decree of deposition, but did nothing to enforce it. Meanwhile the rebellious Saxons, and all who were dissatisfied with Henry, made bold by the king's excommunication, organized their rebellion. They held a meeting at Tribur (October, 1076), to which the king was not admitted. The influence of the decree of excommunication had been growing in Germany, and Henry was practically deserted. It had legalized the rebellion of the German princes. The

Rebellion in Germany.

[1] These two letters, parts of which have been freely paraphrased above, are specimens of the most vigorous Latin to be found in the Middle Age. We give here the Latin text of those parts. The quotation from Henry's letter to Gregory is as follows: "Et nos quidem hæc omnia sustinuimus, dum apostolicæ sedis honorem servare studuimus. Sed tu humilitatem nostram timorem fore intellexisti, ideoque et in ipsam regiam potestatem nobis a Deo concessam exsurgere non timuisti, quam te nobis auferre ausus es minari, quasi nos a te regnum acceperimus, quasi in tua et non in Dei manu sit regnum vel imperium: qui Dominus noster Jesus Christus nos ad regnum, te autem non vocavit ad sacerdotium. Tu enim his gradibus ascendisti; scilicet astutia—pecuniam, pecunia, favorem, favore, ferrum, ferro sedem pacis adisti, et de sede pacis pacem turbasti.—Me quoque, qui, licet indignus, inter christos ad regnum sum unctus, tetigisti, quem sanctorum patrum traditio soli Deo judicandum docuit, nec pro aliquo crimine, nisi a fide, quod absit, exorbitaverimus, deponendum asseruit, cum etiam Julianum apostatem prudentia sanctorum Episcoporum non sibi, sed soli Deo judicandum deponendumque commiserit. Ipse verus Papa, b. Petrus, clamat: Deum timete, Regem honorficate. Tu autem, quia Deum non times, me constitutum ejus inhonoras.—Tu ergo hoc anathemate et omnium Episcoporum nostrorum judicio et nostro damnatus descende, vindicatam sedem apostolicam relinque! Alius in solium b. Petri ascendat, qui nulla violentiam religione palliet, sed b. Petri sanam doctrinam doceat. Ego enim Henricus Rex Dei gratia cum omnibus Episcopis nostris tibi dicimus: descende, descende."

It would be difficult to find a more characteristic papal writing than Gregory's reply, which runs as follows: "Beate Petre Apostolorum princeps, in-

meeting in Tribur finally came to an agreement with Henry, who was awaiting their decision at Oppenheim, just across the Rhine. Henry was to be present at a great Council, to be held at Augsburg in February of the following year, and submit to trial. In the meantime he must remain at Speier, and make his peace with the Pope within a year and a day from the time of the excommunication (February 24–28, 1076). If he failed to do this, his subjects were to be free from their allegiance to him. Henry must put away his excommunicated counsellors, lay aside all royal insignia, not enter a church, and withdraw his troops from Worms and restore the city to its bishop. If he failed to observe any of these things, the princes would not be responsible for the consequences. At the same time Gregory was invited to come to Augsburg, and preside at the great German Council and settle all matters of dispute. This fell in exactly with Gregory's policy, and gave him an opportunity to make good his claim of temporal supremacy.

The Oppenheim Agreement, 1076.

On the other hand, nothing could have been more undesirable to Henry than the presence of Gregory in Germany, especially if he was to preside over the national Council. He at once wrote to Gregory, and offered to come to Rome to

clina quæsumus pias aures tuas nobis, et audi me servum tuum. Tu mihi testis es, et Domina mea, Mater Dei, et b. Paulus frater tuus, et omnes Sancti, quod tua s. Romana Ecclesia me invitum ad sua gubernacula traxit —et ideo—credo, quod placuit et placet, ut populus christianus tibi specialiter commissus mihi obediat. Hac itaque fiducia fretus pro Ecclesiæ tuæ honore et defensione, ex parte omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, per tuam potestatem et auctoritatem Henrico Regi, filio Henrici Imperatoris, qui contra tuam Ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiæ gubernacula contradico, et omnes Christianos a vinculo juramenti, quod sibi fecere vel facient, absolvo, et ut nullus ei sicut Regi serviat, interdico. Et quia sicut Christianus contemsit obedire—participando excommunicatis, et multas iniquitates faciendo, meaque monita, quæ pro sua salute sibi misi, te teste, spernendo, seque ab Ecclesia tua, tentans eam scindere, separando; vinculo eum anathematis vice tua alligo: et sic eum ex fiducia tua alligo, ut sciant gentes, et comprobent, quia tu es Petrus, et super tuam petram Filius Dei vivi ædificavit Ecclesiam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam."

make confession and receive absolution. The Pope rejected his offer, and told him to remain in Germany and await his coming. He set out as soon as possible for the north. He feared to pass through Lombardy without an escort, and the German escort which had been promised him did not appear. After waiting some time he received news which greatly disconcerted him, and he withdrew to the castle of Canossa, in Tuscany, about twelve miles from Reggio.

Gregory sets out for Germany.

Gregory heard that Henry had eluded the watch set over him in Speier, and after a thrilling journey through Burgundy, and over the Mont Cenis Pass, had reached Lombardy, where he was received with open arms by the Lombard nobility and clergy. Gregory was in doubt whether Henry had come to make war on him or to secure absolution. In a few days there appeared a large number of the clergy and nobility before Gregory to intercede for Henry, but for a long time without any success. Gregory said that Henry must surrender his crown into the Pope's hands, and agree to abide by his decision, and return to Germany and present himself at the meeting at Augsburg, where all questions would be decided. After several days of beseeching, however, the Pope yielded, and Henry was admitted to the court-yard of the palace, where for three days he stood in the garb of a penitent, waiting to be admitted. On the fourth day he was received by the Pope, who absolved him, after imposing upon him many hard conditions.

Henry IV. at Canossa.

Henry had been deeply humiliated, but he had accomplished his purpose; he had been freed from the ban of excommunication and had thereby deprived his rebellious subjects of all show of legality; and he had robbed Gregory of the best part of his victory by preventing his coming to Germany to preside over the national assembly. Gregory had, on the other hand shown his power by keeping an Emperor standing as a penitent at his door for three days. The Emperor never wholly recovered

from this humiliation, but the Pope had in reality overshot the mark. The people thought him too severe and unforgiving. Although the world regarded the immediate victory as Gregory's, it was really Henry's. For from this time on Henry's power increased and Gregory's diminished.

It soon became apparent that Henry had been insincere in his confession and promises. He had plotted against Gregory even on the way to Canossa, and as soon as he reached Germany he began to plan for his self-defence. He had learned a lesson from which he derived much profit. There was a decided improvement in him. But his enemies, principally Saxons and Suabians, refused to yield him obedience. In March they held a diet at Forchheim, deposed Henry, and elected Rudolph of Suabia in his stead. The struggle dragged along until, in 1080, the two parties met in battle and Henry was totally defeated. The Pope now took up the matter again and excommunicated Henry anew. A change had come over Germany in the meanwhile, and the ban had little or no effect on the Emperor's followers. Another battle was fought in October of the same year, and, although Henry was again beaten, Rudolph was slain. The next year Hermann of Luxemburg was made king in Rudolph's stead, but he was incapable of making any effectual opposition.

Anti-kings in Germany.

The second ban and the recognition of Rudolph was answered by Henry's setting up an anti-pope, Clement III. Henry prepared to establish him in Rome by force of arms. He crossed the Alps with an army and was received with joy by the Lombards. He marched to Rome without meeting any obstacle, but the gates of the city were closed to him. The Gregorian party had possession of the city and refused to admit him. For nearly three years Henry remained in Italy carrying on the struggle. At last, in the winter of 1083–84, Rome was opened to him. He immediately put Clement III. on the throne of St. Peter, and had himself and his wife crowned by him. Gregory VII. was besieged

Anti-pope.

in the castle of St. Angelo, and was in great danger of being taken prisoner when the Normans appeared with a large force under Robert Guiscard, and Henry was compelled to flee. Rome fell into the hands of the Normans and suffered a fearful sack. The people of the city were so enraged that Gregory was afraid to remain there and so withdrew with his Normans to the south, where he died in 1085 at Salerno.

Henry IV. in Italy.

He had made great claims without being able to realize them. He had made concessions to William the Conqueror, and to Philip I., of France. They both still possessed the right of investiture. Henry IV. had, in many respects, held his own against him. His legates in Spain were abused, and he himself died in exile. But he had established the custom of sending papal legates to all parts of Europe; he had put his own authority above that of a Council; he had destroyed the independence of the bishops by giving to all the clergy the free right of appeal to the Pope; he had made the celibacy of the clergy the rule of the Church, and he had freed the Papacy from all lay interference, whether imperial or Roman, by establishing the College of Cardinals. He had formulated the claims of the Papacy to absolute power and marked out its future policy. There can be no doubt that he had modelled the Papacy after the ancient Empire. The Pope, according to his ideas, was to succeed to the place of Augustus Cæsar. Even his times understood this, and poems were addressed to him as Cæsar. He was far more Roman than Christian. His stoicism was worthy to be placed by the side of that of the Scipios. His last words, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity," were the product, not of the Christian, but of the Roman spirit.

His successor, Victor III. (1086–87), who lived for only a short time, was hard pressed by Clement III., the imperial anti-pope. He was followed by the cardinal bishop of Ostia under the name of Urban II. He chose Gregory VII. for

his model and carried on his policy. He made war on Clement III., and after putting him down, took up his residence in Rome. He brought about the unnatural marriage between the seventeen-year old Guelf, prince of Bavaria, and the countess Matilda, of Tuscany, now forty years old. Bavaria had long been hostile to Henry, and was now definitely enrolled among the allies of the Pope. Henry made another incursion into Italy and was on the point of securing possession of Tuscany when he was deserted by his ally, Lombardy. A new impulse had been given to the reform party there, and the Pope had skilfully brought the people over to his side. Even Henry's son, Conrad, was persuaded to revolt against his father and join the papal party. He was made king of Lombardy and crowned by the archbishop of Milan. All Italy was now on the Pope's side and devoted to him. Henry had been driven beyond the Alps.

Urban II.

The Pope master in Italy.

In 1094 Urban II. undertook his famous journey to France. On his way through Italy he was received with great acclamations and met with no opposition. At Piacenza he held a council, at which all the clergy of Italy were present. Philip II. of France was threatened with the ban for his sinful life, and the ecclesiastical affairs of Italy were regulated. It is probable that messengers from the Emperor Alexius came to this Council and asked the Pope for help against the Turks, and that this request awakened in Urban the idea of a crusade. In Lombardy Urban's victory was complete. The archbishop of Milan did penance for having received the investiture from the Emperor, and the young king, Conrad, held the stirrup of the Pope. In France his success was even greater. All opposition was broken down before him. The height of his triumph was reached at the great Council of Clermont, where he assumed the definite leadership of the Christian world by proclaiming a crusade and calling on all Christians to assist in reconquering the Holy Grave. This movement, the product of the religious

The Council at Piacenza, 1095.

Clermont, 1095. The first Crusade.

idealism of the Middle Age, is peculiarly the creation of the Pope. The Emperor was under the ban, the king of France was in no condition to act as leader. The Pope, therefore, assumed the leadership without opposition. The first crusade resulted in acquiring possession of the Holy Grave; a success, although purely factitious, which fired the religious enthusiasm of the west to the highest possible pitch. The credit for this was given to the Pope, and lifted him to an even higher plane in the estimation of the west. The first crusade contributed much to the final success of the Pope.

The last years of Henry IV.

For several years after the death of Gregory, Henry IV. was left to himself. He overcame the opposition in Germany and reigned undisturbed. The revolt of his son Conrad grieved him, but in 1098 he had him excluded from the succession. His second son, Henry, was afterward crowned as his successor, but in 1104 this son also revolted against him and allied himself with the hostile nobles and the Pope. In a battle the son was victorious, and Henry IV. resigned his crown, withdrew from the government, and died a few days later, utterly broken by the heartrending misfortunes of his reign (1106).

Henry V., 1106–25.

Henry V. succeeded to the crown. At the time of his rebellion he had sworn allegiance to the Pope and had received his blessing. He had thus far been supported by the papal party. No sooner was he established in the kingdom, however, than he changed his policy. It was impossible for a king to remain in the papal party. He took up his father's policy and his father's friends. He also claimed the right of investiture. In 1106 Paschalis II. (1099–1118) issued an edict against lay investiture.

In Italy.

The blow was aimed at Henry V., who now collected an army and invaded Italy. In Lombardy he met only with submission. Paschalis, finding resistance hopeless, made an agreement with Henry by which all the clergy were to surrender their lands to him, but the right of investiture was to

be conceded to the Pope. This was wholly to the advantage of the Emperor. He did not care to invest the clergy if they held no lands from him. The settlement was strictly in accordance with the monkish ideal. The clergy were to live according to "the law of Christ," that is, in poverty, dependent on the charity of Christians. The Emperor, on the other hand, was to be enriched by the immense landed possessions of the Church.

Church lands ceded to the Emperor, 1111

This agreement would have ended the quarrel if the clergy had been willing to submit. They refused, however, to give up their possessions. Paschalis, finding himself opposed by all, cancelled this condition, but endeavored to keep the right of investiture. Henry V., however, forced him to yield and (April 12, 1111) grant him the unconditional right of investiture. Again Paschalis being overwhelmed by a storm of opposition and censure, repudiated the agreement and even put Henry under the ban (1112). The struggle was thus renewed. Henry made war on the possessions of Matilda, who died in 1115, and got them into his power. Paschalis fled before him and died in exile among the Normans. His successor, Gelasius II. (1118–19), was constantly in flight, and an imperial Pope, Gregory VIII., occupied Rome. The cardinals, however, assembled in Clugny and elected Calixtus II. (1119–24), a cunning diplomat. He was ready to make concessions, being tired of the war. At last (1122) an agreement was made between the parties which is known as the Concordat of Worms. Its terms are as follows: The Emperor concedes to the Pope the right to invest the clergy with spiritual authority, which was symbolized by the ring and the staff; he gives up the right of appointing bishops and abbots, who are to be canonically elected in the presence of the Emperor or of his representative; contested elections shall be decided by the Emperor; the Emperor has the right to invest the clergy with their lands, and all their civil and judicial functions. This form of inves-

Imperial Investiture, 1111.

Concordat of Worms.

titure was the same as that of the counts and other laymen. Its symbol was the sceptre. In Germany the oath of allegiance must be taken before investiture; in other lands, within six months after investiture. This was a compromise in which the Pope got the best of it. The Emperor had preserved his right to invest with the lands, but he could really no longer control the election. The effect of this was that the church lands, which up to this time had been one of the greatest supports of the throne, were now alienated and regarded as the property of the Church. They were from this time on really in the hands of the Pope. The clergy were no longer in the control of the Emperor. They were also delivered over to the Pope, and an independent patriotic German clergy was from this time on almost impossible.[1]

Against Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, Henry V. made several campaigns (1107–10), but met with little success. Toward the end of his reign, however, much was done to establish the German supremacy over these states by the missionary efforts of Otto, bishop of Bamberg. He labored especially

[1] The following is a part of the text of the Concordat of Worms: "Ego Heinricus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator Augustus . . . dimitto deo et sanctis eius apostolis, Petro et Paulo, sanctæque catholicæ ecclesiæ omnem investituram per annulum et baculum, et concedo in omnibus ecclesiis fieri electionem et liberam consecrationem. Ego Calixtus Episcopus servus servorum dei, tibi dilecto filio Heinrico, Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori Augusto, concedo electiones Episcoporum et Abbatum Teutonici regni, qui ad regnum pertinent, in præsentia tua fieri absque simonia et aliqua violentia, ut si qua inter partes discordia emerserit, metropolitani et comprovincialium consilio vel judicio saniori parti assensum et auxilium præbeas. Electus autem regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat, et quæ ex his tibi debet, faciat, exceptis omnibus, quæ ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere noscuntur. Ex aliis vero partibus imperii consecratus infra sex menses regalia per sceptrum a te recipiat et quæ ex his jure tibi debet," etc.

"Regalia" was defined as follows: "Regalia, id est civitates, ducatus, marchias, comitatus, monetas, teloneum, mercatum, advocatias regni, iura centurionum et curtes, quæ manifeste regni erant, cum pertinentiis suis, militiam et castra regni." That is, the Emperor has the right to appoint the governors of cities, dukes, border counts (marquis), counts, control the coining of money, the collection of taxes or tolls, the establishment of markets, appoint royal advocates, the holders or overseers of imperial farms, etc.

among the Slavic peoples in Pomerania, and met with great success. This was another step in the way pointed out by Otto the Great to extend the German frontier to the east. Like his father, Henry V. had to meet with much opposition from the nobles of his land. He sought to win the favor of the cities of his Empire, which were rapidly growing rich, in order to set them over against the nobility. He seems to have recognized, in a dim way, the power and importance of the citizen class, and endeavored to make it his ally.

The eastern frontier.

Henry V. was childless, and, when nearing death, tried to persuade the princes to choose as his successor his nephew, Frederick of Hohenstaufen. They feared, however, that he would continue the policy of Henry IV. and Henry V., with regard both to the Church and to the princes. They hoped to find some one who would interfere less with them and their independence. A meeting was called by the archbishop of Mainz, for the purpose of electing a king. Ten representatives from each of the great duchies were chosen to nominate a candidate. When it was found that they could not agree on one person, they presented the names of four, Lothar of Saxony, Frederick of Hohenstaufen, Leopold of Austria, and probably Karl of Flanders. Frederick claimed the crown by the right of inheritance, but his manner was so overbearing that after a short time Lothar was elected. The papal party voted for the latter because they believed him devoted to the interests of the Church. Lothar agreed not to interfere with the election of the clergy, and to allow the Pope, in accordance with the Concordat of Worms, to invest all bishops and abbots with the ring and the staff, but stipulated that he himself should invest them with the sceptre. Lothar also wrote to the Pope asking him to confirm his election as Emperor.

Election of Lothar of Saxony, 1125-38.

Frederick of Hohenstaufen and his brother Conrad, angered that the crown should have gone to Lothar, were ready to revolt. They at once laid claim to all the private lands of Henry V.,

and also to all those which had been added to the Empire by conquest or otherwise during his reign. The princes, however, refused to recognize the justice of these claims and a war broke out between the Hohenstaufen and Lothar, which lasted for nearly ten years. In 1128 Conrad was set up as king, and succeeded in getting a firm hold in Lombardy and in being crowned at Monza. Not till 1135 did the Hohenstaufen yield and make peace with Lothar. In this struggle Lothar was greatly helped by the Guelf family of Bavaria, with which he made an alliance, giving his daughter in marriage to Henry the Proud.

On the eastern frontier he carried on the policy of Otto I. He made a few campaigns against the Bohemians, and acted as arbitrator between the opposing claimants for the throne of Hungary. In his reign missionary work among the peoples of the east was carried vigorously forward. Magdeburg was the place from which the work proceeded at this time.

The eastern frontier.

In 1130 a double papal election took place, which seriously threatened to disrupt the Papacy. Innocent II. (1130–43) was elected by a part of the Cardinals, under the influence of one of the factions among the people of Rome. The rest of the Cardinals, a majority of them, under the influence of another noble family, chose Anacletus II. (d. 1138). In the struggle which followed between them Innocent II. appealed to the king of France, and, after having won the favor of Bernhard of Clairvaux, found it not difficult to draw both France and Germany to his side. In 1132 Lothar went to Italy, established Innocent in Rome, and received in return the imperial crown. The Pope also invested him with the lands of Matilda, and he became thereby the Pope's feudal subject. The Pope evidently wished to make his victory over the Emperor seem as great as possible, and, taking advantage of Lothar's yielding disposition, caused a picture to be painted representing the Emperor kneeling at his feet and receiving the imperial

Disputed papal election.

Lothar as the Pope's "man."

crown at his hands. It was intended that this picture should express the idea that the Emperor was receiving the imperial crown as a fief from the Pope. It was provided with the following inscription:

> "Rex venit ante fores jurans prius urbis honores,
> Post homo fit papæ recepit quo dante coronam."

Lothar was compelled to leave Italy (1133) before he could conquer the anti-pope, but in 1136 he again set out for Italy with a large army. He met with little or no active resistance in the north of Italy, but several cities kept aloof from him. He determined to punish Roger of Sicily, who, in return for his support, had received the title of king from the anti-pope Anacletus, and had been invested by him with the Norman possessions in southern Italy. Lothar's invasion of Roger's territory was entirely successful for the moment, but, after his troops were withdrawn, Roger succeeded in retaking all that he had lost. Soon afterward Roger transferred his allegiance to Innocent II., on the condition that his title of king be confirmed, and that he be left in possession of southern Italy. In this way the Pope again obtained an excellent ally in the south.

Lothar in southern Italy.

In the tenth century the church in southern France had undertaken to put an end to the private wars which were waged so constantly that little or no progress could be made in any way. It was a movement originated and controlled by the clergy. Under pain of excommunication they forbade all private warfare. This was known as the Peace of God. But the Church was not strong enough to enforce this sweeping prohibition, and a compromise was made. Under the same penalty all fighting was prohibited from Wednesday evening until Monday morning. This was called the Truce of God. As the desire for peace spread, the kings took up the idea, but modified it. They proclaimed that the peace of the land was the possession of the

Lothar renews the peace of the land.

king, who was responsible for its preservation, and, therefore, possessed the right to punish all who disturbed it. In accordance with this new idea Lothar proclaimed a "peace of the land," and forbade any one to break it for a period of ten years.

While on his way to Germany from Italy Lothar II. died, after investing his son-in-law, Henry the Proud, with Saxony, and giving him the imperial insignia. He hoped in this way to insure his election as king. The princes, however, refused to be guided by this act. They already feared the power of Henry, since he held both Bavaria and Saxony. They, therefore, hesitated to increase his power by making him king. In a very irregular way Conrad of Hohenstaufen was elected. The Guelf family was angry that their head, Henry the Proud, had not been elected, and from this time on for a hundred years there was almost constant war between them and the Hohenstaufen.

Designation of Henry the Proud disregarded.

Conrad III., 1138-52.

It was not long until Conrad III. was compelled to attack Henry the Proud. He first deprived him of the duchy of Saxony, which he gave to Albert the Bear. Shortly afterward he took Bavaria from him and gave it to his half-brother Leopold. Henry the Proud, however, was very popular in Saxony, and at his call the Saxons rallied around his standard, and he quickly reconquered the whole of the land. He was about to reconquer Bavaria when he died (1139). His nine-year-old son, Henry, afterward known as the Lion, was at once recognized by the Saxons as their duke, and the war was continued. Guelf, the brother of Henry the Proud, took up arms in Bavaria, but he was besieged by Conrad in the fortress of Weinsberg and compelled to surrender.[1]

Henry the Lion.

[1] Fifty years after this event the legend of the faithful women of Weinsberg was in circulation. It was said that when the fortress was surrendered Conrad gave permission to the women to carry away all that they could on their backs. All that was left by them was to be his: the men were to be prisoners of war. At the appointed time the gates were thrown open, and the Em-

Duke Leopold of Bavaria died in 1141, and his brother, Henry II., called from one of his favorite oaths Jasomirgott, succeeded him in the March of Austria. A peace was established by the marriage of Jasomirgott with the widow of Henry the Proud. The boy, Henry the Lion, received Saxony, and Jasomirgott Bavaria. These civil wars gave the Barbarians on the frontier the opportunity to revolt, and the German influence in these districts was greatly weakened. Italy was allowed to go its own way, and Rome indulged in another revolution under Arnold of Brescia. Conrad seemed unable to restore order, but in spite of this yielded to the appeal of Bernhard of Clairvaux, took the cross, and led a German army to Palestine (1146). Under the enthusiasm of the religious movement a general peace was declared, and Henry the Lion agreed to wait until after the crusade was ended to settle his claims on Bavaria. The account of this unfortunate crusade will be given in another place. Germany suffered much because of the absence of the king. Violence, private war, and political disintegration increased. Conrad returned in 1149 and found Germany in a sad state of disorder. Although he was unable to put an end to the violence, he began a war with Henry the Lion, but died before accomplishing anything (1152).

Conrad III. inefficient.

The princes of the Empire came together in a few days and unanimously chose Conrad's nephew, Frederick, called Barbarossa because of his red beard, as king. Conrad had recommended this, knowing that his eight-year-old son would not be equal to the task of governing the Empire. Frederick was a descendant from both the Guelf and the Hohenstaufen families. His mother was a sister of Henry the Proud. He was also a friend of Henry the Lion. It was hoped, therefore, that he might command the

Frederick I. designated and elected, 1152–60.

peror was more than surprised to see the long line of women filing out, each one bearing her husband on her back. Conrad was so impressed with the faithfulness of the women that he declared he could not break his word, and, besides, allowed the women to return and secure all their possessions.

adherence of both families, and so end the struggle between them. It was not the fault of Frederick Barbarossa that this was not accomplished. Frederick may be said to have had two policies, one as king of Germany and the other as Emperor of the world. He tried to make Germany a state by unifying the government, and repressing all violence and oppression. As Emperor, his one ideal was to restore the ancient Roman Empire. The great Roman Emperors were his models. In the eleventh century there had begun a revival in the study of Roman law, and Frederick at once pressed it into his service. He surrounded himself with men who were versed in the Codex of Justinian, and from these he received the imperial ideas which he tried to realize in his Empire. These lawyers were impressed with the spirit of absolutism in the Roman laws, and chose such maxims to lay before Frederick as would increase his feeling of sovereignty. They told him that the will of the prince was law, and that the Emperor was absolute sovereign of the world. The absolutism of Frederick was not the outcome of a lust for personal power, but the logical product of his conception of his office.

His two policies.

In the first days of his reign Frederick was called on to decide the question of the succession in Denmark. Swein and Knut could not agree about the succession, and so appealed to Frederick. He decided in favor of Swein, who then took the oath to him, and received his kingdom as a fief from him. A little later he restored Bavaria to Henry the Lion, who had renewed his claims to it. In other ways also he favored Henry the Lion, and really left him no ground for dissatisfaction, except that he was not king.

Denmark an imperial fief.

In 1154 Frederick crossed the Alps into Lombardy, and pitched his camp on the famous Roncaglian plain. A diet was announced, and the cities of Lombardy ordered to send their consuls to meet him. Most of the cities did so, but Milan and some of her allies refused to obey. There was a struggle going on between the smaller cities and Milan, for the latter

had been acting with great tyranny. Pavia appealed to the Emperor against Milan and Tortona. Since Tortona disregarded his commands, he besieged and destroyed it. In Pavia, Frederick was crowned king of Lombardy. Milan was not at this time humbled, since the Emperor's attention was called in another direction.

The first Roncaglian Diet, 1154.

As there had lived on in the west through the chaos the idea of the universal Empire, so at Rome the memory of her headship of the world was still fresh. The people of Rome had been restless under all control, whether imperial or papal. The nobility of the city remembered in a hazy way the glory and dignity of the senate, and the common people had a faint idea of the power they had exercised in the time of the republic. It was but natural that the idea of restoring themselves to power, and the city to her former position, should have appeared among them. The idea of the political authority and independence of Rome existed still in the minds of the Romans, although it was not clearly defined and stated. It had shown itself often in opposition to the growing absolutism of the Popes, many of whom had been driven from the city because they offended the people by assuming too much authority. The absolutism of the Pope was incompatible with the political ideas of the Romans. In 1143 these ideas took a more tangible form. The Pope was driven out of the city, and the government passed into the hands of the people. A commune was established which was supposed to be modelled after that of ancient Rome. It was a truly democratic movement conducted by the common people and the inferior nobility. The senate was restored, and was to consist of fifty-six members, who were chosen from the ranks of the common people. The papal government and officials of the city were removed, and the executive power placed in the hands of a Patricius. His title seemed to indicate that his authority was Roman and not papal.

Archaistic Revival in Rome.

Two years later Arnold of Brescia came to Rome, and was soon the most influential person in the city. He had been born at Brescia and had therefore come into contact with the ideas of the Pataria, especially in regard to the marriage of the clergy. He had been in France and had heard the theories of the great heretic Abelard, and, having adopted them, wished to put them into practice. He was made a priest and drawn to Rome soon after the revolution of 1143. His programme was somewhat extensive. His sympathies were with the common people as against the nobility. He was filled with the idea which had cropped out at various times in the Church, and was soon to become a central reforming principle of St. Francis, the sinfulness of property. He declared that the land should not be held by the rich, but should be common property. Everyone had the right to the use of a certain amount of land. Since individual possession is sinful, the Church, of course, should be without property. But he went a step further, and declared that the individual also should live in poverty. He attacked the clergy for their crimes and worldliness. It was to him a mark of the deepest corruption of the clergy that they had so great a share in the administration of civil affairs. "Clergymen with property, bishops with regalia, and monks with possessions could not be saved." The Church needed a thorough reform, and he was wise enough to see that the beginning should be made with the Pope. Arnold demanded that the Church give up all her possessions and live in poverty, which, he said, was the law of Christ. Fired by his preaching the mob began to sack the monasteries. If it was wrong for the clergy to have property, they ought to be deprived of it at once!

Arnold of Brescia.

Eugene III. (1145–53) was able to make peace with the commune for a while, but the struggle soon broke out afresh. He was driven out of the city, and went to France to take refuge with Bernhard of Clairvaux. Eugene III. was a weak and timid man and was wholly in the hands of Bernhard, who

at this time was the most prominent person in the Church. In 1148, after an absence of more than two years, Eugene III. returned to Italy. Rome, in the meantime, had been controlled by Arnold.

The political ideas of the Romans had undergone a change in what may be called an archaistic direction. It was determined to renew the Roman republic; but this was not the republic pure and simple. The Emperor was, of course, included in the scheme; but it was not an Emperor after the model of Justinian, an absolute master; that would be incompatible with the full supremacy of Rome. The Emperor was to be but the executive official of the republic. All his power was to emanate from the senate and people of Rome. It was this republic that Frederick Barbarossa, who regarded himself as a second Constantine or Justinian, had to deal with. Eugene III. died in 1153, and his successor was an Englishman, the only Englishman, indeed, that has ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. His name was Nicholas Breakspeare, and he assumed the title of Hadrian IV. He got possession of the Vatican quarter of the city and entrenched himself there. He placed the Romans under an interdict and could be persuaded to remove it only on the condition that Arnold should be exiled. By losing him the republic lost its best leader. When Frederick appeared in Lombardy both the Pope and the republic were desirous of winning his favor. The Pope came to meet him near Viterbo and asked his help. He made charges against Arnold of Brescia and demanded his death. An embassy of the city also came to meet him, and reminded him of the fact that the people of Rome were the source of the imperial power, which they had conferred on the Germans. They were willing to make him Emperor if he would swear to respect the rights of Rome and her officials, and pay them a large sum of money. Frederick was enraged at their insolence, and plainly told them that Karl the Great and Otto I. had acquired the imperial title

Hadrian IV. gets control of Rome.

by conquest. Rome's power was a thing of the past; her glory and authority had passed to the Germans. It was not for a conquered people to dictate terms to their master.

Hadrian IV. was willing to make better terms with Frederick. He agreed to crown him on the condition that he be restored to his place in Rome. The coronation took place secretly, but as soon as it was known the people formed a mob and attacked the Germans in the streets. After some hard fighting the mob was dispersed, and Frederick and Hadrian took possession of the city. Arnold of Brescia had taken refuge with some of the nobility, but was now, at the demand of the Emperor, surrendered to the Pope, at whose command he was burned at the stake as a heretic by the Prefect of the city. The Emperor, however, could not remain long in the south. He was threatened with fever; the heat was very oppressive, and he was needed in Germany. He returned, therefore, leaving Rome in the hands of Hadrian IV. The relations between Frederick and Hadrian had not been wholly peaceable. At their meeting, Frederick had refused to hold the stirrup of the Pope, and Hadrian, enraged at this, would not give the Emperor the kiss of peace. The quarrel was eventually patched up, but there could be no lasting agreement between men who were under the control of such absolutely contradictory ideas.

Coronation of Frederick.

Trouble brewing.

In Germany the question of the duchies was yet to be settled, and there was trouble also on the eastern frontier. Frederick restored (1154) Bavaria to Henry the Lion, but Jasomirgott refused to surrender it till he was indemnified by receiving the title duke of Austria (1156). In the next year he marched against Poland, settled a contest over the crown, and made the country acknowledge his sovereignty. The duke of Bohemia was rewarded for his faithfulness by receiving the title of king.

The Besançon episode showed the temper of the two parties and indicated the speedy outburst of the storm. The arch-

bishop Eskil of Lund had been in Rome, and while on his return homeward through Burgundy was seized, robbed, beaten, and imprisoned. Although Frederick was informed of this, he made no attempt to set him free or to punish those who had committed the outrage. One reason for this indifference was to be found in the fact that Frederick was very angry at Eskil, because he was endeavoring to free the Church of the north from the control of the archbishop of Hamburg. Eskil was supporting the ambition of the Scandinavian Church to become independent. The national feeling was, of course, at the bottom of it. Frederick also wished to show his displeasure with the treaty which had just been made between the Pope and William of Sicily, in which the Emperor's rights had been entirely disregarded. While Frederick was at Besançon (October 24–28, 1157) two legates appeared from the Pope bearing a letter in which the Emperor was roundly rebuked for his neglect. When they first presented themselves before Frederick they delivered the greetings of the Pope and the cardinals, adding that the Pope greeted him as a father, the cardinals, as brothers. This form of salutation was regarded as strange, but was not resented by Frederick. On the following day they were formally received by the Emperor, and laid before him Hadrian's letter. After rebuking Frederick for his indifference, the Pope confesses that he does not know the cause of it. Hadrian feels that he has not offended in any respect against Frederick; on the contrary, he has always treated him as a dear son. Frederick should recall how, two years before, his mother, the Holy Roman Church, had received him and had treated him with the greatest affection, and, by gladly conferring upon him the imperial crown, had given him the highest dignity and honor. "Nor are we sorry," he continued, "that we fulfilled your desires in all things; but even if your Excellence had received greater fiefs (beneficia) from our hands, if that were possible, in consideration of the great services which you

The Besançon episode, 1157.

may render to the Church and to us, we should still have good grounds for rejoicing." The reading of the letter produced the wildest sort of scene. Never before had the Empire been thus openly called a fief of the Papacy. The princes about Frederick angrily remonstrated with the legates for making such claims. To this one of them replied by asking, "From whom then did the Emperor receive the Empire, if not from the Pope?" The question almost cost him his life, for the hot-blooded Otto von Wittelsbach rushed upon him and would have slain him but for the interference of the Emperor. The legates were ordered to return at once to Italy, and were not permitted to proceed further on the business of the Pope.

Whether or not Hadrian meant that beneficium should be understood as fief or not, is really of small consequence. The important thing was that he plainly treated the imperial crown as if it were something entirely within his power to give or withhold. This was little less offensive to Frederick than the word fief, because it was his belief that the imperial crown was attached to the German crown. The king of Germany had a right to the imperial crown. The Pope merely had the right to crown him. Toward Lothar II. the Pope had acted as if the imperial crown were his to give or withhold, and no one had then remonstrated. Frederick I., however, revived the former conception, and regarded the crown as the gift of God.

The Emperor's manifesto.

Frederick then published a manifesto to his people, recounting the claims of the Pope as contained in the letter, and in opposition to these declared that he had received the imperial crown from God alone through the election by the princes. Jesus had taught that the world was to be ruled by two swords,[1] the spiritual and the

[1] From the harmless passage, Luke xxii. 38, by the peculiar method of interpretation used during the Middle Age, there was developed the famous theory of the two kinds of authority, the spiritual and the temporal. One of the swords of which St. Peter spoke was declared to symbolize the Empire, the other, the Papacy. The great question which had to be settled was which of these two swords should rule the other.

temporal. Peter had commanded that all men should fear God and honor the king, therefore, whoever said that the Empire was a fief of the Papacy was opposed to St. Peter and guilty of lying.

Hadrian IV. then wrote an open letter to the clergy of Germany, expressing surprise and indignation at the turn affairs had taken. It was a most diplomatic letter, written for the purpose of winning the German clergy to his side. Some of them, however, were true to their Emperor, and wrote Hadrian a letter in which they embodied the answer of Frederick. It was of the same tenor as his manifesto, and claimed that the Empire was not a beneficium (fief) of the Pope, but that Frederick owed it to the favor (beneficium) of God. Frederick was also still angry about the picture which the Pope had had made representing Lothar on his knees receiving the crown from the Pope. The Pope, he said, was trying to make an authoritative principle, basing it simply upon a picture. Hadrian now saw that he had gone too far, and wrote a letter to Frederick in which he explained that "beneficium" was composed of "bono" and "facio," meaning not "fief," but a "kind deed" or "favor." By "*contulimus*" he had meant only "*imposuimus*." Hadrian succeeded in quieting Frederick, but the battle had been merely put off; it was not ended.[1]

Hadrian's explanation.

[1] The following selections are from the various letters mentioned in the text. Hadrian's first letter to Frederick contained the following: "Cuius quidem dissimulationis et negligentiæ causam penitus ignoramus, quoniam nos in aliquo serenitatis tuæ gloriam offendisse, conscientiæ scrupulus nostrum animum non accusat, sed personam tuam sicut karissimi et specialis filii nostri et principis christianissimi, quem in apostolicæ confessionis petra non ambigimus per Dei gratiam solidatum, sincera semper dileximus karitate et debitæ tractavimus benignitatis affectu. Debes enim, gloriosissime fili, ante oculos mentis reducere, quam gratanter et quam iocunde alio anno mater tua sacrosancta Romana ecclesia te susceperit quanta cordis affectione tractaverit, quantam tibi dignitatis plenitudinem contulerit et honoris, et qualiter imperialis insigne coronæ libentissimo conferens, benignissimo gremio suo tuæ sublimitatis apicem studuerit confovere, nihil prorsus efficiens quod regiæ voluntati vel in minimo cognosceret obviare. Neque tamen penitet nos tuæ desideria voluntatis in omnibus im-

Frederick now proceeded to Italy to settle matters with Milan, which had refused to recognize his feudal rights. For about a hundred years the cities of Italy had been left to themselves by the Emperors. They had made good use of this period and had developed an independent government. They had forgotten that they owed any allegiance and duties to the Emperor. Even in the eleventh century there had been a league against the Emperor, in which Milan, Lodi, Piacenza, and Cremona were united to defend their interests. But a strong rivalry had grown up among them. Milan had assumed the leadership and made use of her power to tyrannize over her smaller neighbors. Pavia headed the opposition against her and appealed to the Emperor for help. In the summer of 1158 Frederick came and laid siege to Milan. The inhabitants, finding that they could not resist successfully, made terms with him. It was agreed that the officials of the city should be elected by the city, but confirmed by the Emperor.

The Italian cities lose their freedom.

plevisse, sed, si maiora beneficia excellentia tua de manu nostra suscepisset, si fieri posset, considerantes, quanta ecclesiæ Dei et nobis per te incrementa possint et commoda provenire, non inmerito gauderemus."

The manifesto of Frederick to his people contained the following passage: "Cumque per electionem principum a solo Deo regnum et imperium nostrum sit, qui in passione Christi filii sui duobus gladiis necessariis regendum orbem subiecit, cumque Petrus apostolus hac doctrina mundum informaverit: 'Deum timete, regem honorificate,' quicumque nos imperialem coronam pro beneficio a domino papa suscepisse dixerit, divinæ institutioni et doctrinæ Petri contrarius est et mendacii reus erit."

The German prelates, quoting the words of Frederick to them, wrote in part as follows to Hadrian: "Debitam patri nostro reverentiam libenter exhibemus, liberam imperii nostri coronam divino tantum beneficio ascribimus, electionis primam vocem Maguntino archiepiscopo, deinde quod superest cæteris secundum ordinem principibus recognoscimus, regalem unctionem Coloniensi, supremam vero, quæ imperialis est, summo pontifici; quidquid preter hæc est, ex abundanti est, a malo est."

Hadrian's second letter to Frederick contains the following sentences: "Hoc enim nomen ex bono et facto est editum, et dicitur beneficium apud nos non feudum, sed bonum factum."

"Per hoc enim vocabulum 'contulimus' nil aliud intelligimus, nisi quod superius dictum est 'imposuimus.'"

Another diet was announced to be held in the Roncaglian Plain, and the cities were ordered to send their officials to it. It was Frederick's wish to break down the independent spirit of the cities. It was during his stay in Italy that Frederick had come into contact with the lawyers of Bologna, and learned from them the leading ideas of Roman Law. Ancient customs were revived, and Frederick renewed his claims to the regalia (that is, to the duchies, counties, marches, the office of consul, the right to coin money, collect taxes, customs, duties, etc.). He declared that in the future all the important officers of the city would be appointed by him and the people should approve them. Representatives of all the cities helped frame the rights of the Emperor and agreed to observe them. He proceeded to put his claims into force. He sent his representatives throughout the country to establish in every city his officials. In Milan this caused an uprising, and the gates were closed against the Emperor's messengers. Frederick laid siege to the city (April, 1159), which held out nearly three years. In February, 1162, it could resist no longer. The people tried in every way to appease Frederick, but he remained deaf to their entreaties. The walls of the city were razed, the inhabitants of the city driven out, and many of the nobility kept as hostages.

The second Roncaglian Diet.

Milan destroyed, 1162.

In the meanwhile the quarrel had broken out afresh between the Pope and the Emperor. In 1159 Hadrian made sweeping demands of Frederick in regard to the possession of the lands of Matilda, the collection of feudal dues by Frederick from the papal estates, and the full sovereignty in Rome. The Emperor, of course, refused these demands, and the Pope prepared for the struggle. He sought help from Roger of Sicily, and the Greek Emperor, and intrigued with the cities of Lombardy. In 1159 Hadrian died, and the cardinals thereupon elected the man who had acted as the spokesman of Hadrian at Besançon, Roland Bandinelli,

Alexander III.

who assumed the name of Alexander III. He now took up the quarrel and spent his time endeavoring to find allies. Frederick, however, set up an anti-pope, and was so successful in his opposition to Alexander III. that the Pope was compelled to leave Rome and seek a refuge in France (1161). Frederick seemed to have won the day. His officials were in all the cities; Milan was destroyed and the Pope an exile. But his very success was the cause of his defeat; he had borne himself as an Emperor of the old school. His absolutism was tyranny to the cities, and hence they were eager to find some way of avenging themselves. The head of the opposition was Alexander III. In 1165 he returned to Rome, excommunicated the Emperor, and released his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. Alexander was a diplomat and a demagogue; he was hostile to the independence of the Lombard cities, but because they could help him he sought their alliance. For nearly fifteen years this able man led the opposition to Frederick, and the victory over the Emperor was due in a large measure to his ability and efforts. The next year (1166) Frederick went again into Italy with a large force to punish the rebels and to put the new anti-pope, Paschalis, in the chair of St. Peter. After a siege he took Rome. Paschalis was established as Pope and a few days later recrowned Frederick and his wife in St. Peter's. A pest broke out shortly afterward and Frederick, alarmed at the great mortality among his troops, hastened back to Germany. As fast as he retreated the cities behind him revolted, and he barely escaped with his life.

The Lombard League, 1167. The cities now entered into the famous Lombard League (1167). Milan was rebuilt by the aid of them all, and assumed the leading position in the league. Pavia still remained true to the Emperor, but to keep it in check the league founded a new city on the border of its territory and named it Alexandria in honor of the Pope. It was not till 1174 that Frederick was in a position to re-enter Italy. Then the Emperor himself laid siege to Alexandria, while some

of his troops overran Tuscany and Umbria. Alexandria was very strong and the siege lasted for months. Overtures of peace were made, and, as winter was approaching, Frederick withdrew to Pavia. Again and again he called on the German princes to come to his assistance. Henry the Lion now thought it an excellent opportunity to humble the Emperor and refused to assist him. In May, 1176, the troops of the league attacked Frederick at Legnano, and won a decisive victory. It was even thought for a while that the Emperor had lost his life in the battle. Frederick realized the situation; he had been beaten, and was therefore ready to make peace on the cities' terms. He met Alexander III. in Venice (1177) and made a truce for six years. He confessed his wrong deeds and begged the Pope to remove the ban from him. Six years later, at Constance, the treaty of peace was signed which granted the cities substantially all that they had demanded. The over-lordship of the Emperor was recognized, but it was merely nominal. The independence of the cities was practically admitted. It was a bitter humiliation for Frederick, but he could not escape it. He had been defeated and had to acknowledge it. Besides, he was pressed in Germany by the Guelf family and needed the support of the Pope. There was nothing for him to do except to confess his fault and abide by the decision reached by the war.

Legnano, 1176.

The Treaty of Constance, 1183.

When Frederick came to the throne (1152) Germany was in a sad state of anarchy. Conrad III. had been unable to prevent rapid disintegration. The Guelfs had opposed Conrad successfully, and it was evident that no one could rule in Germany without reckoning with that powerful family. Frederick showed his greatness in the way in which he took hold of this question concerning the internal politics of Germany. After some difficulty he seemed to have settled the peace of the country. By giving Henry the Lion the Duchy of Bavaria (1154) he hoped to make him

Frederick I. in Germany.

his faithful friend and supporter. To indemnify Jasomirgott for the loss of Bavaria he made the March of Austria a duchy and gave it to him. Guelf VI. he appeased by investing him with the possessions of Matilda. Henry the Lion was ambitious to be duke in fact as well as in name, and throughout his life tried to increase the power of his family. He endeavored to extend his boundaries on all sides; he despoiled the archbishop of Bremen and took Lübeck from Adolph of Holstein. The Slavs to the east he conquered and Christianized. Schwerin was established as a defence against them, and to assist in dominating them he invited colonists from the west to come and settle in these conquered lands, and the process of Germanizing the Slavs of Pomerania was begun. He established bishops among them at Eutin, Ratzeburg, Oldenburg, Schwerin, and Lübeck. He had many enemies who more than once leagued themselves against him. Among these were the archbishops of Cologne and Bremen, and the margraves of Brandenburg and Thuringia. In spite of their opposition, however, Henry the Lion was successful, and received the support of Frederick Barbarossa. After the death of Albert the Bear, margrave of Brandenburg (1170), Henry the Lion enjoyed peace and took advantage of it to go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

On his return from Palestine Henry the Lion showed great anger with the Emperor; probably because the latter had been in Saxony during his absence, and had, as Henry thought, interfered in the affairs of the duchy. The quarrel soon became more and more bitter, although it is impossible to trace the reasons of it. It reached a crisis in 1176, when Henry the Lion refused to help Frederick in his struggle with the Pope and the Lombard League. Although greatly enraged at this, Frederick proceeded calmly to prepare to punish him. In 1178 he returned to Germany, and cited Henry to appear against his enemies at a diet to be held at Worms (1179). On his refusal, he was cited three times to appear before the Emperor, but, as he paid no attention to the

Henry the Lion.

summons, he was banished and all his fiefs and family possessions were confiscated. Saxony was then overrun by the Emperor, and Henry was compelled to sue for mercy. Frederick forgave him and allowed him to retain his private estates, but not his duchies. Saxony was given to a son of Albert the Bear; the archbishop of Cologne was made duke in Westphalia; and Bavaria was given to Otto of Wittelsbach. Henry was compelled to leave Germany for three years. When he returned he had to live in retirement on his Saxon estates.

The power of Frederick was shown in 1184, when he held a great diet at Mainz, at which seventy thousand knights were present. Ambassadors from almost every country in western Europe were there. Henry II. of England recognized Frederick's over-lordship. Soon after this he went to Italy and celebrated the marriage of his son, Henry VI., to Constance, the heiress to the crown of the kingdom of Sicily. She was the aunt of the reigning king, William II., who was without children. Frederick hoped by this marriage to add the territory of southern Italy to his possessions. Frederick's relations with the cities of northern Italy seem to have been the very best at this time, for Milan begged that the marriage might take place there, and the Emperor was received in the city with every mark of joy. His son, Henry VI., was crowned king of Italy, and united with his father in the work of government.

The effect of the marriage of Henry VI. and Constance of Sicily was at once foreseen by the Pope, who did all he could to oppose it. Urban III. determined to strike before the Emperor's power should become too great. He demanded the immediate surrender of the lands of Matilda and of the regalian rights. Other demands were made, none of which Frederick would grant. At the same time the archbishop of Cologne raised a rebellion against the Emperor and sought the aid of the Pope. Urban III. threatened Frederick with the ban, but died before it was published. Gregory VIII., who succeeded him, was an avowed enemy of Frederick, but his pontificate was brief.

In the meantime the news reached the west that Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Saracens, and, according to the ideas of the times, its recovery was regarded as the most pressing business of the age. Clement III. was willing to make almost any concessions if he could enlist Frederick for a crusade. An agreement was made in which Frederick seemed to have won the victory. He was now ready to go on the crusade. He placed the management of affairs in Germany in the hands of Henry VI., who took the title of king of the Germans, and set out in the spring of 1189. Henry the Lion refused to accompany him and was banished for three years. An account of this crusade will be given in another place. Frederick died by drowning in one of the mountain streams of Cilicia, June 10, 1190.

The Crusade of Frederick I.

Alexander III. was victorious also over Henry II. of England. Hadrian IV. had given Ireland to Henry II., but it was not until after the murder of Beket that he was able to subdue it. In 1162 Henry II. forced the election of Thomas Beket as archbishop of Canterbury. His purpose in this was that he might, through him, gain complete control over the trials of the clergy. Henry II. was following the policy of uniting all judicial authority in his own hands, and to complete this system he wished to have the clergy tried by his judges. In 1164 the Constitutions of Clarendon were published, which, on the whole, were but a restatement of the king's ancient rights. Bishops and abbots were to be elected in the presence of the king's officers and with the king's assent. Before being consecrated to his office, the bishop or abbot-elect must do homage to the king for his lands, and hold them as a fief from the king and pay all the customary feudal dues. Appeal to Rome was forbidden to the clergy, and they were not permitted to leave England without the consent of the king. The king must be consulted before any of his great vassals might be put under the ban of excommunication. The bishop might, indeed, try all accused clergymen, but if a clergy-

The Papacy and England.

man was convicted, he was to be given over to the civil authorities for punishment. In the quarrel that ensued Thomas Beket found that his life was not safe, and fled to France. Six years later Henry was forced by the threats of Alexander III. to recall him. Thomas returned (1170), but was slain shortly afterward by four knights who were followers of the king. Alexander III. now demanded the fullest reparation, and Henry II. did penance, made his peace with the Pope, and annulled the obnoxious measures.

In Italy Alexander III. found that, although he had overcome Frederick, he had not won the whole victory for himself. The cities of Lombardy and the kingdom of Sicily secured their own advantages and went on their way of independence. Although Alexander tried to unite all Italy under his authority, he was unsuccessful. During his struggle with Frederick there had been several anti-popes established by the Emperor. The schism was ended in 1178 by the surrender of Calixtus III., who found it impossible to sustain himself after the Emperor had made peace with Alexander. To guard against disputed elections in the future, it was decreed in the Lateran Synod of 1179, that whoever should receive the votes of two-thirds of the Cardinals should be regarded as the duly elected Pope. There was nothing said about the Emperor's right to confirm the election, nor was any part accorded the people and clergy of Rome. The whole matter is in the hands of the Cardinals from this time on.

In Italy the spoils divided.

Castile and Leon claimed the territory of Portugal, but Alexander III. made Alphonso its king and gave him authority over all the lands which he might be able to conquer from the Saracens. This was done on the condition that Alphonso and his successors pay the Pope a certain sum of gold every year.

It is evident, therefore, that Alexander III. deserves great credit from the papal point of view for the work of his pontificate. His power was recognized all over the west as that of no Pope before him had been.

The high position of Alexander III.

His immediate successors were unable to maintain all the advantages he had won. Before the end of the century, however, the most imperial of all the Popes was to appear, and realize all that previous Popes had dreamed of; but before Innocent III. there was to be another struggle in Rome. The independent spirit of the people of the city reasserted itself, and Lucius III. (1181–85) and Urban III. (1185–87) spent most of their pontificates in exile. Clement III. (1187–91) succeeded in regaining the mastery in Rome, and all power was made over to him. The Pope had seldom been so secure in the city before. But a new danger was threatening. The marriage of Henry VI. with Constance of Sicily might, at any moment, lead to the establishment of the imperial power in the south, and the addition of Sicily and all the southern part of Italy to the Empire. The Pope would then be between two fires.

Scarcely had Frederick Barbarossa left the country in the hands of his son Henry when Henry the Lion returned and began to attack his neighbors. Henry VI. prepared to resist him, when he heard of the death of William of Sicily. In order to secure the crown of that country, he made peace with Henry the Lion and set out for the south. On the way he heard of his father's death in Asia Minor. He held his first diet at Mainz, and then hastened into Italy.

Henry VI., Sicily, and Germany.

After being crowned Emperor in Rome, he went on and laid siege to Naples, but without success. The heat caused great loss of life in his army, and he was compelled to return to Germany, leaving the kingdom of Sicily unconquered. The people there had already elected count Tancred king, and it seemed for the moment that Henry might not be able to assert his claims. The outlook was not very bright. Tancred might find powerful allies. Richard I. of England, and the Guelf family of Germany were already in league against Henry VI., and if it came to open hostilities they would be glad to have the assistance of Tancred. A conspiracy was formed in Germany against him when, by the greatest good

fortune, Henry VI. found himself master of the situation. Guelf VI. died in 1191, and his possessions in southern Germany fell to Henry. Richard the Lion Heart had been taken prisoner on his way back from Palestine by Leopold, duke of Austria, by whom he was given over to Henry VI. The great coalition of Saxony and England against the Emperor was therefore impossible. He kept Richard imprisoned until February, 1194, when he set him free on the payment of a large ransom. The son of Henry the Lion, also named Henry, fell in love with Agnes, a Hohenstaufen princess, a cousin of Henry VI., and to win her hand he was willing to make terms with the Emperor. By this marriage he inherited the Palatinate, and became the firm friend of Henry VI. Henry the Lion was now old and glad to have peace. Satisfied with the promising future of his son, he withdrew to Braunschweig (Brunswick), where he spent the rest of his days in pious works. He died in 1195.

Peace between Henry VI. and the Guelfs.

In 1194 Henry VI. began his second campaign against Sicily. Tancred was now deprived of all help by the turn which affairs had taken in Germany. He died the same year, and the whole kingdom fell into Henry's possession. Henry punished those who had opposed him with great severity. He invested his brother, Philip of Suabia, with the lands of Matilda, contrary to the wishes of the Pope, who put him under the ban for it. Henry paid no attention whatever to this, but continued his efforts to get possession of Italy. He is said at this time to have planned the destruction of the papal state by adding it to his own territory. Henry also conceived the plan of making the Empire hereditary, and thereby putting an end to feudalism. He offered to make the fiefs of the princes also hereditary, if they would consent to this change. But the idea of the elective character of the Empire was too deeply seated and his plan failed.

Sicily conquered.

Henry VI. now turned to seek his fortune in the east. He planned a crusade, the real object of which was first of all the

conquest of Constantinople. The Greek Empire was, indeed, in a chaotic condition, and he hoped to win its crown and establish himself in Constantinople. From that vantage-point he might easily carry on the war against the Saracens. He went first to Sicily in order to put down a revolt and punish those who were hostile to him, intending then to proceed against Constantinople. He died, however, after a very brief illness (1197), leaving a son, Frederick II., only three years old. His great plans and hopes were destroyed, and the Empire was at once thrown back into the anarchy caused by a contested imperial election. At the same time Innocent III. became Pope, a man of strong will and great ability, full of theocratic ideas and the desire to realize them.

Bold plans of Henry VI.

Innocent III. (1198–1216) represents the last and highest stage in the development of the Papacy. He was a jurist, trained in the schools of Paris and Bologna. He looked at everything from the jurist's point of view, and endeavored to reduce to a legal form and basis all the claims of the Papacy. He was not personally ambitious, but fully persuaded that he was acting in accordance with the best interests of the Church, and even with the plans of God in everything that he did. He believed that the government of the world was a theocracy, and that he himself was the vicar of God on earth. He pushed to the extreme the ideas of the supremacy of the Papacy over all rulers, and actually realized them in many respects. His programme may be summed up under the following heads: 1. The Pope must be absolute master in Italy, which must therefore be freed from the control of all foreigners; hence the Empire must not be allowed to unite any part of the peninsula to itself; the papal state must be strengthened; the political factions in the city must be kept out of power. 2. All the states of the west must be put under the control of the Papacy; neither king nor Emperor may be independent of the Pope, but must submit to him in all things. 3.

Innocent III., 1198–1216, and his programme.

The Church in the east, and the Holy Land must be recovered from the Moslems, and the Greek Church purified of its heresy and reunited to the Church of the west; all heretics must be destroyed; the law and worship of the Church must be made to conform to papal ideas.

In Sicily the young king, Frederick II., was among enemies, and when his mother died, Innocent was made his guardian. He performed his duties toward the boy with great conscientiousness. He supplied him with the ablest teachers and gave him the best education possible. He cared for his interests in Sicily, and protected him against his rebellious subjects.

Innocent and his ward.

In Germany Philip of Suabia, the uncle of Frederick II., was striving to procure the election of his nephew, but the princes feared to entrust the government to a mere child, and elected Philip himself. The Guelf family, however, opposed this, and elected Otto IV., a son of Henry the Lion. In the struggle that ensued Philip of Suabia made an alliance with Philip II. (Augustus) of France, and Otto found an ally in Richard of England. Both appealed to Innocent, who claimed the right to decide between them, but reserved his decision for some time. He also declared that he had the right to inquire into the character of the successful candidate, and reject or anoint him as he chose. He finally decided in favor of Otto IV. on the ground that he was the proper person for the office and devoted to the Church, while Philip was a persecutor, and belonged to a family of persecutors. Innocent made use of a good deal of sophistry in his reasoning, but the ground of the decision is clear. The interest of the Papacy, he believed, demanded the election of Otto and the rejection of Philip. Otto took the oath that he would protect and defend all the possessions of the Papacy, and distinctly mentioned among these all the lands of Matilda and the kingdom of Sicily. Philip, on the other hand, had declared that he would defend the Empire's claims to these lands. In the civil war

The Imperial Election.

that ensued between the rival kings Philip was everywhere successful. When it became evident that he would make himself master of all Germany, Innocent made proposals of peace to him. Philip was willing to listen to these and offered peace to Otto if he would give up his claims on the crown. On his refusal to do so the Pope put him under the ban and went over to the side of Philip. Unfortunately, just as it seemed that Philip was about to end the whole struggle, he was murdered by Otto of Wittelsbach, for some private reason (1208). The Pope now, and the princes of Germany as well, acknowledged Otto IV. as king.

Otto IV., and Innocent.

After holding various diets and regulating the affairs of Germany, Otto IV. set out with a large army for Italy. In the cities of Lombardy, especially Milan, he was received with great honor. He was crowned in Rome by Innocent, after taking the customary oath not to interfere with the papal rights and possessions. But he then refused to keep his oath in regard to the lands of Matilda. He claimed them as a part of the Empire, and demanded at the same time that the kingdom of Sicily be given over to him on the ground that it also was a part of the Empire. Innocent put him under the ban, but Otto proceeded to make his claims good by invading Sicily. He conquered Apulia and Calabria, and the nobles of Sicily, seeing that resistance was hopeless, promised to submit to him. In the midst of his success he was called to Germany by a conspiracy that was forming there among the Hohenstaufen and their followers. The Pope had put forward the boy Frederick II. as a candidate for the German crown, and at the invitation of some of the German princes he set out for Germany. He was received everywhere with joy, and with the help of Philip of France and the Pope he was soon recognized as king.

Frederick II. made king.

In Sicily Innocent reconciled the nobility with Frederick, and succeeded in making good his claims that Sicily was his

fief. In central Italy he made a league with the cities and drove out the imperial officials. He replaced the Emperor in all that district, and established his own officials there. In France there was an excellent opportunity to display his authority. Philip Augustus had married Ingeborg, the sister of the king of Denmark. Becoming dissatisfied with her he divorced her, and this action was approved by the highest clergy of France. Ingeborg appealed to Rome, but without success, until the accession of Innocent III. In the meantime the king married Agnes of Meran. Innocent took up the case, declared Ingeborg the only legal wife of the king, and ordered him to put away Agnes, and restore Ingeborg to her lawful position. The king refused, and the Pope put him under the interdict. For seven months the king held out, but at last the pressure became too great and he yielded to the command of Innocent. His hatred of Ingeborg led him to subject her to many persecutions, and the quarrel between him and Innocent was not wholly mended until 1213. In other matters Philip II. did not hesitate to speak plainly to the Pope. At one time, when he was engaged in the struggle with John of England, he wrote to the Pope that he had no right to interfere in anything that took place between kings.

Sicily and central Italy.

France.

In Portugal the king, Sancho, acknowledged the authority of Innocent, and paid him tribute. In 1204 Peter of Aragon came to Rome and deposited his crown on the altar of St. Peter's. Innocent then crowned him, and Aragon was made a fief of the papacy. Alphonso IX. of Leon was compelled to put away his wife because she was closely related to him. In Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Servia, and in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, Innocent was able to make good his claims, at least in part.

Portugal, Aragon, etc.

In England Innocent's victory led to his defeat. The monks of Canterbury had elected their sub-prior, Reginald, archbishop. This choice did not please king John, who or-

dered them to elect John de Gray, the bishop of Norwich, one of his own creatures. Both men appealed to Innocent, who, after examining into the matter, refused to confirm either, but appointed Stephen Langton to the vacant see. John refused to accept this appointment, and the Pope put him under the interdict. In 1212 he even deposed John, and offered the crown to Philip II. of France. In the end John was compelled to yield and surrender his crown to Innocent, who gave it back to him as a fief of Rome. The anger of the English at this humiliation was so great that it led to their revolt, which in turn led to the granting of the Magna Charta. When John turned to the Pope against his people, Innocent espoused his cause, and supported him in his violence and absolutism. This angered the people and alienated them from the Pope. Innocent freed John from his oath, and put all those who should insist on the observance of the Magna Charta under the ban. In spite of this, however, the people of England insisted upon their rights, and Innocent's power was greatly diminished there.

Innocent and England.

It seemed for a while that the Papacy would get possession of all the Christian east. Innocent III. forbade the fourth crusade to proceed against Constantinople, but when the city was taken and the Latin Church established there he accepted its work. From Constantinople, as a vantage-ground, he hoped to extend the papal authority over all the east. The rapid disintegration of the Latin Empire, however, was destined to blast his hopes.

The east.

During his pontificate many heresies appeared in the west, the most widely spread of which was that of the Albigenses. Innocent and his successor were responsible for the crusade which was preached against them, and carried out by Simon de Montfort. In 1215, at the Lateran Council, the inquisition was established, and it was declared that heresy was a crime which should be punished with death. At the same council the doctrines of transubstantiation

The Lateran Council, 1215.

and auricular confession were promulgated. The twenty-first canon of that council declared that every Christian must confess his sins to the priest at least once a year, and might receive the sacrament of the eucharist after doing so. If he did not confess, the church was to be closed to him, and if he should die, he should not receive Christian burial. "From that time forth the confessional began to be considered as the only means of obtaining forgiveness for mortal sin, which the priest, as representative of God, actually granted, and he alone could grant." The doctrine of transubstantiation, which up to that time had not been the universal belief of the Church, was adopted, and it was decreed that no one except the properly ordained priest could administer the sacrament.

This Lateran Council was planned with the express purpose of bringing together all the clergy of the west and of demonstrating the power of the Pope. Four hundred bishops and eight hundred abbots and priors were present, and representatives from all the courts of Europe, and even from the east, added dignity and pomp to the meeting. Innocent had announced that the council would deal with two questions, the recovery of the Holy Land and the reform of the Church. Many of the canons were really reformatory in their character, and the work of the council dealing with all sorts of questions shows the deep insight and sincerity of Innocent. A great crusade was announced for the year 1217, and immense preparations made for it, but Innocent did not live to see it. He died at Perugia while busily engaged in preparing for the crusade.

The character of the Papacy changed.

On the surface his pontificate seems to have been a success. He had apparently won a victory in every case over the temporal powers. But he had alienated the affections of the people. The cruelty of the crusade against the Albigenses turned the whole of southern France against him. His victory over John of England, and the support he gave him in his unjust struggle against his

people, filled the English with hatred of him. In Germany the same results were reached. The troubadours charged their songs with fearful arraignments, and Walther von der Vogelweide lashed the Papacy for its worldliness, its greed of money, and its ambitions. Innocent gave the fullest expression to the political claims of the Papacy, and did much to realize them. Under his guidance some of the most important doctrines, rites, and practices of the Church were established. The formation of the code of canon law, while not begun by him, was thoroughly in accordance with his ideas, and it gave a legal form and basis to what he had claimed. It would not be too much to say that he was the last great maker of the papacy. His programme was carried through with the appearance of remarkable success, but his best weapon, the interdict, was almost worn out by its too frequent use. The forces were at work which were soon to undo all that he had done. The papacy lost in spiritual power under him because he made politics the principal matter. Earnest Christian pilgrims and visitors at Rome were shocked to hear nothing about spiritual matters, but to find the mouths of all the clergy incessantly filled with talk about temporal affairs. Innocent III. put the Church squarely on the road which led to its religious bankruptcy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The greatest of the Popes was followed by the greatest of the Emperors. In 1212 Frederick had set bravely out to take Germany from Otto IV.; he renewed the alliance with Philip of France; the German princes of the Rhine valley received him with favor. Otto IV. called on his allies for help. John of England sent an army to the continent to unite with the count of Flanders, the duke of Brabant, and other nobles in the north of France against the French king. The decisive battle was fought near Bouvines, in July, 1214, and resulted in the complete victory of Philip II. Since his allies were thus disposed of, Otto IV. was compelled to yield to Frederick without, however, surrendering his

Bouvines, 1214.

title to the imperial crown. He withdrew to his lands, and died at Harzburg (1218).

Frederick was crowned at Aachen in 1215, proclaimed a universal peace in Germany, and took a vow to go on the crusade which Innocent III. was planning. His next step was to secure the imperial crown. But Innocent was afraid of his growing power, although Frederick had been most respectful to him in all things. He feared that if Frederick should hold both Germany and Sicily, the two would be joined together and Frederick would try to control all Italy. He therefore persuaded Frederick to promise that as soon as he should receive the imperial crown he would resign the crown of Sicily to his young son, Henry, who should hold it as a fief from the Pope. Frederick agreed no longer to claim the title of king of Sicily, and promised to find a suitable regent until Henry should become of age. Death prevented Innocent from crowning Frederick, but Innocent's successor, Honorius III., performed the act. Frederick, however, in spite of his promises retained the title of king of Sicily. Honorius III. paid no attention to this breach of faith, because he was desirous that the crusade should be made, and he wished Frederick to join it. Frederick, however, always found excuses, and put off his departure. He married Iolanthe, the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, and without any regard for the rights of her father assumed that title himself. Gregory IX. (1227–41) demanded his immediate departure for Palestine. Frederick finally sailed (1227) from Brindisi, but returned three days later, and excused himself on the ground that he was ill. Gregory would not listen to the excuse and put him under the ban. Frederick defended himself and revoked the grants by which he had ceded lands to the Pope. He then made fresh preparations for the crusade, but the Pope forbade his going until he had obtained the removal of the ban. But Frederick sailed again from Brindisi, June, 1228. He saw that by force it would be impossible to conquer the east. By diplomacy he

Frederick II. and the Papacy

Three times excommunicated.

gained possession of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other places for the Christians. He crowned himself in Jerusalem and returned home, having been three times excommunicated for his disobedience to the Pope.

During his absence the Pope had tried to stir up the Germans against him, and had raised an army at his own expense and attacked his territories in the south. Some success had been achieved when Frederick returned (1229). Taken by surprise, the Pope was unable to continue the war and offered to make peace. The two came together at San Germano (1230), and by mutual concessions peace was restored.

San Germano, 1230.

Frederick turned his attention to Sicily. In 1231 he published the famous "constitutions of the kingdom of Sicily," by which feudalism was destroyed there, and a real kingship established in its stead. Royal judges and courts took the place of the barons and their courts; feudal dues were replaced by direct taxes, and other changes were made which resulted in the formation of a really modern state in all that concerns the machinery of government.

A new government in Sicily.

During his long absence from Germany great disorder had arisen. He had caused his son Henry to be made king in Aachen (1222), and much power had been granted him. In 1233 Henry revolted against his father, but was seized and carried to Italy, where he died as a prisoner (1242). In a great diet at Mainz (1235) he forbade private warfare, proclaimed the peace of the land, and ended all the quarrels between him and the Guelf family by making its last representative a duke and investing him with a large duchy, created especially for him. He was at the height of his power at this time. Germany and Sicily were wholly in his hands, but the cities of Lombardy were not willing to give him the obedience he desired. In 1236–37 he carried on war against them and succeeded in reducing the leader, Milan, after the great battle of Cortenuova (1237).

In 1238 Frederick laid claim to Sardinia as a part of the Empire. This brought on a struggle between him and the Pope, because Sardinia had been declared to be a fief of the Church. Frederick persisted in his course, and the Pope, from this time on, was implacable in his hatred toward Frederick. The final struggle had begun. Gregory IX. and his successors tried to turn the German princes and people against him, and freed them from their oath of allegiance. The cities of Italy were arrayed against him, and help was sought from France. At the same time Frederick was charged with all kinds of heresy. He was reported to have said that there had been three great impostors who had deceived the world—Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed; he had reviled the clergy and the creed of the Church; he had said that nothing is to be believed which is not acceptable to the reason. Heresy was proved by the fact that he associated with both Jews and Mohammedans, and allowed the free exercise of all religions in his kingdom. The Emperor defended himself with great vigor. He had recourse to the Apocalypse of Saint John for his figures of speech, and called the Pope the anti-Christ, the angel that came up from the bottomless pit, and the rider on the red horse with power to destroy peace in the world. Gregory called a council, but Frederick captured the clergy who were on their way to attend it, and thus prevented its meeting. Frederick overran Italy, and got possession of the territory even to the gates of Rome. After the death of Gregory IX. the Cardinals were unable to elect a Pope, and for nearly two years the chair of Saint Peter was vacant. Frederick tried in every way to compel them to elect his candidate, but they resisted him successfully. At last, in 1243, one of Frederick's friends was elected and took the title, Innocent IV. (1243–54). Frederick, however, felt that the war must go on, because, as he said, no Pope could be a Ghibelline. Innocent escaped to France and called a council at Lyon, at which the Emperor was again deposed and put

The struggle with the Papacy renewed.

under the ban. All were forbidden to regard him as their king, or Emperor, and the princes of Germany were ordered to proceed at once to the election of another king. Innocent said that he himself would take care of Sicily. To this Frederick replied, asserting that he was a good Christian, and that he had been laboring all his life only to bring the clergy to live in the proper way and lead an apostolic life in poverty and humility; but they were too worldly. It was necessary, therefore, to deprive them of their possessions. They must give up their wealth and be content with little.

Innocent IV. appealed to France, to the cities of Italy, and to the Germans, and by the greatest exertions kept the war going. He turned it into a crusade, and offered to all who would join in it the same indulgences and spiritual rewards as against the Saracens. In 1246 he succeeded in having count Henry Raspe of Thuringia elected king in place of Frederick. He was about to be crowned when he was defeated in battle and fled to the Wartburg, where he died in 1247. Civil war spread all over Germany. The Begging Friars supported the Pope by stirring up the people against Frederick, and by collecting large sums of money from all quarters to be used in carrying on the opposition. The Pope used large sums of money to persuade the electors to make William of Holland king, and in 1247 he was actually elected. Frederick's son, Conrad IV., who, as king of the Germans, had charge of affairs in Germany, was unable to resist the progress of William, who was crowned at Aachen in 1248. Misfortunes thickened around the aging Emperor. Among the courtiers of Frederick a conspiracy was formed, and an attempt was made to poison him. His son Enzio was taken prisoner and confined in Bologna. One by one his friends and supporters fell in battle. He himself was very ill, but he kept up his courage. His troops were victorious in Italy, and Rome was about to fall into his hands. The struggle was far

A Crusade against the Emperor.

Death of Frederick II., 1250.

from being decided when the Emperor died (December 13, 1250).

Frederick II. was a man of the Middle Age, and belonged at the same time to the Modern Period. He was full of contrasts, not to say contradictions. He was most modern in that he was not controlled by religious, but wholly by political motives. He was not bound by feudal ideas, but actually created an absolute monarchy in Sicily. His kingdom there is regarded as the first modern state in Europe. He persecuted heretics in Germany, but was himself very free in thought and tolerated all religions in his kingdom of Sicily. He was not a German in character, but exhibited the fusion of the German, Italian, Greek, and Saracen elements in southern Italy. He spoke Latin, Italian, French, German, Greek, and Arabic. He surpassed all the Emperors who had preceded him in culture and learning. He was himself a poet, and kept himself surrounded by poets and scholars. He established the University of Naples (1224). He had zoölogical gardens, not for the gratification of his curiosity alone, but also for scientific purposes. He belonged to the class of independent thinkers, of which Abelard was also a member. He preferred to live in Sicily, because it possessed far more culture than Germany. He understood the question at issue between himself and the Pope; he knew that it was for the right to rule the Empire independently that he was fighting. In the art of diplomacy he was well trained, and he won many victories by it. He died before the struggle was ended, but he seems to have felt that it would be decided against him and his family. His last years were made heavy by many misfortunes, but he died with unbroken spirit.

His character.

Innocent IV. was wild with joy when he heard of Frederick's death, and called on all Germans to desert Conrad IV. The friars were again commissioned to preach a crusade, but this time against Conrad, and all were required to take an oath that they would no longer obey him. The princes of Germany,

whose lust for money, land, and power was never greater, were glad of the opportunity to seize the royal and imperial possessions. Many of them went to Lyon to meet the Pope and agree upon a division of the spoil. The clergy were all on the side of the Pope, and it is said that the bishop of Regensburg even tried to murder the king. Conrad did all he could to hold Germany. He gathered his army together and went down the Rhine to meet William of Holland. A battle was fought near Oppenheim, just north of Mainz (1251), and Conrad was defeated. He saw clearly that he could not hope to maintain himself further in Germany, and so set out for Italy. He reached Sicily early in 1252. In southern Italy his half-brother, Manfred, had striven hard to retain the power for Conrad, to whom he was ardently devoted. The death of Frederick had been followed by a good deal of anarchy in the south, and the Pope had called on the people to revolt from the Hohenstaufen. His army of friars labored hard there, but at first without great success. When Conrad arrived, he and Manfred went through the land establishing their authority everywhere. Conrad offered to make terms with the Pope, but all his offers were rejected. Innocent IV. was implacable. He had sworn that the hated race of the Staufer should be literally destroyed. He offered the crown of Sicily throughout Europe, and at length Henry III. of England asked for it for his son Edmund. Conrad then pushed his claims by arms. Naples was taken by him (1253), and the Pope was further troubled by a revolt of the Romans. Manfred was undoubtedly far superior to Conrad in ability, but he remained true to him in every respect; but many of Manfred's friends were impatient with Conrad, and wished that he would die that Manfred might succeed him. A rupture was perhaps only avoided because Conrad died suddenly (1254), leaving his little son, called by the Italians Conradino, to the care of the Church and Manfred. The Pope, however, declared that the kingdom was forfeited to himself and continued the struggle.

Conrad withdraws to Sicily.

For four years Manfred resisted all the efforts of the Pope and Henry III. of England to gain the kingdom for prince Edmund. He held the country for Conradino, who was still in Germany. At length he could resist the importunities of his friends and the nobility no longer, and in 1258 he was made king, and crowned at Palermo. In 1262 an embassy came from Conradino and his mother demanding that the kingdom be given over to the true heir. Manfred replied that he had conquered the territory from the Pope and had been elected by the people. He wished, therefore, to reign as long as he should live, but at his death Conradino should succeed him. The boy, however, should come to Sicily and know the people, and become one of them, for they would never submit to the rule of a German. Meanwhile he continued to try to make peace with the Pope, but without success.

Manfred king in Sicily.

The Pope now turned to France for help. He offered the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, the brother of king Louis IX. This Charles was bold and ambitious, but without all sense of justice. He was utterly unscrupulous and cruel. In 1263 the kingdom of Sicily was made over to him, and he began his preparations to take possession of it. Manfred tried to besiege Rome and to keep Charles from landing in Italy. He was unsuccessful, however, and Charles entered Rome and was crowned king, January 6, 1266. About a month later the decisive battle was fought near Benevento, and when Manfred saw that he was betrayed by many of his troops, who, no doubt, had been bribed by the Pope to desert to Charles during the battle, he rushed into the thick of the fight and was slain. Two days later his body was found and buried without honor. The people, however, carried stones and made a great heap over his grave. The Pope declared that the ground in which he was buried belonged to the Church, and that he should not be granted lawful and holy burial. Accordingly the body was

Charles of Anjou.

Death of Manfred, 1266.

taken up and removed to a neighboring province and reinterred without any Christian burial rites.

Conradino, who had spent all his life in Germany, was a genuine Hohenstaufen. In 1262 he had received the duchy of Suabia, but he was never invested with it. After Manfred's death all the Ghibellines of Italy were united against the hated Frenchman, Charles of Anjou, and begged Conradino to come and put himself at their head. Although a mere lad he set out with ten thousand knights, but because of the lack of funds, many of these were compelled to turn back. He was received with great pomp in Rome (1268). Then he proceeded to the south to meet Charles. Their armies came together, August 23d, on the shore of Lake Fucino. At first Conradino was successful, but Charles came up with his reserves and turned his defeat into a victory. Conradino fled to Astura and put out to sea in a boat, but was captured and brought back, and eventually delivered over to Charles. He was beheaded as a rebel in the public square of Naples.

End of the Hohenstaufen.

The long battle was over, and the victory was the Pope's. Not only was the power of the Hohenstaufen broken, the family itself had been destroyed. There remained only one member of it, Enzio, the son of Frederick II., and he was a prisoner in Bologna. For twenty-three years he was kept in durance, for a long time hoping to escape and retrieve the broken fortunes of his house. He died, however, still a prisoner in 1272, and the great Staufer family was no more. With it had disappeared the Empire of Karl the Great. Not that it was destroyed, but it now underwent a radical change. The government of the world was no longer the peculiar prerogative of the Emperor, but of the Pope. The Pope had vindicated his right to the temporal as well as to the spiritual supremacy. It was now possible for him to declare that he was both Pope and Emperor.

The victory of the Pope.

When Conrad IV. left Germany in 1251, William of Holland remained in full possession. The Pope did all he could to insure William's recognition throughout Germany, but for some time in vain. The cities in the Rhine valley renewed the old league (1254), and within a year there were more than sixty cities bound together for mutual protection. William of Holland was eventually recognized by them, and by nearly all of northern Germany. But becoming engaged in a quarrel with the Friesians, he was killed by some Friesian peasants (January, 1256). Although both Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso of Castile, were afterward elected king, neither of them was able to establish himself as master of the country. Alphonso, indeed, never came to Germany. Richard visited the country, but never exercised any authority there. The period from 1254 to 1273 is known as the great interregnum.

The great interregnum.

During this struggle of the Staufer with the papacy, two things are to be noticed: the largely increased number of principalities and the extension of the frontier on the east. Instead of the five great stem-duchies, there was now a large number of duchies, counties, marches, bishoprics, and other principalities, all striving for independence. It had been the policy of the Hohenstaufen to diminish the power of the dukes by breaking the original duchies up into many smaller political divisions and giving these as fiefs to others. The influence of subinfeudation may also be seen in this dissolution of the great political centres.

Feudal principalities of Germany.

A most important change had taken place in the eastern boundary. Slowly the Slavs, Letts, and Magyars, who covered the whole eastern frontier, had been conquered and were being Christianized and Germanized. The eastern boundary had been carried even beyond the Vistula on the Baltic, and included the valley of the Oder; from there it extended in an irregular line to the Danube below Vienna. Germany had lost Italy forever, but had indemnified

The eastern frontier.

herself in a measure by the conquest and assimilation of these barbarian lands.

Great progress had been made in Germany in culture and wealth. Numerous cities were in existence, and they were now ready to make use of the freedom afforded them by the absence of a strong ruler, to establish among themselves their powerful independent leagues. They were now about to enter on their great period of free growth.

Cities.

In point of ability Germany had had many first-class Emperors, but they had failed to unite the whole country into one government. The crown had not even become hereditary. The selfish ambitions of the princes and the fact that several times the family in possession of the crown had died out, had kept the elective character of the kingship alive in Germany, while in France and England the crown became hereditary. The feudal principle, the principle of disintegration, had at last conquered, and Germany was broken up into some hundreds of little principalities. The future history of Germany is determined by this fact. The character of the Empire is from this time radically changed. The succeeding Emperors perceived that the Hohenstaufen ideal was impossible, and were therefore content to let Italy go its own way, while they labored to enrich their own family. Very few of them ever made any effort to assert their authority in Italy, and these all signally failed. Even in Germany the king is no longer what he was. He is in the hands of the great Electors, and he is little more than a figurehead. The great feudal lords have made themselves independent sovereigns and the royal power is destroyed. Germany, as such, can hardly be said to have had a political history from this time on; what we call the history of Germany is rather the history of a large number of separate and independent states. For six hundred years she was to have no political unity and to become the battle-ground of Europe.

The character of the Empire changed.

The struggle between Pope and Emperor resulted in the political dismemberment of both Germany and Italy. While the feudal lords of Germany had got power there, the cities of Italy were growing in independence, and the French had got a good foothold in the southern part of the peninsula. The Papacy still held its lands in the central part, but as a spiritual institution the Papacy had begun to lose ground. It was losing the religious character it had had in the days of Gregory the Great, and was now regarded more as a great political power. It had placed temporal power above its religious interests, and therefore its victory over the Empire was the beginning of its fall.

CHAPTER XIV

MONASTICISM

THE philosophic basis of monasticism is neither Jewish nor Christian. The Jews had a keen delight in nature and a high conception of its holiness as the handiwork of God. There is also much in the Old Testament indicative of a sound conception of society and the legitimacy of all its normal relations. According to the Jewish belief, God created man for society, and therefore there is nothing contaminating in it. Jesus himself was not ascetic, but, on the contrary, his habits were such as to bring upon him the charge that he was a wine bibber and a glutton. He did not hesitate to associate with even the outcasts of society, and he found nothing polluting in the contact with these. He taught that sin is in nothing that is external to man, but has its seat in the heart. He made no fixed rules of conduct; he laid down broad principles, and every man was expected to find his own way in accordance therewith.

The basis of monasticism not Christian but heathen.

There were certain philosophical ideas among the heathen which would lead logically to asceticism. There were also many customs among them which seemed to the Christians so corrupt that they must be shunned at any cost. But these customs were so inwoven in the life of the people that they could be avoided only by going out of the world. A school of philosophy had been developed among the Greeks whose fundamental idea was that matter is the seat of evil. Over against matter was set spirit. It was believed that matter had been created by the evil god, while spirit was the creation of the good one. But spirit

Matter the seat of evil.

had been confined in matter, and redemption was the process by which it was freed from matter and brought back into union with the Great Spirit. There were many schools and sects which adopted these views, some of which are known by the name of Gnostics. When the Gnostics heard of Christianity, they began to try to fit Jesus into their system of philosophy and redemption. They either rejected the Old Testament because it contained an account of the creation which differed from theirs, or they declared that the God of the Old Testament was the evil one who had created matter. During the second century there was a great struggle in the Church about this question. The result was a compromise. The Gnostic theory of creation was rejected by the Church and the Old Testament was retained as a revelation of the true God; but it was agreed that this world was wholly given over to the devil. The prince of this world is the prince of darkness. A free use of the things of this world was, therefore, forbidden to all Christians.

Jesus had, indeed, taught that there should be no abuse of the things of this world. Each one should practise the strictest self-control. He had in one case told a young man to sell all that he had and give to the poor and follow him. Some of his disciples went even further along the same line of thought. It is hardly to be wondered at, therefore, that in the second century Christianity was conceived of by many of the heathen as the "Gospel of Abstinence and the Resurrection." The fact that their minds had been influenced by the Gnostic ideas of matter predisposed them to such a conception of Christianity. The apologist Tatian is a good example of this kind of Christian. To him and those like him (known as the Encratites) the majority of Christians were in far too close contact with the world. They regarded asceticism as an essential part of Christianity. So closely was this ascetic life connected with philosophy, and so completely was it based on philosophic

Christian self-control magnified and exaggerated.

ideas, that philosophy came to be synonymous with asceticism. The ascetic life was the philosophic life. At the same time there appeared the belief that the highest Christian life was not a practical one, but one spent in contemplation of God. So completely was the soul to be given up to this contemplation that the needs of the body and all external things should be forgotten. One should scarcely be conscious of himself, but rather pass his time in a kind of stupor, lost in the thought of God. The soul which could thus free itself from the world and become absorbed in the contemplation of God would eventually be granted the supreme happiness of the Beatific Vision and so be united to God.

Contemplation.

From the very first the Church was in danger of becoming worldly. It was not, however, till the second century that the progress toward worldliness became rapid. In almost every walk of life Christians were to be found, but they were in a difficult position. The practical question came up as to whether they might continue to work at trades which served idolatrous purposes. Might a Christian mason work on a heathen temple? Ought a Christian shoemaker to make shoes for an actor; or might a Christian actor continue his calling; or might a Christian soldier remain in the legion; or might a Christian hold office? These and a host of similar questions were discussed in the Church and different opinions were held in regard to them.[1] One party was exceedingly strict and wished to exclude all such people from the Church, while the other party wished to admit them. The result was a compromise and a gradual depression of the high standard of morals of the early Christians. Imperceptibly Christianity changed from a small sect of enthusiasts to a world Church, in which the creed and the ceremonies were the important thing. The Church was no longer regarded as a gathering of saints, but rather an institution for

Christianity in the world.

[1] Cf. Tertullian's writings, especially "On Idolatry," "Shows," and "De Corona."

the religious training and eventual salvation of the people. The Church began to borrow freely from the heathen philosophy and religions. Her ceremonies were very largely adapted from the heathen rites as practised in the temples. In her theology were imbedded large parts of the heathen philosophy. Many opposed this change. Tertullian, for instance, "was unfriendly to speculation. Philosophy, in his opinion, was the mother of heresies. Jerusalem should be completely separated from Athens; the Church from the Academy."

The Church becomes worldly.

This fusion with the world brought on another crisis. The strictest sects, known as the Montanists, were determined to remain a thoroughly holy body, and did all they could to keep the Church in their narrow way. But they were in the minority, and the Church continued to adapt itself to the world. The success of the strict party would have been fatal to the Church. If Christianity was to become a great factor in the civilization of the world, it must come into contact with the world at every point. The Church could not remain a holy sect separated from the world, but must be a leaven in the whole mass.

The Church was already modelling her organization after that of the Empire. Church officers, and especially the bishop, were growing in power. Those who believed that the Church should be governed by the free action of the spirit of God through those whom he might choose (Christian prophets, evangelists, confessors, and others) were hostile to these officers, and opposed the formation of permanent offices. The work of organization proceeded, however, in spite of the opposition. Still greater distrust of the ecclesiastical offices was caused by the conduct of the high officials in the Church. The third century is full of the ambitious quarrels of the clergy, who imitated the imperial officials in pomp and ceremony. As the worldliness of the Church continued to increase, the distrust among the Christians grew, and many of the

Distrust of Church offices.

most pious men refused to accept office in the Church. When it was offered them they refused it and fled to the desert.

The fourth century, after Constantine publicly favored Christianity, saw tremendous progress in this secularization of the Church. Thousands entered the Church because it had suddenly become popular, without any conception of the high moral life which the early Church had required. What could the really religious members do but leave it? They had to flee from the world in the Church.

The invasions of the Barbarians and the consequent violence, and the great decay of the Empire robbed many people of all interest in life. The world, it appeared, was growing old and the end of all things was approaching. The best people were filled with despair and longed to hide themselves away from the increasing desolation and chaos. The practical Christian life was already being replaced by the life of contemplation. All these things, the misunderstood sayings of Jesus and the teachings of his apostles; the philosophical as well as the heathen religious ideas of the times, the tendency of which was to regard matter as the seat of evil and its contact polluting; the increasing worldliness of the Church in so many ways; and the feeling that life was not worth living in a world so full of violence, prepared the way for, and helped create, monasticism. It was, however, the growing worldliness of the Church which gave the impulse to its formation. The worldly Church was no longer able to satisfy those who were really in earnest about a holy life. There was but one thing for them to do; they fled from the contamination in the Church and went out into the desert to acquire salvation by means of meditation and prayer. The character of the Church had changed. It was now an institution for the salvation of the common worldly herd, and as such was to be justified; but earnest Christians could not be satisfied with such a way of salvation. For them a more difficult life was necessary. They went out, therefore, to live in the desert

Summary.

Contamination in the Church.

and find the way to God without the aid of the Church and her means of grace; these were for the common Christians. Those who would, could obtain by means of asceticism and prayer all that others received by means of the Church's sacraments. There were to be two ways of salvation: one, through the Church and her means of grace; the other, through asceticism and contemplation.

Two ways of Salvation.

The beginnings of monasticism are lost in obscurity. They fall very probably in the third century. When the Church was made popular by the action of Constantine, and thousands went into it without a change of heart, the religious ones began to flee in large numbers. There might have been another great crisis in the Church, but curiously enough those who fled did not attack the Church very fiercely, and the Church sanctioned the mode of life practised by them. She even declared that they were following more nearly the apostolic model. The Church herself must follow in the way of the world, but those who wished might obtain their salvation in another way.

The earliest monks were hermits. They lived alone and found all the shelter they needed in a little hut or in some cave or in the shadow of some rock or tree. The movement began in Egypt, where the conditions were favorable to such an outdoor life. It seems probable also that it began in other places independent of the movement in Egypt. It spread rapidly throughout the east.

Hermits.

In order to protect themselves against impostors and other dangers, the hermits began to build their little huts close together and probably surrounded them by a wall for protection. They had a common chapel and on certain days worshipped together and partook of a common meal. They had but few rules. They elected a sort of superior who had the oversight of the whole colony. Gradually they came to live in houses, in which each monk had his own room or cell, and so maintained a certain kind of independence. In this way the

Semi-social Organization.

ascetic life was organized on a semi-social basis. By going into the desert, the hermit, of course, had given up his possessions and his family, and it soon came to be regarded as a matter of course that he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity. When they began to live under one roof another vow was necessary—that of obedience. They must subject themselves to the rules and interests of the house.

Three vows.

The descriptions of the self-tortures of these hermits seem incredible. Pain and suffering, no matter how inflicted, were thought to have a religious value. Perhaps the strangest form of this was that practised by Saint Simeon Stylites and his imitators. Simeon, by his extreme self-torture, had won a great reputation, and in order to escape from those who resorted to him to consult him and to touch him, he built a pillar some ten feet high, on which he spent all his time. He gradually had the height of his pillar increased until it reached some sixty feet. He spent many years at the top of this, and died at last revered as a saint and was made the patron of the city of Antioch. He found many imitators in the east. In the west, where the climatic conditions were so much harder, this form of asceticism never flourished. One or two persons tried it in Gaul, but had to give it up.

The Stylites.

More and more this loosely organized cenobitic life became the common form. It retained the name of monasticism, although the monks now lived together. It is this form of monasticism that has prevailed in the Greek Church, although hermits still exist there and are regarded as leading a more holy form of life. The monks of the Greek Church have really lived for the most part separated from the world. Occasionally they have made themselves felt at the court, and they played a part in the great synods which were held from the fourth to the eighth centuries. Since that time monasticism in the Greek Church has had no

Monasticism in the Greek Church.

history, because it has had no life. Saint Basil was the author of the monastic rule which was adopted throughout the east. The monasticism of the Greek Church has helped preserve the dead forms in the Church, and prevented any change except in the direction of enriching the ceremonies and forms of worship.

About 340 Athanasius brought two monks with him to the west. These were the first to be seen in that part of the world, and were regarded by the people with mingled feelings of curiosity and disgust. Imitators, however, were soon found and many monasteries were established. Augustine and Jerome gave their voices in favor of monasticism, and in a short time it had spread all over the west. There were no deserts in the west, but the sea served in their stead. On the Isle of Lérins near Cannes a famous monastery was established, and on a neighboring island was a monastery for women. Iona, a small Island on the western coast of Scotland, was the seat of another great monastery and near that was also a nunnery. Many of the islands around Ireland and Scotland were occupied by these monks, a large number of whom were hermits. Some of the great churches of Ireland were connected with monastic foundations of this sort. Monks kept pushing farther off from the mainland in order to find some place where there were no people to disturb them. Saint Brendan became famous for his travels, and many legends sprang up about him. It is even believed that some of these wandering monks reached America, because when the Spaniards came to Mexico they are said to have found there a tradition about the visit of some holy man who had come to them wearing a great beard and a mantle with crosses. This monasticism was of the early type, loose in its organization and voluntary in its discipline. It would seem that there were married men among the monks, especially in Lérins and Iona. Their wives remained on a neighboring island which was given up to women. Some of these men visited their wives occasionally, but after awhile this was forbidden.

Monasticism in the west.

The movement became immensely popular, and within a hundred and fifty years there were hundreds of monasteries in the west, and thousands of monks in them. It seemed for a time that this monasticism in the west would be of the same character as that in the east, and therefore would have no history and play no part in the work of the Church. But the spirit of the west took hold of it, organized it, and made of it one of the most effective tools in the hands of the Pope and Emperor to Christianize and civilize the Barbarians and extend the Church and the state. The Roman spirit of organization, of conquest and activity, would not allow the original monkish ideal to prevail. The monks had, indeed, fled from the world, but they were to be used to conquer and rule it.

At first each monastery made its own rules of discipline; each monk was allowed to do about as he pleased. There were several attempts made to harmonize these rules and make one code for all. Of all these attempts only that of Benedict of Nursia (480–543) was destined to succeed. After spending several years as a monk in various places he went to Monte Casino, near Naples (528), taking with him several of those who had been with him elsewhere. There he founded the famous monastery of Monte Casino, for which he prepared his rule. He organized the monks into a close corporation, and forbade any of them to leave the monastery without the consent of the abbot. A clear line was sharply drawn between them and the world. The occupations of the monks were fixed by him for every hour of the day and night. Periods of prayer and contemplation were to alternate with seasons of work. Strict discipline was to be enforced, and all monks must take the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.[1]

Benedict of Nursia, 480-543.

Circumstances favored the spread of Benedict's rule, and gradually it was adopted by other monasteries. Gregory the

[1] Henderson, Historical Documents of the Middle Ages, p. 274 ff., contains a translation of this rule.

Great (590–604) established it in many places in Italy, Sicily, and England. In the seventh century it was much more widely used, and in the eighth, under Boniface, it was made the only form of monasticism in Gaul and Germany. In the next century, Benedict of Aniane helped give it a severer character. It became the orthodox rule of monasticism. At one time more than forty thousand monastic establishments were governed by this rule. It was not Benedict's intention to make his monks either scholars or missionaries. The Bishops of Rome, however, used them in missionary work, and that soon came to be regarded as one of the peculiar purposes of their existence. It was principally through them that Christianity spread among the Barbarians. Cassiodorus, the prime minister of Theodoric the Great, remained in public life till about 540, when he retired to a monastery which he had founded in Calabria. There he gave himself up to literary pursuits, and required his monks to spend a certain portion of time every day in study. This example was imitated in other monasteries, and since it soon became apparent that a good deal of learning was necessary to manage the monastery's affairs, some of the monks in each monastery became scholars. In this way learning found a home in monasteries.

Cassiodorus and learning in the monasteries.

The rule of Saint Benedict, which required that every monk should work, and the impulse which Cassiodorus gave them toward learning, prevented the monks of the west from becoming ignorant and useless, as were the monks of the east. They were not permitted to withdraw from the world entirely, but were made useful members of society. Another power also drew them away from their original ideal and gave them a still greater field of activity. We have seen how, gradually, the Bishops of Rome developed the idea that the Church was the Kingdom of God upon earth, with absolute authority over the whole world, and that they themselves were at the head of this great institution. In realizing this ideal they needed all the help

possible. The monks were excellent tools in their hands; no better man could be found for their purpose of conquering the world than one who despised the world and had turned his back upon it. The monks formed a kind of standing army, always at the disposal of the Pope.

Popes make use of the monks.

The monastic life was the ideal Christian life for all the Church. The clergy who lived in the world and labored in the care of souls was held in great contempt by the monks, who alone were called "religiosi." The pastor was far less holy than the monk, so perverted had the teaching of Jesus become. He had taught that the highest ideal was a life of service to one's fellow-men; the monkish ideal was based on the thought that a man's first duty was to save himself. Few people were willing to become priests since the monk was in so much greater honor. The secular clergy, as those priests were called who did not live in a monastery, were, therefore, taken very largely from the lowest ranks in society, very often from among the serfs. They were generally ignorant and superstitious and their morals were low. To remedy this, the custom arose in the eighth century, of bringing all the clergy of a diocese together, and compelling them to live as nearly as possible according to the monastic rule. In the cathedral or bishop's church large numbers of clergy were collected who lived according to this rule. They were therefore called canons, or the canonical clergy. They had their schools, many of which became famous; these were the so-called "Cathedral Schools."

Monastic life the highest Roman Catholic ideal.

The Church used monasticism to carry on the work of converting and Christianizing the world, but the effects of this service on monasticism itself were bad. Its rules were not made for those who were engaged in such activities, and, therefore, they gradually fell into disuse. In the tenth century the rule of Saint Benedict was so little regarded, and the life in the monasteries had so degenerated

Worldliness and Reform.

that it almost seemed that monasticism must die out. Its first great reform began in the monastery of Clugny, which was founded (910) in the hills a few miles west of Mâcon. Under the headship of a series of most capable and earnest abbots, Clugny achieved a wide reputation for piety. With its growing fame the number of its monks increased until it was possible to send out colonies of monks to establish new monasteries. As the spirit of reform awoke elsewhere, monks from Clugny were asked to come and introduce the new rule and ideas into other monasteries. In this way this rule became common in Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries. All the monasteries which used it were bound together by it, and were called a "congregation." The abbot of Clugny was at the head of this congregation, and, therefore, possessed immense power. The objects which this reform had in view were those which were taken up by Gregory VII. and made by him the programme of the Papacy. The monastic rule must be made more rigorous and be more vigorously enforced. The secular clergy must be made to live after this monkish rule, and the spiritual aristocracy thus formed by the monks and clergy should have complete authority over the laity in all religious matters. Gregory VII., indeed, went a step farther; to the spiritual authority over the whole world he added also the political authority.

Clugny.

The Cluniac programme.

There was a great deepening of the monastic spirit in the eleventh century, so that even the rule of Clugny did not seem to some to be sufficiently severe. This led to the formation of many other orders, such as the Carthusians (1084), the Cistercians (1098), the Premonstrants (1120), and the Carmelites (1156). Many others were established, but they achieved for the most part only a local reputation. The tendency to form separate orders, and the number of those who applied to the Pope for permission to establish new ones increased. Finally Innocent III. refused to listen to

Formation of orders.

any more appeals and forbade the establishment of any more orders.

The monastic revival was one of the things which made the crusades possible. The great enthusiasm for ascetic ideals and works found a vent in that movement. Acquaintance with the Holy Places, however, brought about a change in asceticism and its ideals. The idea of the imitation of Christ was, of course, a common one in the Church even from the first, but, owing to the action of the crusades, a new meaning was given to the phrase. Christ was to be imitated by living a life of service to others, by preaching the Gospel to all, by helping all, even the outcast, by going about doing good, by living in poverty, and, above all, by following Him through all His passion, going over the road He travelled to Calvary, enduring such pain as He suffered at that time, and, at last, suffering with Him on the cross. It was the highest desire of the most enthusiastic ones to endure with Jesus all the sufferings which He underwent. Since this could not be done literally, it must be done by contemplation and the use of the imagination. These Christian enthusiasts wished to be united to Christ by a complete imitation of Him; they longed to be made one with Him in His sufferings. Since it was impossible to obtain such a real union, they sought to realize it by the deepest love and sympathy. New Calvaries were erected throughout the west which were to be approached only on the knees along a new "via dolorosa."

The new imitation of Christ.

The many new orders, the rise of heretical sects, revolts of the national churches, the resistance offered the Popes, the social movements in the cities, all show that in the twelfth century the laity were not altogether satisfied with their condition and position in the Church. The orthodox forms no longer supplied their religious needs. They were no longer willing to be treated as wards, but desired independence in religion. The world, although just

Rise of the friars.

conquered, seemed about to escape from the Pope when a new monastic movement arose which was to result in the strengthening of the Papacy. Through the friars the Popes of the thirteenth century renewed their weakening hold upon the world.

Saint Francis of Assisi, the founder of the order which bears his name (Franciscans, fratres minores, friars, Minorites), was filled with the idea of the imitation of Christ and His apostles in their preaching, poverty, and service of others. "Regula et vita fratrum hæc est: scilicet vivere in obedientia et in castitate et sine proprio et Domini nostri Jesu Christi doctrinam et vestigia sequi qui dicit: si vis perfectus esse, vade et vende omnia et da pauperibus." The monk had not originally thought of preaching the Gospel to others; he went into the monastery to save his own soul; the world might save itself as best it could. The monk was concerned only about himself. To be sure, the monks of the west had been used in many ways to serve the world, but it was all really against their will. They would have shut themselves up in their monastery and allowed the devil to rule the world. Although they had taken the vow of poverty, they had evaded it by subterfuge; they dared not hold property, but the order might do so. The great incomes of the monasteries were often used by the monks on themselves, and their lives were spent in the greatest luxury. Saint Francis would have none of this. He prescribed that none of his followers should have a home. Not even the order should hold property. "The brother" should spend his life on the highway, stopping to preach and minister unto others whenever occasion offered; for his bread he should work, if work could be found; if not, he might beg; he should never receive money under any circumstances, nor more food than was sufficient for his wants for the day; he must never lay up any store in this world; he must care for the sick, visit those who were in prison, cheer the downcast, recover the lost, and be to the world a Christ. The life of Jesus was to be his model in all respects; especial delight

Saint Francis.

should be taken in the contemplation of the sufferings of Jesus. "Nihil mihi tam delectabile quam vitæ et passionis dominicæ memoria." Saint Francis declared that if he went to the end of the world he would desire no other reading than the Gospels. He knew their story almost by heart, and his sermons consisted largely of quotations from them and the rhetorical amplification of them. During the period from 1209 to 1226 his order was thoroughly established and his rule developed and confirmed by the Pope. The order, however, soon underwent a change which deeply offended him; it began to amass property and build houses. This did not at first hinder it in its works of mercy and love. It became one of the most popular orders and soon grew to immense proportions.

The rule of poverty evaded.

Saint Dominic, a Spaniard (1170–1221), established the order of Preaching Brothers (Fratres Prædicatores, 1215) to resist the spread of heresy in the Church. They were to be trained in all the learning of the day and made equal to the task of instructing the people in the doctrines of the Church. In 1220 he introduced the rule of poverty into the order, thus modelling it after the order of Saint Francis. The two orders had much the same development. They became large, rich, and powerful. Saint Francis had not intended that his brothers should devote themselves to learning, but they quickly took up this work in imitation of the Dominicans. The two orders furnished all the great scholars of the later Middle Age.

Saint Dominic.

The dark side of monasticism has been often enough painted. There were many periods of decadence in its history. The piety of the monks brought them popularity and wealth; wealth brought leisure, idleness, and profligacy. The principles of monasticism were opposed to the dignity of the family, and to the proper position of woman in society. The best human talent was frequently drawn into the monastery and hence lost to the state.

Faults of monasticism.

Much more might, indeed, be said against the institution,

but the good which it did far outweighs the evil. Monasticism furnished the missionaries who Christianized western and northern Europe. The monks were also the civilizers. Every monastery founded by them became a centre of life and learning, and hence a light to the surrounding country. They cleared the lands and brought them under cultivation. They were the farmers and taught by their example the dignity of labor in an age when the soldier was the world's hero. They preserved and transmitted much of the civilization of Rome to the Barbarians. They were the teachers of the west. Literature and learning found a refuge with them in times of violence. Their monasteries were the hotels of the Middle Age and they cared for the poor and the sick. They were the greatest builders of the Middle Age, and many of the great churches of Europe were built by them. We owe them an immense debt of gratitude. Monasticism was an excellent thing for the world in those days. It was fitted to do a great work. But the times changed. It no longer had a mission in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its work was done. Other forces and institutions were then at hand to carry on the work which it had begun. Proof is that in the fifteenth century it was dying out. The monasteries were no longer full, and it was impossible to keep their numbers complete. The old monasticism was powerless; it was no longer adapted to the character and needs of society. A new order was created, the Jesuits (1540), but without the monastic character. It was made expressly for active service in the cause of the Church, and was organized on different lines which were better adapted to the changed condition of society. Asceticism in the Jesuit order is only a means to an end. Instead of separating itself from the world, the new order was to live in the world and assist in ruling it. It is not essentially monastic.[1]

The benefits of monasticism.

[1] See Karl Mueller, Die Anfaenge des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften; Paul Sabatier, Vie de S. François D'Assise; Harnack, Das Moenchthum; Jessopp, The Coming of the Friars.

The Middle Age had two distinct ideals, the soldier and the monk. Contradictory as they may seem, it is not strange that they fused and produced military-monkish orders. They arose under the peculiar circumstances which prevailed in Palestine during the crusades. The Knights of Saint John were organized (1099) for the care of the sick among the pilgrims and crusaders. It was not long, however, until the military element was added, because being surrounded by Saracens and constantly threatened they had to defend themselves. In 1119 the Knights Templars were established in imitation of the Knights of Saint John. Both orders were composed of men who took all the vows of monks, but spent their time fighting. They were monks and soldiers. Because of their connection with the Holy Land, the two orders became very popular throughout the west and received immense gifts. They quickly became wealthy and degenerated rapidly. They soon quarrelled with each other, and forgetting that they were organized to fight the Saracens, turned their weapons against each other. They struggled for mastery in the Mediterranean without much regard for the Holy Places and the defense of the pilgrims.

Military-monkish Orders.

The Knights of Saint John.

Knights Templars.

From 1307 to 1314 Philip IV. of France utterly destroyed the Templars in that country, and Pope Clement V. supported him. They were charged with all sorts of crimes, but their only real offense was their wealth, which the king was determined to have. The Knights of Saint John remained in the eastern Mediterranean and long did good service against the Turks. They held many of the islands, such as Rhodes and Malta, and were successful in opposing the advance of the Turks to the west.

In 1190, during the siege of Ptolemais, a hospital was established for Germans by some merchants from Luebeck and Bremen. The members of this hospital were soon afterward organized into a military monkish order in imitation of the two spoken of above. They were called Equites Teutonici Hos-

pitalis Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis. They tried hard to get a foothold in the east, but the other orders were so much older and had been so much longer in the field that it was impossible. In 1226 they were invited to come to Prussia (the territory east of the lower Vistula) to fight against the heathen Prussians. Already in 1202 Albert, Bishop of Riga, had established a similar order known as the Sword Brothers (Fratres Militiæ Christi sive Gladiferi), and had made use of them in conquering and Christianizing the heathen of Livonia and Esthonia. In 1237 these two orders were united, and from this time the work was carried on with more vigor. It was due to this order that so large a territory east of the Vistula was Germanized and Christianized, and added finally to Germany. The order served the cause of German expansion.

The German Order on the Baltic.

CHAPTER XV

MOHAMMED, MOHAMMEDANISM, AND THE CRUSADES

To the ancient Eastern Question, which was racial and political, Mohammed added in the seventh century a religious element. In the first vigor and enthusiasm of his movement the attempt was made to force the new religion on all peoples. As Mohammedanism developed more and more into a great empire, its political interests came into the foreground and the zeal for the spread of the religion somewhat cooled. Tribute was almost as acceptable as the reception of Mohammedanism. The great industrial development in all the Mohammedan countries led to commercial relations with the Christian peoples. The financial advantages to be derived from this commerce tended still further to diminish the fanaticism thus far shown. Christians were tolerated in all the Mohammedan countries. Christian pilgrims were welcome in the east. Since the benefits which were to be derived from commerce were mutual, there sprang up a strong commercial rivalry between Christians and Mohammedans, which was felt all the way from Spain to Constantinople. The Mohammedans tried to establish themselves on the mainland of Europe in France, Italy, and Greece in order to secure greater commercial advantages.

The Eastern Question stated.

Commercial interests again in the foreground.

Since the time of Mohammed this Eastern Question has had four phases. In the first, which extends from Mohammed to the crusades, we find the Moslems aggressive and making great conquests. They threatened Europe more than once, but were checked at Constantinople

First phase, 632–1096.

and on the field of Tours (732). In Italy the Normans succeeded in breaking their power. During the most of this period the struggle between Mohammedans and Christians is principally political and commercial. Religious interests are in the background. Christian pilgrims, travellers, and merchants were seldom disturbed.

The second phase of the question covers the period of the crusades (1096–1270). In this there is a great reaction on the part of Christian Europe under the lead of the Church against the Mohammedans. It is inspired by religious zeal for the holy places. The principal objects in view were to reconquer the lands which were once Christian and to regain possession of the Holy Sepulchre. In this period the chivalry of Europe hurls itself on the east, and although its motive seems to be religious, it will be evident, from a study of the crusades themselves, that the desire to get possession of lands and to establish independent principalities in the east far outweighed the religious interests in the minds of many of the leaders.

Second phase, 1096-1270.

The third phase of the question (1270–1683) shows the Mohammedans again aggressive and slowly pressing on Europe from the east. In Spain, however, they lost ground. The Greek Empire finally fell into their hands, and they pushed their way up the Danube and even reached the centre of Europe. They laid siege to Vienna, 1683, but were checked before its walls and driven back. Since that time the power of the Turks in Europe has been growing less. For a long time the Turk has been "the Sick Man of Europe," and it is only a question of time when the Mohammedan rule in Europe will be entirely destroyed.

Third phase, 1270-1683.

Fourth phase, since 1683.

In the sixth century Christianity in many parts of the east was in a sad state. Of Christian life there was almost none. All emphasis was laid on the creed. There were the most violent struggles going on about various theological questions.

There were sects constantly arising from differences in creed, each one hating most bitterly all the others. Certain rites and ceremonies had been developed in the Church to which were attached supernatural powers. Everything in the Church was so colored by superstition that it lacked little of being pure magic. Image worship had been introduced, and while its theory was perhaps good, its practice was thoroughly idolatrous. The Christianity of that day was utterly degraded, and the Christians differed very little from the other peoples about them. Mohammedanism was in part a revolt against this degradation.

Mohammedanism a revolt against Christianity.

Christianity has never fully satisfied the eastern peoples. Although it arose among an eastern and Semitic people, it has been developed by Aryans, and in the process has been so changed that no eastern people has taken kindly to it. Christianity has been always presented to them as a logical, philosophical, theological system; but they are neither logical, nor philosophical, nor theological in their mental make-up. To appeal to them a thing must have poetry and sentiment in it. The creed of the Church they cannot understand.

With Alexander the Great, the Greek domination of the east began. For nearly a thousand years, beginning with his conquests, the Orient was forced to feel and unwillingly to confess the mental and military superiority of the Occident. The kingdom which Alexander the Great tried to establish went to pieces, but the Greek influence which he first caused to be felt in the east grew steadily for hundreds of years. Greek colonies were everywhere to be found, and the commerce was largely in their hands. So strong was the Greek influence that the western parts of Asia were thoroughly Hellenized. The Greek language was spoken everywhere; Greek theatres were to be found in all the cities; Greek coins were current; Greek customs prevailed; the Greek gods were worshipped; and Greek modes of thought modified the intellectual life of the

Mohammedanism a revolt against Greek influence.

peoples of the east. Mohammedanism was in part a violent national reaction against this Greek domination.

Arabia.

The Peninsula of Arabia consists of a high table-land in the centre, which slopes down toward the sea, and in many places retains its rocky, irregular character clear to the water's edge. In other places there is a narrow strip of fertile lowland bordering on the sea. There is little rain and the heat is intense. The soil even of the table-land is not absolutely sterile. If sufficient water could be had, the cultivation of the land would be remunerative. It is conveniently situated for carrying on commerce, being on the boundary between Africa and Asia, and has the advantage of trade by sea as well as by land.

Origin of the Arabs.

The origin of the Arabs is obscure, but it is certain they were formed by a mixture of peoples from various countries. Late in the Christian era, they identified themselves with the descendants of Abraham through Ishmael, and adopted the tradition as found in the Old Testament. They were broken up into various tribes, and had a sort of patriarchal government. There was no such thing as a state among them. Even in the towns there was no regular government. Each family defended its own interests, and was bound to avenge any injury done to its members. Consequently there were constant feuds.

Their religion.

The religion of the Arabs seems to have been a crass mixture of superstitions brought together from all quarters. The worship of the stars was practised, as well as that of a large number of local gods or spirits, known as genii, ogres, and demons, all of which play a great part in their literature. Greek mythology had also found a place among them. All these gods and spirits were worshipped principally by sacrifices of various kinds. To them were erected many temples and altars. Fetiches were also used. A holy month was observed in which all warfare was suspended, and no one dared do even his worst enemy an injury. During

this holy season many markets were held and the caravans moved unhindered across the country. There were also holy places in which no fighting was permitted. Because of the security of such places, commerce flourished there and wealth accumulated. Great crowds came together at these places and were often entertained by literary readings. Poets recited their productions to the assembled people, and in this way the language of the district of Hedjaz came to be regarded as the proper dialect for literary purposes. By means of this literature all the tribes were brought closer together.

Probably about the middle of the fifth century the city of Mecca was founded, although there had been a temple there a long time before. This temple was called, from its shape, the Caaba (Cube), and contained a great black stone which was probably of meteoric origin. It was in the hands of the family of the Koraischites, who had charge of all the religious rites connected with it. They were not priests, however. By collecting all the idols of the country there and establishing ceremonies in connection with them, they had made Mecca the most important city of Arabia. To it pilgrimages were made from all parts of the peninsula. It had become a national sanctuary. At the same time the various stories connected with Abraham were attached to it. It was said that Hagar and Ishmael had come to this valley of Mecca when driven out by Abraham, and that the well Zemzem, in Mecca, was the one which the angel had pointed out to Hagar when she and her son were about to perish with thirst. It was added that Abraham and Ishmael had built the Caaba, and the angel Gabriel had brought them the black stone. This stone had been perfectly white, but it had become black from the sins of the people who had since touched it.

Mecca.

Christianity was known among the Arabs. On the southwestern coast the Christian king of Abyssinia had established a kingdom, which was, however, of short duration. His discontented subjects had called on the Persians to come to their

assistance. The Christian kingdom was overthrown and the country was ruled by Persian satraps. There were also many Jews in various parts of Arabia, especially in the north. In the neighborhood of Medina there were Jewish colonies, through whom the people of Medina had become acquainted with the ideas of prophecy and the expected Jewish Messiah. These Jews had become thorough Arabs in everything except their religion. To add to the religious confusion, the religious ideas of Persia had also been introduced into Arabia.

Almost nothing is known of Mohammed's early life. He was born at Mecca about 570. His father was Abdallah of the Koraischite family of the Haschim, and the family of his mother was from Medina. His father died about the time he was born, and when he was six years old his mother took him with her to Medina. At her death he returned to Mecca where his grandfather received him into his house. Two years later he died and Mohammed passed into the care of his uncle Abu Talib, who was in all possible respects a father to him. His uncle, however, was poor, and Mohammed had to earn his own living. He was compelled to perform the most menial labor, such as attending sheep, which was the ordinary work of slaves. His early journeys to Syria are probably legendary. When he was about twenty-five years old he entered the service of a rich widow, Chadija, who seems to have been distantly related to him, and he served her for some time as camel-driver. He was soon elevated from his humble position by his marriage with Chadija, whose wealth made him an important person.

Mohammed's early life.

Just at this time there was a good deal of religious fermentation in Arabia, due probably to the presence of so many religions there. Some people were becoming converts to Judaism, others to Christianity, and still others were attacking the idolatry of the country with great vigor. There was apparent a tendency toward monotheism. Mohammed was so religious by nature that he must have been influenced by such things. As

he approached his fortieth year his religious interest began to predominate over all others. He retired yearly during the sacred month of Ramadan to pray and fast on a mountain near Mecca. He learned much from the Jews about their religion and a little from the Christians about Christ. Being of a very nervous temperament, he became subject to attacks which were both hysterical and epileptic in character. He saw visions and dreamed dreams; strange sounds rang in his ears, and he seemed to hear voices addressing him. Ordinarily such things were regarded as the marks of possession by evil spirits. This was Mohammed's first interpretation of them, and he was so full of despair that he even thought of taking his own life. Probably through the influence of some of his friends, who saw in these attacks the signs of a great calling, he was persuaded that they were the work of the true God, who in this way was revealing His will to him. This thought filled him with strength and he began to declare the truths which he believed he had thus received. There can be no doubt that Mohammed believed what he announced. God, divine truth, revelation through dreams, visions, and omens, all were to him absolute realities. No doubt the thoughts which he had waking were repeated in his visions. His religious convictions were so strong that when he became convinced that God was making revelations to him, he could not but believe that he had received all his ideas from God. With so direct a nature as that of Mohammed it was to be expected that he would not hesitate in the choice of means. To him the end in view was the principal thing. Anything which would help to attain it would be allowable. He certainly used some deceit and fraud, at least later in life. But his religion was less the work of a deceiver than of an enthusiast.

His religious fervor.

In the ninety-sixth sura of the Koran there is an account of the vision which fully confirmed Mohammed in the belief that he was a prophet and so called to preach his doctrine to the people. The vision occurred probably about the year 610. The

chronology of most of his life, however, is very much in doubt. He was constantly in touch with Jews, and learned from them much of the contents of the Old Testament, which he later announced as having been given to him in visions. He appealed to the teachings of both Jews and Christians. He thought that of course one revelation could not contradict another.

For some time his success was small. The members of his family were his first converts; his wife, his children, his slaves, and his friends who knew him best were the first to believe in him. This is certainly very much to his credit. He labored among the people of the city, but met with violent opposition. The slaves and people of the lower classes heard him gladly, and many of them confessed their faith in him. His attacks on the idols and the religious customs of Mecca angered many, because they feared he would destroy the reputation of the city, and deprive it of its character for holiness, and thereby ruin it; for if it should lose its character as a holy place its commerce would probably be destroyed. The opposition was very bitter. Many of his followers from the lower classes were maltreated, and all of them were subjected to many kinds of unpleasantness. This led Mohammed to send as many of them as he could across to Abyssinia, where they could enjoy religious liberty. Those who remained in Mecca were in a sad plight because all the rest of the people refused to have anything to do with them. They even refused to sell them the necessaries of life. For a long while Mohammed and his followers were shut off in a quarter of the city, and it seemed that they would have to yield because of starvation. Mohammed succeeded, however, in winning the confidence of some able and energetic men who were of the greatest service to him. He made converts also of some people from Jathrib, who made a contract with him to protect him and his followers if he should come to live in their city. Mecca was becoming so hostile to him that it was only a question of time when he must seek another refuge. Grad-

His first converts.

ually his followers were sent on to Jathrib, and, at last, Mohammed himself and his most trusted companions slipped out of Mecca and eventually reached Jathrib (622). This is the famous Hegira (Flight of the Prophet). Because of its connection with Mohammed, Jathrib soon lost its name and was called Medina, the City of the Prophet.

The Hegira, 622.

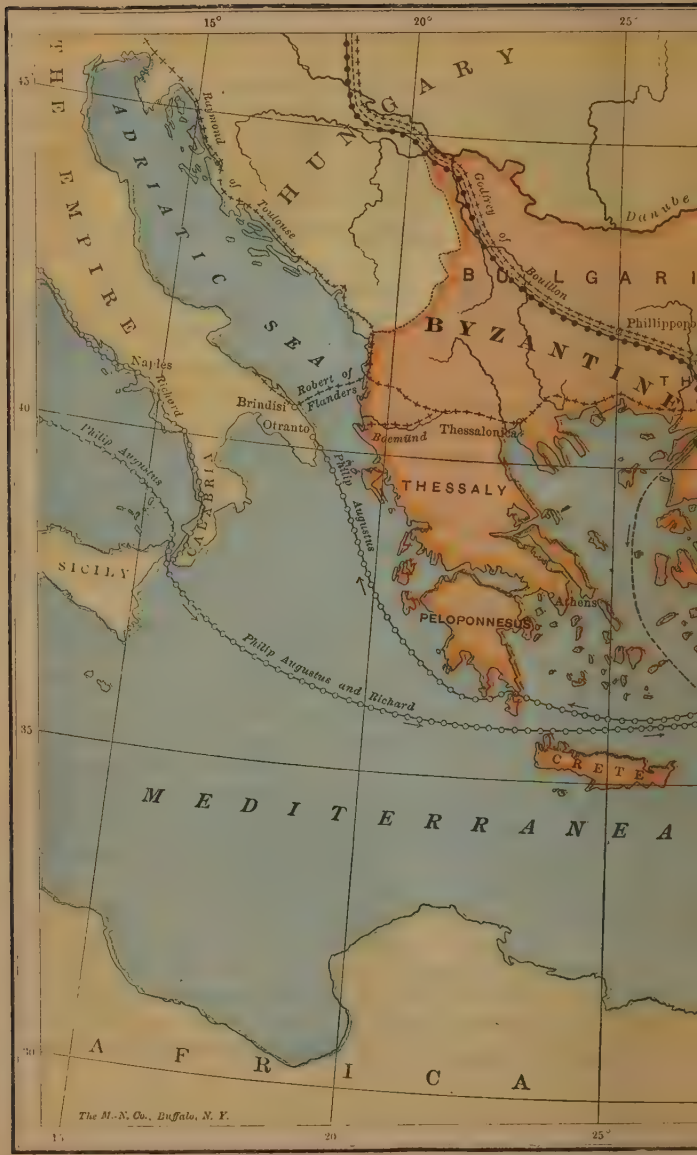
The change to Medina was a wise one. Almost all the people of the city received him as a prophet, and his word was law unto them. Their intercourse with the Jews about them had prepared them to understand the teaching of Mohammed. He began to build mosques, and tried to win all the Jews of that district. He confidently believed that there was no difference between their creed and his. He met, however, with little or no success among them.

After arranging various matters concerning religious ceremonies, Mohammed turned his attention toward the humbling of Mecca. He could not, of course, carry on a war, so he confined his efforts to plundering the caravans of Mecca as they passed by. He did not spare them even in the holy month, a thing which caused great indignation in many quarters. Mohammed thereupon published a statement that it was justified because they had refused to obey the Prophet of God. War against heretics and the disobedient was permissible at all times.

War on Mecca.

Early in 624 the first decisive struggle between Mohammed and the people of Mecca took place. Mohammed set out with about three hundred men to plunder a caravan. Mecca sent out about three times as many to defend it. In the fight that ensued Mohammed was victorious. About fourteen of his followers were slain in the battle, while his enemy lost about seventy, many of whom were among the most prominent persons of Mecca. A large number of prisoners was taken, and much booty in the shape of weapons and armor fell into the prophet's hands. Most important of all was

His first victory, 624.


15°
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HUNGARY
Danube
BULGARIA
BYZANTINE
Phillippopolis
EMPIRE
ADRIATIC SEA
Raymond of Toulouse
Godfrey of Bouillon
Robert of Flanders
Naples
Brindisi
Otranto
Bohemund
Thessalonica
Philip Augustus
CALABRIA
THESSALY
SICILY
Athens
PELOPONNESUS
Philip Augustus and Richard
CRETE
MEDITERRANEA
AFRICA
The M. N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

East 30° from Greenwich.
35°
40°
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35°
30°
BLACK SEA
GEORGIA
PAPHLAGONIA
CHALDAEA
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Nicaea
Halis
DANISHMAND EMIRS
Dorylaeum
TERRITORY OF THE SELDJUKS
Caesarea
Sardes
Philadelphia
Iconium
ARMENIA
Marash
Heraclea
Tarsus
EDESSA
TERRITORY OF THE SELDJUKS
Euphrates R.
Louis VII
CILICIA
Saleph (Selemeh)
Haleb
Antioch
Philip Augustus
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Tortosa
Tripolis
Beirut
Damascus
Richard
Philip Augustus
SEA
Conrad
Tyre
Acre (Acre)
THE CRUSADES.
First Crusade, 1096 1099
Second Crusade, 1147 1149 Louis VII. Conrad III
Third Crusade, 1189 1190 Frederic I.
Third Crusade, 1190 1191 Richard and Philip Augustus.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200 300
Caesarea
Joppa
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Gaza
PALESTINE
Nile Delta
Alexandria
Damietta
EGYPT
KHALIFATE OF CAIRO OR OF THE FATIMITES
30°
35°
40°
5

the reputation which he had won by this victory. It had been proved that God was with him. How else could so small a force have been victorious over so large a number? Unimportant as this battle of Badr seemed, it was the beginning of Mohammed's success. All Arabia was impressed with the belief that he was a true prophet. Moreover, his followers' lust for booty was awakened, and this was an instinct to which Mohammed could now appeal with a force which was not to be resisted. In order to interest all, he ordered that the booty should be divided among those who had taken part in the battle. To encourage the formation of a cavalry he gave to each one who had fought on horseback one share of the spoil for himself, and allowed him two shares for his horse. The ransoms of the prisoners were also divided. One-fifth of the whole booty was reserved for public purposes.

Some of the Jewish tribes near the Mediterranean were next conquered. The people themselves were driven out and the spoil divided among the followers of Mohammed. For about a year Mohammed's success was uninterrupted. His name was becoming more powerful all the time, and he hoped that he might soon have all the peninsula in submission to him. The bright outlook, however, was destroyed by the unfortunate battle at the foot of Mount Uhud (625). The people of Mecca determined to avenge their loss of the year before and sent out more than three thousand men to attack Medina. Mohammed was able to put only one thousand men into the field, some of whom deserted just before the battle began. The fight resulted in the total defeat of Mohammed, and the loss of many of his men. This did much to destroy the reputation which he had made one year before.

Mount Uhud, 625.

The next few years were spent by Mohammed in various raids against the tribes to the north and east, but no great successes can be set down to his credit. So bitter was the opposition in many quarters against him, that in 627 the people of Mecca were able to lay siege to Medina with an army of ten

thousand men, many of whom came from the hostile tribes to the east and north. Mohammed had dug a great fosse around the city so that it could not be taken, and after about a month the siege was raised and the attacking army scattered. For two years more Mohammed carried on expeditions on a small scale against the tribes in many parts of Arabia. His successes became more marked all the time, and the booty taken was great. Large numbers of the conquered tribes accepted his religion, and Mohammed saw his power daily increasing. Gradually the idea became fixed that the faithful were bound to compel all heathen to accept the true religion. The wide task which Mohammed set for himself may be appreciated from the fact that during this time he sent messengers and letters even to the Emperor of Constantinople and to the king of Persia, with the demand that they should recognize him as the Prophet of God, and threatened them with the judgments of heaven if they refused to do so.

Increased successes.

Finally he made a treaty with the people of Mecca, by which he was allowed to enter the city with his followers and perform his religious ceremonies. The agreement was soon broken by some of the people of Mecca, who joined in a raid against some of Mohammed's allies. Since he now commanded a large force, Mohammed was glad of an opportunity to attack Mecca and punish it for its long-continued opposition to him. In 630 he set out against Mecca and took the city almost without resistance. His natural mildness, as well as his judgment, told him that he could more easily win the hearts of the people by kindness to them than by violence. He forgave all who had wronged and resisted him, and the people were so moved by his generosity that the whole city now accepted his religion. Even the poets had nothing but words of praise for him, and they sang of his glory and his fame.

Capture of Mecca, 630.

The remaining two years of his life brought almost continued successes to him. Almost the whole of Arabia accepted him as a prophet, and he was able to bring together large numbers of

troops to carry on his conquests. In 632 he made his last pilgrimage to Mecca, and there performed all the religious ceremonies in the way which has ever since been regarded by his followers as the only proper one. He died, probably of fever, June 8, 632. One of his last acts was to organize and send out an army against the Greek Emperor, and so he may be said to have indicated at the very last the direction in which he wished his authority to be extended.

His death, 632.

Mohammed's great work was to found a new religion and at the same time create a new state. "He began as a mule driver and ended as both a pope and a king." By a careful study of the Koran, and the rearrangement of its suras in the order in which they were written, his life after his appearance as a prophet presents three periods. In the first he was a reformer; he thought only of restoring the pure form of the ancient religion. His principal object of attack was the idols which offended his religious sense. The language of those parts of the Koran which originated during this period is exalted and poetic. The purely religious side of Mohammed is shown in them. He felt great religious truths and his soul was stirred to its depths by them. In the second period it is clear that Mohammed had come to see that his beliefs differed from those of both Jews and Christians. He was conscious of the fact that he was founding a new religion. The suras of this period are rhetorical and his creed is as nearly worked out into a system as is possible. The exalted poetical tone is gone. Everything shows the influence of calculation. In the third period Mohammed appears as the lawgiver of the new state which he was founding. The suras of this time are all in prose. They are prolix, repetitious, and dull. Religious truth has been replaced by political considerations.

Three periods of his public life.

The Koran consists of the sayings of Mohammed uttered at various times and for various purposes. It is given under the form of a revelation. At first, Mohammed, no doubt, believed that he actually received revelations. In common with his

age, he regarded dreams and omens as coming directly from God and bearing a message from Him. Later in life he retained the same form, although much of what he then said was the result of deliberation and calculation. Many of his words were written down at the time of their utterance on palm leaves, bones, bits of papyrus, and parchment. Others were remembered and written down later. At his death all these were gathered together and arranged in a very hap-hazard fashion. Even during his life his sayings had been regarded as holy and binding in their authority. While Mohammed was glad to have others regard them so, he himself never hesitated to change them. Some utterances he withdrew entirely, others he modified, but from the time of his death the idea prevailed that every word was holy and should not be changed in any way. Abu Bekr, his successor, collected all the sayings of Mohammed, made a careful copy of them, and then destroyed all those sayings which differed from his copy.

The Koran.

Mohammed's teachings were, on the whole, very simple. His principal doctrine was that there is but one God, and that Mohammed himself was His Prophet. This was his reply to all opposition and criticism. He never abated his claims, and much of his success was probably due to the fact that he was so certain about what he taught. In religious matters there is nothing that so convinces people, even against their judgment, as the certitude of the preacher. There are no religious secrets or mysteries in his religion. According to his ideas, religion consists in obedience to the commands of God. The Koran contains commands, but no doctrines, as the Christian Church uses that word. Mohammed did not try to teach, or make, a theology. He sought only to make known God's will and to compel obedience to it. Rewards and punishments in a future life played a large part in his teachings. Obedience to God will be rewarded; disobedience punished. His conception of heaven

Mohammed's teachings.

and hell, and of rewards and punishments, were crass and sensual. He vigorously inculcated many active virtues. Widows and orphans were to be protected; slaves must be treated as brothers; almsgiving was one of the most important virtues, to be practised at all times. There were some things which he probably adopted from the Jews, such as the prohibition of the use of pork. He forbade gambling in all its forms, and also the use of wine.

While Mohammed had many of the faults of his age, he was in many respects far ahead of it. He practised and permitted polygamy, and may seem to have degraded woman; but it must be remembered that polygamy was practised among his people long before his time. He regulated it. He did much to raise woman to a higher plane. He put an end to the inhuman custom of exposing or burying alive female children. A proper estimate of his character can be formed only after a careful study of his times and a knowledge of him in all the relations of his life. Many of his most serious faults were due either to his conception of the prophetic office, or to the character of his times or people. His character was full of contrasts. Noeldeke compares him in this respect with King David, in whom we find the greatest vindictiveness, cruelty, and deceit joined with the most noble qualities. Morally, Mohammed was not evenly balanced. He had poor discrimination between right and wrong, at least in some respects. He was simple and modest. Even in the days of his greatest success he lived in the most simple fashion. He mended his own clothes and attended to his own wants. He needed no slaves, and consequently liberated all the captives who fell to him in the distribution of spoil. He was never a tyrant to his people. He was mild, gentle, forgiving, and conciliatory. He associated freely with men of every rank. He was free from luxury in food, dress, and surroundings. He was true in all his friendships and deeply grateful for any kindness shown him. In common

His Character.

with his age, he was superstitious and believed in the influence of good and evil spirits, and the importance of dreams and all kinds of omens.

Mohammed made the Arabs into a nation and brought them into history. His influence on them intellectually may be seen from the fact that for nearly three hundred years the Arabs led the world in civilization. From a large number of barbarous tribes he made them into a civilized people. The good parts of his work were later destroyed by the ignorant and fanatical peoples from central Asia, who came down and acquired the political power over the Mohammedan world. Under their influence all the evils of Mohammed's religion were developed and its good destroyed. Mohammed himself is not responsible for the Mohammedanism of to-day. It is the creation of the Turkish peoples who adopted his religion and ruled it for nearly eight hundred years. Turkish Mohammedanism is a very different thing from the early Arabic Mohammedanism.

His quickening influence on the Arabs.

Modern Mohammedanism is Turkish.

Mohammed was a religious genius. It may be objected that he lacked all originality and produced nothing new and that he was indebted to the Jews and Christians for nearly all his ideas. While that is true, he nevertheless felt the power of these ideas as no one else had for several centuries. He had a strong conception of the unity of God. He saw and felt a great religious truth in a direct way. His originality consisted not so much in new knowledge as in the vigor, directness, and certainty of his religious perceptions. Others might have learned the same things from the Jews and Christians, but Mohammed alone felt their truth and breathed a new religious power into them.[1]

After his death the question of a successor at once arose, and it was all the more difficult to decide since Mohammed

[1] Carlyle's Heroes and Hero-Worship, Lecture II., contains an appreciative estimate of Mohammed's character.

himself had said nothing about it. Since he was a prophet, it seemed to some that he ought to be succeeded by a prophet. In accordance with this idea many prophets arose, each one claiming to be the true successor to him. Others thought that the office should be hereditary, and wished to invest his son-in-law Ali with his power. The principle of election, however, prevailed. It was determined by his immediate following that Abu Bekr was the proper one to succeed him. He was, therefore, elected and took the name of Khalif (Successor or Vicar of him who was sent by God).

Khalif Abu Bekr, 632-34.

The death of Mohammed was followed by many revolts throughout all Arabia. Tribe after tribe threw off the yoke and refused to pay the tribute. Abu Bekr was the man for the place. One after another of the rebellious tribes was punished and his authority over all Arabia was soon established. The army which Mohammed had prepared against Syria was sent out by him, and returned after a short time with much booty. Abu Bekr, thus firmly established in power, was ready to begin the war on both Persia and Byzantium. Within a few years Syria, Mesopotamia, all the Euphrates valley, Babylon, Assyria, and Persia were conquered. Abu Bekr died in 634, but his successor, Omar, carried on the war with even greater vigor and success. He felt that his troops had gone far enough to the east, and determined not to try for further conquests in that direction. In 634 he planned to attack Egypt, but hesitated some time before sending his general, Amr, against it. Even after the army had been set in motion Omar changed his mind and sent a legate to Amr, ordering him to return. Amr, however, did not open the letter until after he had crossed the frontier, and so continued his march. In a short time all Egypt was in his hands, and thence he proceeded further to the west. He overran northern Africa as far west as Tripoli. Omar thought this was far enough and ordered his troops to proceed no further.

Omar, 634-44.

But Omar was unable to put a limit to the spread of Mohammedanism. In unabated vigor it was carried to the confines of India and to the Oxus river. Soon the Turkish tribes in central Asia were reached and became Mohammedan. As if wearied with its efforts, there now came a period in which Mohammedanism made little progress. There were many dissensions among the leaders and it seemed that the great conquests could hardly be held together. In 644 Othman was elected as the successor of Omar. Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, was particularly dissatisfied because he wished the office himself. The ambitions of many began to show themselves and Othman could not count on general support. He was finally slain by a party of rebels and Ali was proclaimed his successor (655–61). The reign of Ali was full of civil strife. Moawijah, grandnephew of Othman, got possession of Syria and resisted Ali vigorously. In 661 Ali was murdered and Moawijah established himself as Khalif, at Damascus. A rival Khalif, Abdallah, was set up in Arabia, and for a while controlled Egypt, Arabia, and a part of Syria and Persia. A bitter war followed, in which the holy places, Mecca and Medina, suffered terribly. Abdallah was finally defeated and the Ommeiades, as the family of Moawijah was called, held nominal sway over all the Mohammedan world. They had to contend, however, with constant revolts and rebellions. During the first decades of the eighth century this Ommeiad dynasty was able to take up the work of conquest again and push it with vigor. Under Owalid I. (705–15), his general, Hedjadj, who was governor of Persia, crossed the Oxus and conquered Bokhara, Samarkand, and other provinces and cities, and even reached Kashgar and the Chinese frontier. The Indus valley was occupied by another army, and the Punjab invaded. Armenia and Asia Minor were attacked, but without success. Moawijah had conquered some of the Greek islands, and in 672 he laid siege to Con-

Othman, 644–55.

Ali, 655–61.

The Ommeiades at Damascus, 661–750.

stantinople. The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus resisted him successfully by the aid of Greek fire, and after seven years the siege was raised. In 717 the city was again besieged, but without success.

During the last years of the seventh century the Ommeiades kept up a war in Africa, all the western part of which was in the hands of the Greeks and Berbers. Gradually the territory was conquered, and by the year 708 all of northern Africa was in the hands of the Mohammedans, except the port Ceuta, on the strait, opposite Spain. It is said that Count Julien, who held Ceuta, induced them to attack the king of the West Goths and assisted them in crossing the strait. In 711 they began the invasion, and within a few years almost all of Spain was in their hands. Fortunately for Christian Europe, the able general, Mousa, who had accomplished the passage, was disgraced and removed from the command. Consequently, for several years the war was not carried on with so much vigor. In the meantime Karl Martel was preparing to receive the invaders, and in 732 met them before Tours and decisively defeated them. They were, however, not driven entirely out of France until 759. The brave resistance of Constantinople and the victory of Karl Martel set limits to their progress in Europe.

Progress in Europe checked; battle of Tours.

The Ommeiad dynasty continued to meet with great opposition. The descendants of Ali were scattered here and there, and were still regarded by some as the legal heirs of the Khalifate. Some of its members revolted, but were overcome and put to death. Other members were bitterly persecuted. Another family now appeared and claimed the Khalifate. They were the descendants of Abba, an uncle of Mohammed. They laid their plans well, and began a revolt which ended in 750 in the destruction of the Ommeiad dynasty. Only one of that family escaped, Abderrahman, who fled to Spain, where he was received with honor. The Abbassides, the descendants of Abba, now usurped the Khalifate. About 760 they founded

the city of Bagdad on the Tigris river and made it their residence. This removal of the capital to Bagdad was a mistake and hastened the political dissolution of the Mussulman Empire. The religious supremacy of the Khalifate of Bagdad was hardly questioned, but it was impossible to rule Africa and Spain from a city so far east. These western provinces now practically broke away from the Khalifate and followed a development of their own. It was not, however, until the tenth century that this political separation was consummated by the establishment of two other Khalifates, one at Cairo, in Egypt, and the other at Cordova, in Spain.

The Abbassides at Bagdad, 750-1258; revolt of the west.

The Khalifate of Bagdad reached its height about 800 under Haroun-al-Raschid. The political dismemberment of it began soon afterward. The emirs, or governors of provinces, began to make themselves independent of the Khalif and ruled practically as kings. The Mohammedan Empire passed through something very like feudal Europe. Khorassan, Persia, Mesopotamia, and Syria gradually detached themselves from the Khalif. At the same time the Turks began to come down from their home in central Asia, and gradually established themselves in many provinces. The power of the Khalif grew less and less. Some time before the downfall, when it became apparent that he could not rely on the faithfulness of his emirs, he had begun to establish a standing mercenary army, which was composed largely of Turks. These increased their power and soon saw that the Khalifate was in their hands. They were not slow to take advantage of their opportunities. The Seldjuk Turks (so named from one of their leaders) made themselves master of all the eastern provinces, and in 1058 their chief, Togrul Beg, was called to Bagdad by the Khalif, who resigned into his hands all the temporal authority, and made him Sultan of the Mohammedan world. The Khalif became merely a religious officer. The political authority rested in the hands of Togrul

Disintegration of the Khalifate.

The Seldjuk Turks.

Beg and his successors. This changed Khalifate continued until 1258, when the son of the great conqueror Ghengis Khan put to death the last Khalif of Bagdad.

About 755 Abderrahman, the last of the Ommeiades, reached Spain and soon made himself lord of the country. He and his successors were called emirs, or sultans, or sons of the Khalifs. It was not until 929, under Abderrahman III., that the title of Khalif was adopted by them. This Khalifate was small, containing parts of Spain and a portion of northern Africa. It was constantly at war with the Christian states on the north (the kingdom of Leon, the county of Castile, the kingdom of Navarre, and the county of Catalonia, and later also the county of Portugal). Under the vigorous reign of Abderrahman III. the progress of the Christians was checked. He united all the Mohammedans of Spain under himself. The greatness of his power may be seen by the fact that at his court were to be found ambassadors from all the Christian courts of Europe. He was governed wholly by political, and not by religious, considerations. Under his son, who succeeded him, the Arabic civilization reached its height. Hicham II. was weak and the power was exercised by Ibn-abi-Amir, his prime-minister, who died in 1002, after a long and successful administration of affairs. His sons succeeded him, but within seven years the last one of them was slain in a revolution. A period of violence followed, which resulted in the deposition of the last Khalif of Cordova (about 1031) and the formation of many independent provinces or kingdoms. Weakened by constant intestine struggles, the Mohammedans of Spain were now unable to resist the advance of the Christians, and were compelled to ask help of the Berber Almoravides of Africa. This led to another Berber invasion, which was to put an end to the little kingdoms and destroy in part the civilization of the country.

The Khalifate of Cordova (755), 929-1031.

Abderrahman III.

After the destruction of the Ommeiades, Africa suffered for a long time all the evils of anarchy. Several little independent

principalities were established, which the Aghlabites, to whom the Abbassides had entrusted the government of Africa, were not able to conquer. Early in the tenth century a powerful family, claiming to be descended from Fatima, one of the daughters of Mohammed, began to wage war on the Aghlabites and succeeded in wresting from them the control of Africa. They secured possession of Egypt, and in 969 founded Cairo, which they made the seat of their government. All the islands of the western Mediterranean belonged to them. In 712 Sardinia had been taken by the Mohammedans. In 832 Sicily was entirely in their hands. They plundered the coast of Italy and France throughout the whole of the ninth century, and established themselves there very often in strongholds along the coast. They acquired some forts in the Apennines and penetrated even to the higher parts of the Alps. In the Swiss Canton of Graubuenden there are still traces of some of these Arabic settlements. All these possessions came under the control of the Fatimites. In the eleventh century their power began to fail. One after another of their provinces was wrested from them. Nearly all their lands, except Egypt, revolted from them. The Normans drove them out of Sicily and Italy. The crusades began a little later and contributed their share to reduce the Khalifate of Cairo. Its power grew less and less until, in 1171, Saladin, who ruled Western Asia, conquered the Khalifate and added it to his territory.

The Fatimites in Egypt, 900-1171.

During the five centuries following Mohammed's death there was produced among his followers a civilization far in advance of anything in Europe. The basis for it all they received from Persia and Greece. But although they derived much from these two countries, they also added much to the stock thus obtained.

In the administration of the government the Mohammedans had an excellent system, which was pretty thoroughly unified. Their system of taxation was good. They restored the old

Roman roads and built many new ones, thus binding all parts of the empire together. Canals and aqueducts were constructed. A postal system was in operation among them. It is probable that Frederick II. modelled the government of his state in southern Italy after that of the Mohammedans. Large cities sprang up in all parts of the empire, many of them numbering a half million or more inhabitants. They developed a beautiful style of architecture, which was characterized by the round and horse-shoe arch, the dome, the tall and graceful minaret, and the richness of its ornamentation. In everything connected with their buildings they showed the most exquisite taste and appreciation of beauty. Their architectural remains, consisting of splendid mosques and palaces, are still the wonder and envy of the world.

The Arabic civilization.

They established great universities, which excelled all those of Europe for several centuries. The mosques were generally the seat of a university or a learned society, and were the places where all sorts of questions were freely discussed. The universities of Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova were especially famous, but there were also many others. The university of Cairo, which still exists in the mosque El-Azhar, had as many as twelve thousand students. Great libraries were formed, some of which were said to have contained several hundred thousand volumes, all properly arranged and catalogued. The universities, especially in Spain, were visited by many Christians, who thus carried much of the Mohammedan learning and culture into Christian Europe. One of the most famous of these students was Gerbert, afterward Pope Silvester II., who did much to introduce the science of mathematics into Europe.

Learning.

Philosophy, theology, law, rhetoric, and philology were studied with great zest. Dictionaries were compiled, and many commentaries of the Koran were written. The Mohammedans were acquainted with the works of Aristotle and their philosophical systems were based on him. Many histories

were written, the most of which are products of the imagination. A few of their historical writers, however, went to the proper sources for their materials and laid down for themselves some good rules of historical criticism. Several works on travel and some biographies are handed down to us.

Mathematics.

In mathematics they built on the work of the Greek mathematicians. The origin of the so-called Arabic numerals is obscure. Under Theoderic the Great, Bœthius made use of certain signs which were in part very like the nine digits which we now use. One of the pupils of Gerbert also used signs which were still more like ours, but the zero was unknown. This was invented in the twelfth century by an Arab mathematician named Mohammed-Ibn-Mousa. He invented the decimal notation and gave the digits the value of position, a thing which was not practised until the zero was invented. In geometry the Arabs did not add much to Euclid, but Algebra is practically their creation. About 820 a treatise on Algebra was written by an Arab which contained equations of the second degree. He also attempted to apply Algebra to Geometry. Spherical Trigonometry was developed during the ninth to the twelfth centuries. They invented the sine, tangent, and co-tangent. In physics they made a good beginning. They invented the pendulum. Works were produced on optics and kindred subjects. They made progress in the science of astronomy. They built several observatories and constructed many astronomical instruments which are still in use. They calculated the angle of the ecliptic and the precession of the equinoxes. Their knowledge of the subject was undoubtedly profound.

Medicine.

In medicine they made great advances over the work of the Greeks in the same line. They studied physiology and hygiene. Their "materia medica" was practically the same as ours to-day. Many of their methods of treatment are still in use among us. Their surgeons performed some of the most difficult operations known. They

knew the use of anæsthetics. At the time when in Europe the practice of medicine was forbidden by the Church, and cures were expected to be effected by religious rites performed by the clergy, the Arabs had a real science of medicine. In chemistry they made a good beginning. They discovered many new substances and compounds, such as alcohol, potassium, nitrate of silver, corrosive sublimate, and nitric and sulphuric acid.

There was great literary activity among them, and they produced many works of the imagination. They had a special fondness for poetry. In manufactures they surpassed the world in variety and beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They worked in all the metals—gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel. In textile fabrics they have never been surpassed. They made glass and pottery of the finest quality. They knew the secrets of dyeing and they manufactured paper. They had many processes of dressing leather, and their work was famous throughout Europe. They made tinctures, essences, and syrups. They made sugar from the cane and grew many fine kinds of wine. They practised farming in a scientific way. They had good systems of irrigation. They knew the value of fertilizers. They fitted their crops to the quality of the ground. They excelled in horticulture. They knew how to graft and were able to produce some new varieties of fruits and flowers. They introduced into the west many trees and plants from the east. Scientific treatises on farming were written by them.

Commerce.

Their commerce attained great proportions. Their caravans traversed the empire from one end to the other, and their sails covered the seas. Great fairs and markets were held at many places, some of which were visited by merchants from all parts of Europe and Asia. Their merchants had connections with China, India, and the East Indies, with the interior of Africa and with Russia, and with all the countries lying around the Baltic. Their commerce covered all parts of the known world

Much of the Mohammedan civilization was destined to be introduced into Europe, especially by means of the crusades. In its own home, however, it suffered almost complete annihilation by the coming of the ignorant and fanatical Turks, who showed, indeed, that they could prey upon it, but could not assimilate and improve it. Their fanaticism led them to oppose all science, because it might be injurious to their religious belief. Their hatred of people of other religions led them into wars with them, during which their industries and commerce languished. Since the Turks were far less civilized and without the proper appreciation of the necessities as well as the luxuries of civilized life, they tended to destroy the culture which they found. Turkish control ruined the Arabic civilization and destroyed the free, liberal character of Mohammedanism. Since the coming of the Turks it has no longer been what it was originally, and the lands which were once like gardens are now almost like a desert.

Arabic civilization destroyed by the Turks.

The descendants of Togrul Beg continued their conquests to the west. All Syria was taken from the Khalifate of Cairo and Asia Minor was next attacked. The eastern Emperor was unable to resist them, and in 1071 Alp Arslan won a decisive victory at Manzikert. His son and successor, Malik Schah (1071–92), continued his conquests and got possession of all Asia Minor, and many of the islands in the Ægean. He was unable, however, to unite his possessions into one strong government. Many of his agents, or emirs, revolted and established themselves as independent princes. Kilidsch Arslan held western Asia Minor with his residence at Nicæa. At the death of Malik Schah (1092) civil war ensued among his brothers and his sons, each of whom wished to secure the office of sultan. This, of course, increased the political disintegration. This state of affairs greatly weakened the power of the Mohammedans and made possible the success of the first crusade.

The Turks and the Greek Empire.

The successes of the Turks in Asia Minor were due in large measure to the revolutions in Constantinople, and to the weakness and wretched policy of the eastern Emperors. The independent kingdom of the Armenians, which occupied the eastern part of Asia Minor, was in every possible way weakened and at length forced into subjection to Constantinople. The religious hatred between the Greeks and the Armenians was very strong. If Armenia had been left free and undisturbed, it would certainly have been an excellent defence against the Turks. It might have been made one of the best allies of the Empire. In the eleventh century many revolutions took place in the palace, and several Emperors were either poisoned or dethroned. Michael VII. (1071–78) appealed to Pope Gregory VII. for help against the Turks, and held out to the Pope as an inducement that in return he would subject the eastern Church to the Bishop of Rome. Gregory VII. actually got together a large army (1074) and was preparing to send it east when his trouble with Henry IV. began, and the expedition was given up. Michael VII. was not able to offer any successful resistance to the Turks, and his successor, Nicephoros III. (1078–81), was dethroned by the usurper Alexius I. Comnenus (1081–1118), who was a vigorous and able ruler.

Negotiations between the east and the west.

Alexius Comnenus began to attack the Turks, and was successful in winning a few ports on the Black Sea and in driving them back from the coast in several places. Just at this time, however, Robert Guiscard was entertaining high ideas about the conquest of the eastern Empire and was beginning his invasion of Epirus. It was only by the greatest exertions, coupled with the fact that the Pope recalled Robert Guiscard to support him in Italy, that Alexius was able to reconquer the lost territory. The death of Robert Guiscard (1085) made it possible for Alexius to make peace with Robert's brother, Roger, and his son, Boemund. Another danger at once threatened from beyond the Danube. The Petchenegs, a Turk-

ish people, had for some time been on the Danube and now began to invade the Empire from that quarter. It was not till 1091 that Alexius was able to reduce them to subjection. He was then free to attack the Turks in Asia Minor and to try to regain his lost territory. If the Turks should remain in possession of all Asia Minor, his Empire would be constantly threatened. With the greatest efforts, however, Alexius could make little progress against them, and it seemed as if he must give up all hope of reuniting Asia Minor to the Empire. It is probable that in the year 1095 he sent messengers to the Pope, Urban II., with the request that assistance should be sent him from the west. It is further probable that these messengers came to Urban while he was holding a council at Piacenza (March, 1095). Just what was done in the council it is impossible to say, because its acts have been lost. From Piacenza Urban proceeded into France and in the autumn of the same year held the great council at Clermont, which was attended by immense numbers of people. After various matters were attended to, Urban broached the subject of a crusade. On the twenty-sixth of November he preached a sermon in the open air before the assembled multitudes, in which he pictured the wretched condition of the Holy Land, how its churches had been polluted, its holy shrines seized by unbelievers, the distress of the Christian brethren in the east, and the danger which threatened Europe if the Mohammedans were allowed to retain Asia Minor in their possession. He called on all those who could bear arms to give up their private warfare and join in an expedition against the Mohammedans, to bear aid to the Christians whom they were oppressing, and to recover the holy places.

Council of Clermont, 1095.

The appeal fell on willing ears. Europe was at this time in the midst of a great revival of asceticism. The Cluniac movement was about at its height. A holy war, according to the ideas of the time, was itself ascetic in character. Besides, it offered an excellent opportunity to make a pilgrimage to the

holy places. For a long time the custom of making pilgrimages had been growing. It had come to be regarded as a most meritorious work, and prayers offered in such consecrated places were regarded as especially efficacious. All holy relics were highly prized, and supernatural qualities were attributed to them. It was but natural, therefore, that a call to a crusade should appeal with power to the imagination of the people.

The first Crusade probably an improvisation of Urban II.

It is impossible to say just what Urban had in mind when he preached this sermon. If he wished simply to secure help for Alexius, he far overshot the mark. Instead of this, all minds were fixed on the thought of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the unbelievers. We do not know how much emphasis he laid on the idea of sending help to Alexius, but it is certain that the assembly thought principally of the holy places. Even while he spoke, many shouted their approval. "God wills it!" was heard from every lip. Thousands pressed upon him when he ceased speaking, and took the vow to go on the crusade and received the sign, a red cross fastened from the right shoulder diagonally across the breast. Urban then renewed the prohibition of private war, put the property of the crusaders under the especial care of the Church, offered large spiritual rewards and benefits to all who would join the movement, and commanded the clergy to preach the crusade in all parts of France. The Pope refused to take the active leadership of the crusade, but named as his representative Ademar, bishop of Puy, a man after his own heart.

Peter the Hermit.

Among the many who went out to preach the crusade was Peter the Hermit. The ordinary accounts of Peter, which make him the real originator of the crusades, are entirely false. He was born probably in the diocese of Amiens and became a monk or hermit. Before this time he had started on a pilgrimage to Palestine, but never reached that country. For some reason he turned back,

probably because of the violence that was then being done to Christians in the territory of the Seldjuk Turks. He may have been present at the Council of Clermont, but he certainly had not preached the crusade before that time. There is no evidence that he had ever seen Urban. It is certain that he had no influence over him. During the last quarter of the eleventh century many Christians from Palestine and Asia Minor came to the west, having been driven out by the Turks. Pilgrims were often abused, and these on their return did not fail to tell of their woes. Peter probably spoke often enough of his experiences on his journey, but he had not preached a crusade nor had he persuaded Urban to do so. The Pope originated the crusade. Peter the Hermit had nothing to do with it. After the Council of Clermont Peter went about through the central and northern parts of France and quickly had fifteen thousand people at his back. They were mostly without arms and without discipline. The party consisted of men, women, and children. He set out with them for Palestine in March, 1096. He spent some time in Cologne preaching the crusade and trying to increase his army. A number of those who had come with him became tired of waiting and set out alone under Walter the Penniless. They went through Hungary and Bulgaria, and reached Constantinople in July, 1096. Peter followed a short time afterward, passing up the Rhine through the Neckar valley, then over to Ulm, and down the Danube. It is difficult to obtain the facts in regard to his passage through Hungary and Bulgaria. It is probable that in Hungary the band met with some opposition, caused by its own depredations. At Semlin it is said that they discovered hanging on the walls of the town the weapons and the armor of some of those who had set out under Walter. In order to avenge these, Peter ordered them to attack the town. It was carried by storm and plundered. After resting there they entered Bulgaria. Because of violence done by some of the crusaders they were attacked. Many were slain and the

others scattered for a while. The accounts given of this band, however, are such that we cannot implicitly rely upon them. Peter and his band continued their journey, and while in Bulgaria they received messengers from Alexius, asking them to come to Constantinople. They reached that city July 30th, and were joined by Walter the Penniless and his followers. A week later they crossed the strait into Asia Minor. After travelling a short distance into the interior they found it inadvisable to proceed, and so sat down to wait for re-enforcements. Great disorder arose among them, and it is probable that Peter, finding himself without power over them, left them to their fate and returned to Constantinople. They were at last (October) cut to pieces, and their bones were found whitening the plain by the main army of crusaders which came the next year. The great reputation of Peter suffered a good deal because of the destruction of his army.

Several similar bands were got together by various leaders. The most of them were utterly lawless. They believed that because they were crusaders they were privileged to plunder and rob as they pleased. Nearly all of them were destroyed on their way to Constantinople by the people through whose land they passed. They brought about their own destruction by their violence and lawlessness.

The French and the Normans were the only people who took part in the first crusade in large numbers. The Emperor of Germany was at war with the Pope, and, therefore, he and his people were practically excluded from any great share in it. The Germans generally looked with great pity on the crusaders as they passed through their land, not being able to understand why they should undertake so difficult and dangerous a journey.

Many ambitious noblemen joined the crusade, hoping in one way or another to make their fortune. Among those from the northern part of France was Hugo of Vermandois, the brother of King Philip I. He was, however, utterly without

the talent necessary to manage so great an undertaking, and he played an unimportant rôle. Stephen of Blois was utterly insignificant, but was vain and ambitious to be regarded as a great man. He showed his true character later by deserting. Robert of Normandy was brave, but without the qualities which make a leader. Godfrey of Boulogne was a most pious, brave, and upright knight, but no leader. His two brothers accompanied him; Count Eustace was of little importance, but Baldwin had some ability. Their nephew, Baldwin the Younger, was also a man of parts.

Leaders from northern France.

From southern France the only man of importance was Raymond of Toulouse, crafty, ambitious, selfish, and full of daring and enterprise. From Italy came Boemund of Otranto (Tarentum), the oldest son of Robert Guiscard. He was a leader and well able to conduct the crusade in the proper way, if he had had the opportunity to do so. His nephew Tancred was an ideal knight, brave and strong, and a terror to the Saracens in personal combat, but utterly incapable as a leader. It was clear from the very first that there could be no unity among the crusaders, because there was no common chief. Each of these mentioned led his own men, and did as he wished without regard to the best interests of the whole. Boemund might, indeed, have got control of the whole army had it not been for the selfish ambition of Raymond of Toulouse and the distrust of Alexius toward him because of the invasion which he and his father had made into the Empire only a few years before (1081–85).

Raymond of Toulouse.

Normans from Italy.

In the autumn of 1096 Urban wrote to Alexius, informing him that three hundred thousand crusaders were soon to be on their way to the east. The army on setting out is even said to have been much larger. According to the accounts which we have there were one hundred thousand knights, six hundred thousand foot soldiers, and three hundred thousand pilgrims. It is now generally believed that

The army on the march.

these numbers are greatly exaggerated. Godfrey of Boulogne followed the route through Hungary and Bulgaria. Raymond of Toulouse passed through Lombardy just north of the Adriatic Sea, and so crossed the upper Balkan peninsula. Robert of Normandy and Robert of Flanders went to Italy and followed the course taken by Boemund, who had sailed across the Adriatic, landing on the coast of Epirus, and from there had gone straight to Constantinople.

Motives of the Crusaders.

The army thus set in motion was very motley in its make-up. Many had, of course, joined the movement for religious motives. They wished to have a part in the meritorious work of reconquering the holy places. The Pope had promised remission of sins to all who should lose their lives while on the crusade, and many supernatural advantages seemed likely to be derived from such an undertaking. Others were there who had run away from their debts or from their families. Even criminals might be found among the crusaders, who hoped thus to escape punishment. Many serfs ran away from their lords, and others from the hard conditions under which they lived. Many came because of the opportunity to gratify their love of adventure and travel. The leaders, almost without exception, had joined in the movement principally because they wished to acquire power and establish an independent principality somewhere in the east, on lands to be taken from the Saracens or from the Greeks. The Pope had the desire to deliver the holy places, but at the same time he wished to extend his ecclesiastical authority over the east. The cities of Italy, some of which joined to a certain extent in the first crusade, were led principally by the desire to extend their commerce and to secure harbor privileges in the east.

It is difficult to determine just what the feelings of Alexius were when he heard that so great an army was coming from the west to wrest the holy land from the Mohammedans. He had neither asked for, nor anticipated, so great a force. It

seemed very probable that such an army would be able to reconquer the territory which the Turks had taken from the Empire. But Alexius was exercised in mind about what they would do with their conquests. He, of course, wished to regain possession of Asia Minor and Syria, since they had once been a part of the Empire. It would be quite as dangerous to him if the western princes should gain possession of these countries as if they remained in the hands of the Turks. With a keen sense of the character of the west, Alexius suspected the motives of the leaders. He felt that they wished to secure territory for the purpose of establishing independent principalities. The history of the crusade was to show that he thoroughly understood them. Only a few years before he had had great difficulty in resisting the attacks of Robert Guiscard, who had the assistance of only a small part of Italy. It was only by the greatest good fortune that he had dislodged the Normans from Epirus. How much greater must the danger now seem when so large a part of the west was sending its most warlike elements to the east? After his experience with Robert Guiscard, it was inevitable that Alexius should mistrust the crusaders. The result showed that his fears had been well founded.

Fears of Alexius.

Alexius saw the danger, but did not know how to avert it. Various divisions of the crusading army were on their way to Constantinople. It was but natural that Alexius should endeavor to preserve his interests in the east, and that he should determine to try to secure all the lands which the crusaders might conquer; they were his by right, and his interests demanded that they be reunited to the Empire. No matter what turn affairs might take, Alexius was resolved to look after his own interests. He determined to try to preserve peace with the crusaders, to try to keep them from establishing themselves in the east, and to use them in extending his power. He demanded that all the leaders should take an oath to him that they would deliver to him all the territory which they

Alexius guards his own interests.

should conquer. If they wished, they might receive the land as a fief from him.

Count Hugo of Vermandois was the first prince to start for the east. He set out in 1096 and arrived the same year in Constantinople, where he was received with great honor, and was easily persuaded to take the oath as Alexius wished. Soon after this Godfrey of Boulogne passed through Hungary and entered the Empire. There he heard that Hugo had taken the oath of vassalage to Alexius, and was filled with rage at the news. He then plundered the country all the way to Constantinople, which he reached in December. He and his army camped in Pera (one of the suburbs of the city) and spent the rest of the winter there. Alexius tried in every way to persuade him to take the oath, but Godfrey remained firm. The intercession of Boemund, who in the meanwhile had reached Constantinople, was of no avail. At last, on the second of April, the Emperor attacked him and his troops, but was defeated. The Emperor again used persuasion, but without success. Another attack on the camp was more successful. Godfrey was defeated and compelled to take the oath. He then moved his army across the Bosporus. Alexius gave him many presents and showed him so many honors that Godfrey was completely won over by him, and gave up all opposition to the vassal relation.

Alexius requires the oath of the crusaders.

Boemund was the next one to arrive at Constantinople. The people of the country through which he and his army passed were often unwilling to sell them food, and the soldiers found it necessary to take provisions by force. Boemund, however, did all he could to prevent violence on the part of his men. He was finally met by messengers from Alexius, and, leaving his troops to follow after, proceeded at once to Constantinople. He was easily persuaded to take the oath, and Alexius gave him also many presents. He was open enough to tell the Emperor that he wished to make his fortune in the east, and to ask that he be entrusted

Boemund.

with a high office. This increased the suspicions of Alexius, who set himself to outwit him and prevent his gaining any advantage. Regarding him as dangerous, Alexius sought to make an alliance with others of the crusaders in order to keep a check on him. This was unfortunate, because it made it impossible for Boemund to acquire the leadership of the whole crusade. Alexius resisted his aspirations with all his might.

Raymond of Toulouse.

Raymond of Toulouse offered the most stubborn resistance of all to the Emperor. Under no conditions would he take the oath. He said that as a crusader, a fighter for God, he would not humiliate himself by becoming a vassal to an earthly potentate. He feared, of course, that his oath would prevent him from acquiring the independent power which he was seeking. Alexius attacked his army also and inflicted a severe loss upon it. Raymond was so enraged by this that it seemed that nothing could be done to establish peace. Boemund now appealed to him to yield, and bitterly reproached him for his conduct. At length he offered to take an oath that he would do nothing against the life and honor of the Emperor, but still refused to take the oath of vassalage. Alexius was compelled to be content with this. It was his fear of Boemund that led him to make this compromise. He knew that Raymond was hostile to Boemund, and he hoped in time to win over Raymond and use him to limit the too great power of Boemund.

All the other leaders eventually came to Constantinople and took the oath except Tancred, whom Boemund had left in charge of his army. As soon as Boemund had set out for Constantinople Tancred allowed his hatred of the Greeks to master him, and he began to do a good deal of violence to the country. Instead of going to Constantinople he crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor. Boemund promised Alexius that he would secure Tancred's oath, but the Emperor was persistently distrustful of him. At length Alexius succeeded in winning over Raymond, and because of their common hatred

of the Normans they became friends. The opposition between Boemund and Raymond became every day greater.

Toward the end of April, 1097, the Lotharingian and the Norman troops set out from Chalcedon toward the interior. Raymond of Toulouse was still at Constantinople waiting for the main part of his army to arrive. Boemund was also there making arrangements for the transportation of supplies while the army was passing through Asia Minor. On May 6th the crusaders reached Nicæa and began its siege. The Sultan Kilidsch Arslan was engaged on the Armenian frontier in the siege of Melitene, which was held by the Greeks. Supposing that the new army of crusaders was only another band such as that of Peter the Hermit, he made no haste to relieve Nicæa. When he finally came (May 18th) he found that almost the whole army of the crusaders had gathered around the city, and had entirely shut off all communication with it. Raymond had come just in time to prevent Kilidsch Arslan from throwing all his forces into the city, and Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois arrived a few days later. Kilidsch Arslan withdrew to await developments.

Siege of Nicæa, 1097.

Each division of the army now attacked the walls as it saw fit. There was no general plan of siege. Raymond undermined one of the towers, but as it fell in the night, the besieged were able to repair the breach before morning. As the walls on one side of the city were washed by a little lake, the crusaders asked Alexius to send them boats in order that they might attack the walls from that side also and cut off all communication with the city. Alexius was glad of this opportunity to get a share in the work and sent boats and troops. The boats were drawn across the country on sledges and safely launched. The city's supply of provisions was cut off on that side, and since Kilidsch Arslan was unable to relieve it, the commander began to try to make terms with the besiegers. Negotiations were carried on secretly between Nicæa and the Emperor's officials.

Nicæa surrenders to the Emperor.

On the 19th of June, just as a united attack was to be made both by sea and by land, the representatives of the Emperor and his troops were admitted to the city. The surrender was made to them, and the gates closed to the crusaders.

Alexius had been successful in securing the city. The crusaders were angry that they had been cheated out of the spoil. They had counted upon enriching themselves by plundering the city. Alexius tried to quiet the princes. The city, he said, belonged to him by right as well as by the terms of the agreement made with them. He wished to protect his own from destruction, but he was willing to indemnify them for the booty they would have secured. There was nothing else for them to do but consent, since they hesitated to attack the Emperor. They accepted his terms, but hated and despised him. Alexius then distributed many presents among the leaders and gave rich alms to the people.

The crusaders angry because cheated out of their spoil.

After the agreement had been reached Alexius asked all the princes to come to him in order that they might hold a council concerning the further journey, and that Tancred might take the oath of allegiance. Tancred, however, refused to take the oath, and in the heated discussion that followed drew his sword and came near killing one of the Emperor's men. Violence was prevented, however, and in the reaction that ensued he took the oath. It was discovered that the crusaders might count on the help of two good allies, the Armenians in eastern Asia Minor and the Khalif of Cairo, who was hostile to the Seldjuk Turks. Ambassadors were sent to both to make an alliance and to secure their help against the Turks in Asia Minor and Palestine.

Allies of the crusaders.

On June 27, 1097, the army broke camp before Nicæa and set out on its difficult march through Asia Minor. Various parts of the army took different routes. On June 30th Boemund's division was fiercely attacked by Kilidsch Arslan, but after hard fighting the enemy was repulsed. Kilidsch

Arslan now withdrew before the Christians, devastating the country as he went. The crusaders continued their march without further resistance. Their route was by way of Iconium and Heraclea. They suffered fearfully because of the lack of water. It is said that more than five hundred people died of thirst at one of their stations. At Heraclea the army was divided. Baldwin and Tancred were sent by way of Tarsus through Cilicia to stir up the Armenians and secure their help against the Mohammedans. The main army turned sharply to the northeast as far as Cæsarea, then to the southeast to Ablistene, and from there almost south by way of Marasch to Antioch. The reason for this detour was that the Armenians were not united under one government. There were many little, independent principalities among them, and the crusaders wished to get help from as many of them as possible.

On the march through Asia Minor.

Tancred and Baldwin, as soon as they left the army, separated and each tried to gain an advantage over the other. Both were desirous of winning territory. Tarsus was the objective point. Tancred reached it first, but was unable to take it until Baldwin came. It is not quite clear just what took place here, but it is probable that Tancred wished to establish himself in Tarsus and was prevented by Baldwin from doing so. Tancred was forced to leave the city and went on toward Antioch. Baldwin followed him soon afterward and overtook him at Ministra, just after it had fallen into his hands. A quarrel ensued which led to an open fight between the two forces. Peace was finally restored, and Baldwin went on to Artasia, which fell into his hands. He was, however, soon besieged by a Turkish army, which came from Damascus to relieve the place. But Tancred, having brought his troops up, put the Turks to flight. He and Baldwin now became thoroughly reconciled and separated in peace. Tancred proceeded further south toward Antioch, while Baldwin turned to the northeast and joined the main army at Marasch. From there he went into

the upper Euphrates valley to help the Armenians in their struggles with the Turks. He took with him a few knights, and was so successful in defeating the Turks that he soon acquired the greatest popularity. Prince Thoros of Edessa invited him to come to him, and Baldwin, thinking this an excellent opportunity to make his fortune, accepted the invitation. On proper persuasion Thoros made him his successor, but Baldwin could not wait for him to die. After a short time he compelled Thoros to abdicate, and was himself recognized as prince of the city (1098). Thoros met his death at the hands of a mob. Baldwin was then undisputed master of Edessa and displayed a great deal of ability in its government and defence. It was an outpost of the crusaders and greatly strengthened their hold on Syria.

Baldwin in Edessa.

The main army proceeded toward Antioch, which the vanguard reached October 20th. The next day the whole army came up and pitched their tents before it. The troops now indemnified themselves for the hardships of the journey by giving themselves up for a few days to eating and drinking. The valley of the Orontes was very fertile and furnished them with everything they could wish. Abundance begot improvidence, and in a few weeks they began to suffer want. It was some time before the city was thoroughly shut up. Mountains on the south and west made it very difficult to prevent intercourse between the city and the outside world, but Tancred finally succeeded in cutting off all communication on those sides. Genoese and Pisan fleets cast anchor in the mouth of the Orontes, and their crews rendered valuable assistance in the siege.

Antioch besieged.

The Christians now began to suffer from other causes than want of food. The winter storms and rains came on, and a pest broke out among them which is said to have carried off one man out of every seven. They were constantly subjected to attacks by the armies which came to relieve the city. Many emirs brought assistance, but the Christians were able to drive

them all back. At length the news came that Kerbogha, Emir of Mosul, was coming to the relief of the city with an immense army. It was evident, therefore, that unless the Christians could get possession of the city before his arrival, it would be almost impossible for them to take it.

The city betrayed to Boemund, 1098.

At this juncture Boemund came forward with the proposition that if all the princes would swear to give him Antioch, he would secure its surrender. He had been gradually preparing for this. He had bribed an Armenian renegade, who had charge of one of the towers of the walls, to deliver the city to him. Many of the princes were willing to make such an agreement, but Raymond of Toulouse opposed it most bitterly. He made much of the oath which they had taken to the Emperor, but it was apparent that his real opposition was based on his hatred of Boemund and his unwillingness to see his rival in possession of so fine a territory. Boemund then waited till the army of Kerbogha was near the city, and when the danger became pressing, even Raymond yielded, and Boemund was promised the city. That very night (June 2, 1098) he led a party of his troops through the mountains to the foot of the tower which the Armenian guarded, and by means of ladders he and his men were taken up into the city. At daybreak they opened the gates, the crusaders rushed in, and the work of destruction began. Some of the Mohammedans escaped, but most of them were killed without pity. The work of murdering was soon given over for that of plundering. The houses of the Mohammedans were looted; the barbarism of the Christians was put into clear evidence. All of the city fell into their hands except the citadel, which resisted all attacks. In the wild scramble for spoil, however, few of them paid any attention to this failure.

Three days after Kerbogha's army arrived, and the Christians were now the besieged. Kerbogha might, indeed, have saved Antioch, if he had not stopped by the way and tried to take

Edessa. For three weeks Baldwin engaged him before its walls, and thus the Christians had been enabled to take Antioch.

The Christians besieged in Antioch.

Kerbogha pushed the siege with great vigor. From the citadel he was able constantly to send fresh troops to the attack, and hoped thus to wear the Christians out. They were soon in the greatest want. Many deserted. Some went over to the Mohammedans; others let themselves down from the wall by means of ropes, and so escaped to the coast. Among these was no less a person than Count Stephen of Blois. It seemed to him that everything was lost and that the city must certainly fall into Kerbogha's hands. In order to escape so hard a fate, he fled and went back to Constantinople.

At this juncture Raymond of Aguilers, chaplain to Raymond of Toulouse, planned a pious fraud, which was intended to arouse the Christians to a high pitch of enthusiasm and enable them to scatter the forces of Kerbogha.

The fraud of the Holy Lance.

One of his henchmen, Peter Bartholomew, pretended to have received the information from Saint Andrew that the lance with which the side of Jesus had been pierced was lying buried in the church of Saint Peter, in Antioch. If this were found the Christians would be able to conquer all their enemies. Count Raymond was impressed with the man's story and began the search. The count himself superintended the digging during the day, but was compelled to leave the church in the evening to take part in the defence of the city. Bartholomew was present, but in order to prevent suspicion was clothed only in a loose, shirt-like garment. Raymond of Aguilers was also there. In the dusk of evening, when it became apparent that the workmen were growing weary, Peter sprang down among them and called on them to pray to God that He would restore to them the holy lance. While they were thus engaged either Raymond or Peter half concealed in the fresh earth the piece of iron which was to pass for the lance. Raymond of Aguilers in his narrative of the miracle implies that he was the first to

see it, and in his enthusiasm kissed the point of it, which was all that thus far appeared above the ground. The fraud only succeeded in part. Many of the crusaders looked upon the whole thing derisively and declared that it was an imposture. Among the mass of the Christians, however, who put the utmost confidence in it, it created the greatest enthusiasm. While the most of the leaders believed the discovery a cheat, they were willing to take advantage of it in order to secure the best services of the whole army in attacking Kerbogha. Boemund was thereupon made commander for two weeks. He restored order in the city, compelled all to submit to discipline, and prepared all things for the attack. Everything was done to increase the fanatical courage of the Christians. By prayer, processions, fasting, penance, and other ascetic exercises their imaginations were wildly excited.

Kerbogha's army scattered.

While the Christian army was thus preparing itself for battle, the forces of Kerbogha were going to pieces. The many emirs who were with him were quarrelling, and the army was almost on the point of being broken up by dissensions. On June 28, 1098, the Christians marched out of the city and put themselves into battle array. Kerbogha did not try to prevent them from disposing their troops as they wished. He finally made the attack after the Christians were almost ready to move forward themselves. Boemund successfully resisted the first onslaught, and in a short time the whole army of Kerbogha was driven back and put to utter rout. It scattered in all directions, leaving its camp a prey to the Christians. From starvation the crusaders again passed to the greatest plenty.

The destruction of Kerbogha's army left all the northern part of Syria at the mercy of the crusaders and the Armenians. There were, however, many fortresses still in the hands of the Mohammedans, but they were unable to offer any serious resistance to the Christians. Although the way to Jerusalem was now open, the leaders were in no hurry to proceed. It was de-

termined to give the army a good opportunity to recover from the fatigue of the siege. Many bands went out into the territory of Antioch to attack the emirs, to reduce their strongholds, and to acquire as much booty as possible. Many of the pilgrims also remained in Antioch in order to accompany the army when it should continue its march to Jerusalem. The presence of so many people and the unsanitary condition of the city brought on a pest which carried off large numbers of people, among whom, unfortunately, was the Pope's representative, bishop Ademar of Puy. His loss was felt at once. He had been the peacemaker of the army and had kept the quarrels among the princes from assuming too large proportions. He died when he was most needed to preserve the peace between Boemund and Raymond of Toulouse. Boemund had demanded that the city be definitely given over to him in accordance with the terms of the agreement made with him. Raymond of Toulouse, however, filled with envy at the success of Boemund in acquiring thus an independent territory, refused to keep his promise and declared that the city must be restored to Alexius in accordance with the oath which they had given him.

A pest in the city.

Quarrel between Boemund and Raymond.

Alexius had very practically spent the time since the crusaders had left Nicæa in reconquering a large part of Asia Minor. He recovered the possession of almost all the cities of the western part (Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardes, Philadelphia, and others), overran the interior, and was pushing to the east, when some of those who had fled from Antioch came to him at Philomelium, bringing him the news of the wretched condition of the crusaders. He was told that the Christians would certainly be destroyed, and that, if he went further to the east, he would be in great danger from the army of Kerbogha. After arranging for the defence and security of his frontier he returned to Constantinople without making any effort to relieve the crusaders. These were therefore more angry than ever at him, and became decidedly inclined

Action of Alexius.

to keep their word with Boemund. They first sent count Hugo to the Emperor to consult with him about it, but the count took this opportunity of deserting and returned to France. The crusaders, in the meanwhile, began to quarrel about the holy lance. The Normans declared it was a trick which lacked all cleverness, while the Provençals, among whom it had originated, defended it.

The summer and autumn of 1098 passed, and still there were no preparations made to proceed to Jerusalem. Boemund and many of the Normans did not expect to go any further for the present. It was a matter of indifference to them whether the journey was continued or not. Raymond of Toulouse would not leave the city because he did not wish to leave Boemund in undisputed possession of Antioch. The people, however, grew tired of waiting and longed to complete their pilgrimage. They urged Raymond to lead them on, but he was not to be moved. They finally told him that if the leaders should refuse to conduct them, they themselves would go on to Jerusalem, and if the quarrel over Antioch continued, they would destroy the city. This had the desired effect, and toward the end of November Raymond began the march to the south. He left, however, a band of his knights in possession of a part of Antioch to keep a check upon Boemund. His objective point was Maarra, a rather important city which he wished to take. Boemund, however, followed him and took part in the siege, in order, it was said, to keep Raymond from establishing himself there. They took possession of the city together, and the old quarrel broke out afresh. There was no thought of going any further, for Raymond was determined not to yield. After several weeks, however, the people actually executed against Maarra the threat which they had made against Antioch. The city was set on fire and almost totally destroyed. Filled with anger Raymond again set out, and Boemund returned to Antioch, where he soon attacked the troops of Ray-

Raymond's indifference toward the crusade.

Raymond forced to proceed.

mond which were left there, overcame them, and so got possession of the whole city.

Raymond's ambition again got the better of him, and he turned west to attack the emir of Tripolis, hoping to establish himself there. Nearly all the army of the crusaders was gathered together before one of his strongholds, Irkeh, but it withstood the siege. Alexius sent word to them to continue the siege, promising to come later to their assistance. Raymond was glad of this excuse to prolong the stay of the army, but the accompanying people would no longer be held in check. They set fire to the tents and began their march toward Jerusalem (May, 1099).

Raymond was wild with rage to see all his hopes blasted, but he could do nothing but yield and follow after with the army. It is probable that of all the host that set out from Europe not more than twenty-five thousand fighting men composed the army which left Irkeh. They followed the coast, passed Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, and Acco, and then turned toward the interior. On the 6th of June they came within sight of the walls of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem taken, July 15, 1099.

The city was no longer in the hands of the Seldjuks. The Fatimites of Cairo had been carrying on war against these Turks, and in the summer of 1098 had actually gained possession of Jerusalem. The crusaders suffered at first for food and water, and could find little or no wood with which to build machines to carry on the siege. The arrival at Joppa of several Genoese ships with provisions relieved their wants, and enough wood was finally got together to build movable towers with which to attack the walls. On the 8th of July the attack began, and lasted until the afternoon of the 15th, when an entrance was effected at about the same time in three different places. The Mohammedans were murdered without mercy and the houses plundered. Everyone searched for gold or other treasure and interlarded his prayers with acts of violence or theft. The mystic asceticism and religiosity

of the crusaders were mingled with the greatest cruelty and barbarism.

Hardly was the city taken when a quarrel arose as to what should be done with the newly acquired territory. The clergy demanded that an ecclesiastical state be established under the control of a patriarch. The princes, however, would not listen to this. Raymond of Toulouse was offered the city, but he refused it, probably because he thought it was not advantageously situated. It had little or no trade, and was not on the line of travel. He wished to obtain a better possession, and, besides, he was not willing to give up the struggle with Boemund. It is probable that the conquest was offered to one or two others. At any rate, all were in doubt as to whom it should be given, and no one seemed desirous of possessing it. At length (July 22, 1099) the honor was thrust upon Godfrey of Boulogne, with the title of Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. Why he was not made king is not certainly known. Perhaps it was because he himself preferred the more modest title. More probably the title was the result of the compromise of the struggle between the clergy and the princes. It was neither wholly secular nor wholly ecclesiastical, since the Holy Sepulchre was accepted as the substance of the honor and yet was intrusted to a layman. From this time the popular imagination took up the name of Godfrey, producing a rich crop of legends about him. To the romantic, ascetic spirit of the age it seemed that there could be no greater honor than to be made the Protector of the Holy Sepulchre. It seemed that such an office required an especially holy and able man. Therefore what was not known of Godfrey was soon invented, and it came to be the common view that he had been the leader in all things during the first crusade. We know now that his rôle had been far from important.

Godfrey made Protector of the Holy Grave.

The Fatimites had already sent out an army of about twenty thousand men to rescue Jerusalem, but it came too late. Since

the army of the crusaders had not yet left the city, Godfrey secured their help and met the Egyptian Mohammedans near Ascalon, August the 12th. The enemy was utterly defeated, his camp taken and plundered, and Ascalon about to be delivered into the hands of the Christians. Raymond of Toulouse wished to make himself master of it, but Godfrey feared to have him so near Jerusalem. By opposing the conditions offered, Godfrey was able to prevent the surrender of the city. He preferred to leave it in the hands of the Mohammedans rather than that Raymond should possess it.

The battle of Ascalon.

A curious after-piece to the story of the Holy Lance deserves a brief mention. So many of the crusaders believed that the thing was fraudulent, and Peter and those who had directed the enterprise made such strenuous efforts to prove that it was genuine, that at last a trial was held in order to test the matter. Peter demanded the ordeal by fire. Lance in hand he passed through the flames. It is impossible to tell just what happened. It is certain that he died a few days later. Some say that he was killed by the fire, others that the crowd in its fanatical enthusiasm rushed upon him as he came out of the fire, and, in its efforts to touch or secure some of his clothing as relics, trampled him almost to death. In the account which Raymond of Aguilers wrote there are so many evidences of fraud in every paragraph that one is almost persuaded to believe that Raymond was guilty of the death of Peter. It is possible that, fearing the results of the ordeal, he himself caused the crowd to rush upon Peter that it might seem that he had lost his life in this way rather than by ordeal. Raymond admits that he was burned a little, but says that his back was broken by the crowd, and that his death was caused by that. A full description of this episode belongs to a history of the religious frauds of the Middle Age.

The Holy Lance.

It should be also said that Peter the Hermit had joined the army at Constantinople, and that he had completed the journey with it. He seems to have been the leader of the hangers-

on of the camp. His title is significant. He was called King Tafur or "Beggar King." He is the hero of the "Song of Antioch," parts of which were probably composed and sung in the camp before the walls of Antioch. Every class and nationality tried to claim all the honor of having caused the success of the first crusade. The writers in northern France made it appear that the leaders from that part of the world were the real heroes, and did all that was worth doing. Likewise the Provençal chroniclers represented Raymond of Toulouse as the most prominent man in the army. The monks wished to magnify their part in it, and hence the legends about Peter the Hermit and his share in the enterprise.

After the battle of Ascalon the crusaders felt that it was now time for them to return to their homes in Europe. They first made the round of all the holy places and bathed in the Jordan, as was the custom of pilgrims. Early in September they left Jerusalem, about twenty thousand in number, and soon reached Laodicæa. This was a city of the eastern Empire, and was at this time besieged by Boemund. The old hatred broke out anew, and Raymond of Toulouse determined to assist the city. A battle between the crusaders was narrowly averted. But the city retained its independence, and Raymond of Toulouse, with some of his men, was intrusted with its defence. Nearly all the pilgrims then took ship for Italy (September 10, 1099), and the first crusade was at an end. It had cost Europe several hundred thousands of men, and, if we look at the actual results, very little had been accomplished. Boemund had possession of Antioch, Baldwin of Edessa, and Godfrey of Jerusalem. Nearly all of Asia Minor had been reduced by Alexius.

Return of the crusaders.

But the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre was in the eyes of the west by far the greatest result of the crusade. To the west, indeed, this seemed to be the very highest success possible. The returning pilgrims were greeted with the greatest joy, and honors were heaped upon them. All those who had remained at home

were now filled with regret that they had not gone at the first call, that they also might have had a part in the great work. It was but natural, therefore, that when another call for help came from Godfrey and others, a large number responded with alacrity. During the years 1099 and 1100 several fleets were sent out by Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, which brought very opportune help to the Christians in the east. In Lombardy, France, and Germany, large numbers of people now took the cross and prepared at once to set out. Fifty thousand crusaders left Lombardy in the autumn of 1100, and reached the frontier of the Greek Empire, where they spent the winter. Alexius made the necessary arrangements so that they could obtain at a reasonable price all the food that they needed, but since they firmly believed that he had betrayed the first army, they did not hesitate to plunder and murder his subjects. In March, 1101, the crusaders reached Constantinople and encamped in Pera. Here they did all sorts of violence to the inhabitants of the city, so that Alexius asked them to move across the Bosporus. Angered at this they took up arms, and it was not until they had done much damage that they could be quieted and persuaded to depart for Asia Minor.

The Crusade of 1100-2.

The armies from Germany and France likewise thought it their duty to do as much damage as they could to the hated Greeks. Alexius endured much in order to keep the peace with them, but at last was compelled to attack them with his troops and thus bring them to their senses. More than two hundred and fifty thousand crusaders finally came together in Constantinople, ready to carry on the war against the Mohammedans. Unfortunately they were possessed with the idea that the Turks were cowards and could easily be vanquished. It seemed to them that everything had been done in Asia Minor and Syria, and therefore, without any regard for the advice of Alexius, they determined to capture Bagdad. They thought they would win great renown by taking the capital of the east-

ern Mohammedan world. They refused to follow the route taken by the former army and went straight to the east, intending to pass through Asia Minor and Armenia and then go down the Euphrates and so over to Bagdad. Their journey, however, was not to be so long. Near the Halys river they were attacked by a large force under Kilidsch Arslan, and utterly cut to pieces. Only a few of the whole army escaped and succeeded in safely reaching Constantinople.

Soon after this army left Constantinople another detachment of one hundred thousand men arrived and followed the same route through northern Asia Minor. At Ancyra they seem to have heard of the fate of the others and turned to the south. Not far from Heraclea they were put to rout and scattered. They suffered the same fate as their predecessors. Only a few hundreds of them escaped to the coast of Cilicia and from there found their way to Antioch, where they were cared for by the Christians of that city. The enthusiasm of the west was greatly cooled by the wretched fate of this large army on which such great hopes had been built. It was to be more than forty years before another army could be collected and sent to the assistance of the fellow-Christians in Syria.

Alexius could not give up the idea that all of Syria must be his because it had once been a part of the Empire. He would not consent to let the Christians keep possession of what they had conquered. In the spring of 1099 he sent a fleet and an army to attack Boemund of Antioch. It was a wretched policy, for he should have used all his forces to crush the Mohammedans. Laodicæa, which had been taken by Robert of Normandy, during the siege of Antioch, was first besieged. The people of the city rose against the Normans, drove them out, and opened the gates to the Greeks. Boemund proceeded to punish the city, but was unable to do so because of the help rendered it by Raymond of Toulouse and the returning crusaders (September 10, 1099). The army of Alexius was, on the whole, not very successful. It succeeded

The Emperor attacks Boemund.

in getting possession of only a few places on the southern coast of Asia Minor. It was not a serious menace to Boemund. Early in the year 1100 Raymond of Toulouse left Syria and went to Constantinople. He had failed utterly in all his attempts to establish himself as an independent prince.

Boemund felt himself free at last to turn his attention to other things. Since Antioch was now in his hands, and there was no danger of an attack from the Emperor or from Raymond of Toulouse, he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He first invited Baldwin of Edessa to come and make the journey with him. Dagobert, archbishop of Pisa, who had been made papal legate after the death of Ademar of Puy, also went with him. In the autumn of 1099 they left Antioch with an army of more than twenty-five thousand men, and reached Jerusalem in December.

Boemund in Jerusalem.

The weakness of Godfrey of Boulogne was by this time fully apparent. He had at his command not more than two hundred knights, and about one thousand foot soldiers; a small power indeed for a man with so high-sounding a title! Among those knights, however, was Tancred, who probably had remained with him to look after the interests of his uncle, Boemund. Arsuf, on the coast above Joppa, having been besieged, but without result, Godfrey sent Tancred into Galilee with nearly half of the small force which he commanded. Tancred established himself at Tiberias, on the sea of Galilee, and was successful in securing much booty from the caravans that passed that way. One emir after another was dislodged by him, and his own power increased. Godfrey thereupon conferred on him the title of Prince of Galilee.

Tancred in Galilee.

In Jerusalem Godfrey was not left in undisturbed possession of his power. The compromise by which he had been elected Protector of the Holy Sepulchre was not accepted by the Christians of Jerusalem. As soon as the crusaders left, the people of the city elected Arnulf, a former chaplain of Robert of Normandy, as patriarch. This Arnulf was a sly fellow who knew more

than one way of advancing himself. Among other things he had acquired a great popularity by discovering a piece of the true cross somewhere in Jerusalem! As patriarch he was able to interfere in the affairs of Jerusalem and to give Godfrey much trouble.

Boemund found it very easy, amidst this confusion, to establish his influence in Jerusalem. Arnulf was compelled to resign, and Dagobert of Pisa was made patriarch. This was even worse for Godfrey, since Dagobert would certainly act in the interests of Boemund, and, as it soon appeared, of himself. He hoped to build up for himself an ecclesiastical state about Jerusalem similar to that of the Bishop of Rome. Godfrey was unable to resist him and soon surrendered the city to him and became his feudal subject. He continued his struggles with the Saracens, without great success, but died soon afterward (July 18, 1100).

The patriarch Dagobert now thought that the time had come to make himself the sole master of Jerusalem. But the followers of Godfrey seized the walls and towers of the city and sent word to Baldwin of Edessa to come and receive the inheritance of his brother. Baldwin I., as he was now called, left Edessa in the possession of his nephew, Baldwin II., and with two hundred knights and seven hundred foot soldiers came, took possession of Jerusalem, led a plundering expedition to the south, and returned laden with booty to the city. Dagobert in defence called on Tancred to come and assist him and also sent a letter to Boemund urging him to come to his rescue.

Baldwin I.

In the meanwhile Boemund had made an attack upon Haleb with every prospect of success, when he received messengers from an Armenian prince offering him his lands if he would come to punish the emir of Sebaste on the upper Halys. Boemund set out, but was suddenly attacked on the way by this emir. His troops were put to flight and himself taken prisoner (summer, 1100). Tancred, instead of hastening to the north to make Damascus

Boemund a prisoner.

secure and to try to ransom Boemund, foolishly listened to the call of Dagobert to come south to conquer the Lotharingians and prevent Baldwin from acquiring the crown of Jerusalem. He was entirely unsuccessful, however, and Dagobert was compelled to yield and crown Baldwin I. king of Jerusalem, Christmas, 1100, at Bethlehem. In his haughty way Tancred surrendered Galilee to Baldwin, because he was unwilling to become his man, and went to Antioch. His lack of political sense was clearly shown by his conduct. The Greeks were making some slow gains in southern Asia Minor, but were practically held in check by the Italian fleets. They were not really dangerous to the Normans. On the other hand the Seldjuks were becoming far more bold and successful since Boemund was in their hands. Tancred, instead of uniting with all the other Christians against the common enemy, wasted his strength and time in fruitless attacks against the Greeks. He tried to drive them out of Cilicia and besieged Laodicæa. The city offered such resistance, however, that eighteen months were necessary to reduce it. Finally, in 1103, it was compelled to capitulate, but Tancred in the meanwhile had lost his best opportunities to break the power of the Saracens.

Tancred's foolish policy.

Raymond of Toulouse had made use of the confusion to establish himself in Tortosa, and was planning to secure the possession of Tripoli. His activity and successes were such that it seemed probable that he would at last realize the dream which had haunted him so long and would cut out for himself an independent principality. He had joined the unfortunate army that had left Constantinople in 1101 and was destroyed in Asia Minor. Having escaped with a few others to Cilicia he had come from there to Antioch. Tancred at first seized him and put him into prison, but was persuaded by the other Christian princes to set him free. This he did, but only after Raymond had taken a solemn oath not to try to establish himself in any of the cities between Antioch and Acco. Ray

Raymond of Toulouse again.

mond broke his oath, however, at the first opportunity and got possession of Tortosa.

Boemund was meanwhile held for a ransom, the emir of Sebaste demanding one hundred thousand pieces of gold for his release. Although Tancred made no efforts to raise the money, one of the Armenian princes generously paid the sum and Boemund was set free (summer, 1103). Arrangements were now finally made to attack the real enemy. Boemund made plans with Baldwin II. of Edessa and some of his vassals to make an expedition against Harran. This was a strategic point, and if the Christians could get control of it the power of the Mohammedans would be thoroughly broken. The Christians, however, were utterly defeated and suffered heavy losses. More than twelve thousand of them were killed, and Baldwin II. was made prisoner. With the greatest efforts Boemund and Tancred were able to defend Edessa, and to check the Mohammedans and Greeks, who were now pressing in on Antioch on all sides. With the forces at his command Boemund saw that he could not hope to overcome all the enemies that threatened him. He determined, therefore, to go to Europe and collect an army with which he might destroy the power of both the Greeks and the Saracens, and establish the Norman supremacy on a firm basis. He made Tancred ruler of Antioch in his absence, got together all the money he could, and sailed away to Italy (1104). Everywhere in Europe he was received with the greatest possible honors and had no difficulty in enlisting troops. In France he married the daughter of king Philip I. and secured another French princess as a wife for Tancred. In 1107 he had a large fleet and an army of thirty-four thousand men ready to sail.

Boemund ransomed.

Boemund in Europe.

Boemund now committed the great mistake of his life. It is probable that his old hatred against the Greeks broke out afresh, and the memory of his former successes (1081–85) was revived. At any rate, instead of going to Antioch with this

army, with which he might have done great things, he sailed across the Adriatic and attacked Durazzo. For nearly a year he carried on a bitter war against Alexius, but in the end had to acknowledge himself defeated. Durazzo was too strong to be taken, and Alexius was able to destroy Boemund's army by causing dissension among the Norman knights. Boemund saw his army breaking up and his power disappearing. He finally went to Alexius and made peace with him. He gave up all claims on all the cities of Syria except Antioch, which he was to hold as a fief of the Emperor as long as he lived. At his death it was to revert to Alexius. On returning to Italy he tried to raise a new army, but this time without success. He died 1111, a man of broken fortunes.

Attacks the Emperor.

Alexius at once laid claim to Antioch and sent ambassadors to demand its surrender. Tancred laughed at their pretensions and sent them back. They returned again with many rich presents, and tried to engage Raymond of Toulouse and Baldwin of Jerusalem in a prospective campaign against Tancred. Nothing, however, came of it, although Alexius knocked at many doors for help. Since he had received good help from the Venetians, in return for the commercial privileges which he had granted them, he tried to make similar terms with the Pisans. He gave them almost the same privileges as those which the Venetians already enjoyed, but in spite of this concession could not secure their assistance against Antioch.

Claims of Alexius.

Alexius even thought that he could now probably recover his control over Italy, since the struggle over investitures was raging in the west. Thus absorbed by chimæras, he foolishly left the Seldjuks undisturbed in their advances into Asia Minor. They moved steadily to the west and appeared before Nicæa. Frightened at last by their success he turned all his attention to them, and during the last years of his life was successful in pushing them back again into eastern Asia Minor. He died 1118.

Ever since the time of the first crusade Alexius has been the object of the most bitter attack by nearly all the Christian writers of the west. He was charged by the crusaders with almost every possible crime; he was a traitor, and betrayed the crusaders; some even charged him with poisoning them. It is evident now, however, that his principal offence was that he did not sacrifice all his own interests to the selfish aims of adventurers. During their passage through his Empire his subjects suffered much violence at their hands. In Constantinople their conduct was unbearable. They hated and despised the Greeks. They themselves were barbarians, and the Greeks were far superior to them in culture. Alexius endured their violence, haughtiness, and barbarous manners as well as he could, and endeavored to get along with them with as little trouble as possible. But he understood the motives of the leaders. He could not forget the invasions of Robert Guiscard and that his own crown had once been threatened by the west. It would have been highly impolitic for him to allow any foreign power to establish itself on his territory. The interests of his Empire demanded that he prevent the crusaders from forming independent states at his very door. It is impossible to see how he could have acted very differently. They would not obey him; indeed they obeyed no one, so he could not join them on their way through Asia Minor. The army of 1101 did the very thing which he urged it not to do. In spite of this he was blamed for its destruction. The most unreasonable demands were made of him. It was, to be sure, unfortunate, but not at all strange that Alexius should have insisted on his right to all the lands conquered by the crusaders. It must be admitted, of course, that Alexius as well as his successors followed sometimes a very short-sighted policy. It would have been much better if he had yielded in some things, and had made common cause with the crusaders against the Seldjuks. But we must remember that this was impossible, because the crusaders had no common

A word of defence for Alexius.

cause. Each one was working for himself. The best proof that Alexius could not work with them is the fact that they could not work together. The hostility between the Normans and the Provençaux has been sufficiently exhibited. In spite of all that has been written about the great success of the first crusade, it was a failure, and its failure was due to the ambition, jealousy, and strife among the crusaders themselves. The crusades have been called "holy wars," but, although they did appeal mightily to the religious imagination of the day, and therefore had a strong religious side, it would be difficult to find any series of undertakings more marred by selfishness, jealousy, and mean ambition.

The Christians divided.

Tancred was still master in Antioch, but with his lack of judgment brought the Christians almost as much damage as advantage. He quarrelled with the Armenians and abused them so that war broke out between him and them more than once. Two emirs were struggling for the possession of Mosul. Baldwin II. had been set free by one of them, Dschawali, on the condition that he would help him against his opponent Maudud. Tancred, however, joined Maudud, and the Christians were thus engaged in fighting each other. After all parties were much weakened peace was made, and Baldwin returned to Edessa.

Raymond of Toulouse died in 1105, leaving his eastern possessions in the hands of his nephew, count William of Cerdagne, who was soon able to extend his boundaries. But Bertrand, the son of Raymond, came and demanded that his father's possessions be surrendered to him (1109). William refused and appealed to Tancred for help, while Bertrand asked assistance of Baldwin of Jerusalem. Another war was imminent, but was fortunately averted by a compromise. The territory was divided between the two claimants. William was soon murdered, however, and Bertrand took possession of the whole territory and became a vassal of Baldwin of Jerusalem.

During the next years Tancred had many opportunities to unite with the other Christian princes and inflict much damage on the Mohammedans, but he allowed them all to slip away unimproved. He died 1112, leaving Antioch to a cousin, Roger del Principato, but stipulating that if the young son of Boemund should come to the east to claim his inheritance, Roger should at once deliver it over to him. Roger, however, was no better fitted for the position than Tancred had been. He was not able to increase his power and failed to improve the opportunities which presented themselves for putting down the emirs who threatened his frontiers. Haleb especially should have been taken by him, but his dilatory policy kept him from accomplishing anything. In 1119 an army of forty thousand Seldjuks was led into the field against him, and in the battle which ensued he himself was slain and his army destroyed. The territory of Antioch was plundered, and it seemed at first that Antioch itself would be taken by the Mohammedans. The future of the city depended upon the kingdom of Jerusalem, which in the last few years had greatly increased in power.

Roger del Principato.

This calamity would have come upon Antioch several years before it did had it not been for the internal feuds among the Mohammedans themselves. Every emir wished to remain independent and so resisted the formation of a great central power. It happened more than once that certain emirs made alliances with the Christians and were assisted by them against some more powerful emir.

Another element of discord had been introduced among the Mohammedans by the formation of the sect known as the Haschischin. Their name was derived from their use of haschisch. This was a sect formed among the Shiite sect of the Mohammedans in Persia, and was filled with the most fanatical fury against the Mohammedans who differed from them. They persecuted especially the Sunnites, the other great Mohammedan sect. All the members of

"The Assassins."

the Haschischin were trained to obedience. Their common method of getting rid of their enemies was by secretly dispatching them by poison or by dagger, or in any other way which seemed to them feasible. This sect spread through Syria and secured possession of several strongholds between Tortosa and Apamæa. It controlled quite a district there, which was under the authority of a leader called the Sheik of the Mountains. This was translated by the Christians as "The Old Man of the Mountains," and many legends were invented about him. The name of the sect was corrupted by the Christians into assassins, and in this form their name came to be known in the west and to be applied to any one who killed another by taking him unawares. The Haschischin added to the discord among the Mohammedans and so helped the Christians in an indirect way.

Baldwin I.

The reign of Baldwin I. of Jerusalem (1100–18) was on the whole successful. For several years he had to contend with the clergy of the city, but in the end peace was established and he found a patriarch who worked harmoniously with him. Large numbers of pilgrims came every year to Jerusalem, and Baldwin wisely made use of them. Nearly all of them joined him for a while in some siege or campaign, and many of them were persuaded to settle in Palestine, thus increasing the population. He secured the help of Genoa, Pisa, and Venice by giving to those cities special privileges in the east. They were granted free use of the harbors, and in most of the cities a quarter of their own in which they might live and hold their markets. This quarter was presided over generally by a viscount sent out by the mother city. These colonies were of the greatest service to him. With the aid of their fleets he was able to conquer nearly all the ports on the coast, Acco (Acre), Sidon, Beirut, and others, so that the whole coast came into the hands of the Christians. In the interior he took many places and acquired a good deal of booty. He was successful in resisting several

invasions of the Fatimites from Egypt, and in 1118 he even made a counter invasion. Although he reached the Nile the expedition was fruitless, not to say needless. The Fatimites were not his most dangerous enemy. He should have given all of his attention to the growing power of the Seldjuks in the north and east. He died on the way back from Egypt, and his body was carried to Jerusalem and buried in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (September, 1118).

His nephew, Baldwin of Edessa, was present at the funeral and was at once elected king, although some had proposed to send for count Eustace, the brother of the dead king.

Baldwin II.

Baldwin II. began his reign with the highest ideas of the duties of his position and used all his abilities in the interests of his kingdom. He invested Joscelin, who had been his most prominent vassal and helper, with Edessa, and thus secured his friendship and assistance. On the death of Roger of Antioch, Baldwin II. went north at once, took possession of Antioch, and defeated the Mohammedans in a bloody battle. Following up his advantage, he pushed the Saracens hard in all quarters and succeeded in restoring the former boundaries.

Both Baldwin II. and Joscelin were unfortunately captured soon after by the Mohammedans and kept in prison for some time. The war, however, went on without interruption. In 1124 Tyre was taken by the Christians after a siege of five months. The army sent by the Fatimites was utterly routed. The most able among the emirs died or were murdered, and all Syria and Palestine were more nearly than ever united into one Christian state. Baldwin thereupon made terms with his captor and was set free, and Joscelin was so fortunate as to escape from his prison. The condition of the Christians had never before been so good. The number of Italian colonists increased, and the two great orders of Templars and Knights of Saint John rendered excellent service against the Saracens.

The Christian power increased.

In 1126 Boemund, the son of Boemund, came to Antioch and claimed the city. Baldwin II. surrendered it to him and gave him his daughter in marriage. The young prince, however, was haughty and ambitious He quarrelled with the Armenians and with Joscelin of Edessa, and had no regard for the common interests of all the Christians in Syria. It was no loss, therefore, to the city when he was slain in a battle with the Saracens (1131). A war broke out between his widow, Elise, and his daughter, Constance, and their respective followers. The party of Elise even called on the Saracens for help against the other party. Baldwin II., however, heard of the trouble, hastened to Antioch, compelled his widow Elise to give up her claims, and placed Constance on the throne.

Boemund II.

Baldwin II. died 1131, leaving his crown to his eldest daughter, Melisende, and her husband, count Fulco V. of Anjou. This was an excellent choice, for Fulco was able, and wisely kept the common interests in view. At Jerusalem he had to contend with a conspiracy against himself, and at Antioch he was compelled to interfere against Elise, who again tried to get control of the government. He secured a husband for Constance, the able count Raymond of Poitou.

King Fulco.

The greatest enemy of the Christians was now Imadeddin Zenki, the emir of Mosul. He was ambitious to unite all the Saracens in Syria and the Euphrates valley under his sceptre and to conquer the Christians. The emir of Damascus, Muin Eddin Anar, however, was determined to retain his independence. He sought an alliance with Raymond of Antioch and Fulco, and the three were able to keep Zenki at bay. Anar gave the Christians valuable assistance in some of their battles, especially in reducing the great fortress Banias.

The Greek Emperor now again began to trouble the Christians after having for several years left them in peace. The Emperor John (1118–43) conquered Cilicia (1137) and compelled Antioch to open its gates to him. Raymond had to ad-

mit that he held Antioch as his feudal subject and even promise to surrender the fief to the Emperor as soon as certain Mohammedan fortresses should be taken. John was finally driven from Antioch by a mob. In 1142 he returned to renew his demands, but the city remained closed to him. The Emperor devastated the whole surrounding country and then withdrew to Cilicia, promising to come again the next year. Fortunately for Antioch he died the following spring, and so the city was free from danger from that quarter at least for a time. John left his son Manuel to succeed him, an able and warlike prince, who might at any time cause the Christians trouble.

It was a great misfortune that Fulco met with a fatal accident (November, 1143), and left Jerusalem in the hands of his widow, Melisende. His reign had been most beneficial not only for Jerusalem but for all the Christians in the east.[1] With his death a new period of misfortunes and disasters broke upon them.

Count Raymond made the mistake of demanding of the Emperor Manuel the restoration of all the places which had ever belonged to Antioch. Manuel answered with a fleet and an army which inflicted so much damage on Raymond that he had to submit to the Emperor and acknowledge his vassal relation. In the meanwhile Edessa was in danger and Raymond should have been using his strength in its support against Zenki. This emir had determined at last that he must have Edessa. In 1144 he surprised the city by appearing suddenly before it and demanding its surrender. The people defended themselves bravely, but, since no help came from the west, the city was doomed. Zenki undermined the walls, and the place was taken by storm. The Christians were put to the sword, and thus the outpost of the Christian states was destroyed. Zenki's power was so great that both Antioch and Jerusalem were in danger of meeting the same fate as Edessa.

Fall of Edessa, 1144.

[1] During the reign of Fulco it is probable that the feudal laws of the kingdom were thoroughly developed and written down. They are known as the "Assises of Jerusalem."

The only help possible was to be found in the west. Messengers were hastily sent to Europe to tell the news of the fall of Edessa, and to beg that an army be sent to recover it.

This sad news caused great consternation in the west without producing any immediate action. Europe had undergone a great change since Urban II. had first issued the call to a crusade. Contested papal elections and the rule of some inefficient Popes had somewhat reduced the power and prestige of the Papacy. Europe had in the meantime been growing rich from her rapidly increasing commerce, and her wealth was producing a great change in the people. Political interests were occupying a larger place in the minds of all. Louis VI. was strengthening the royal power in France. Roger had made a kingdom out of Sicily and southern Italy. The cities of Lombardy were increasing in wealth, power, and independence. A great change had taken place in the thought of Europe, the most prominent index of which was Abelard. Here and there people had begun to think independently of the Church and her creed. Reason was awakening. The study of Roman law had been revived. Poets were beginning to sing songs of love and wine. Europe was slowly recovering from her attack of asceticism, and was thinking less of the future world and giving herself up to the enjoyment of this. Arnold of Brescia was in Rome, preaching against the wealth of the clergy and their exercise of political authority. The high claims of Gregory VII. had been relaxed a little. Eugene III. was himself unimportant, and the leadership was in the hands of Bernhard of Clairvaux, who did not wish that the Popes should have secular power. He thought that their spiritual authority should be enforced only by spiritual means.

Europe changed.

A second crusade under these circumstances was difficult. Bernhard of Clairvaux, however, carried it through. The people of France were especially interested in the Christian states of Palestine and Syria because they were ruled chiefly by French princes, and because

Bernhard of Clairvaux.

of the large number of Frenchmen who were there. King Louis VII. was at this time having trouble with his conscience, and to obtain peace of mind was thinking about making a pilgrimage. His brother Philip had died without being able to fulfil the vow he had taken to go on a crusade, and Louis VII. had a feeling that he had in some way inherited this vow. Besides, he had been waging a war (1143) with count Theobald of Aquitaine, and in capturing the town of Vitry had caused a church to be set on fire which was full of people who had fled there for safety. More than a thousand of them perished in the flames, and Louis VII. was filled with remorse for his cruelty.

Louis VII.

At Bourges a great meeting of his nobles was held at Christmas, 1145. Louis told them of his intention to go on a crusade, and was encouraged to proceed by some of those present. His most able counsellor, Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, did not think that the king should leave his country for so long a time, and did all he could to prevent him from forming a definite plan. It was agreed, however, to refer the question to Bernhard of Clairvaux, and to abide by his decision. But Bernhard would not decide so important a matter and referred it to the Pope, Eugene III. The Pope was in favor of the crusade, and commissioned Bernhard to preach it throughout France. At Vézelay (Easter, 1146) Bernhard and the king appeared together before a great meeting. Bernhard made use of his wonderful gifts as a speaker to incite the people to a crusade. His success was tremendous. So many pressed forward to take the cross that for lack of other material Bernhard tore up his robe to supply them with crosses. He then travelled through France, enlisting vast numbers of people for the undertaking.

He next turned his attention to Germany, where the crusade had already been announced. In the Rhine valley the fanatical enthusiasm induced by it caused a cruel persecution of the Jews, just as it had done during the first crusade. Bernhard went, therefore, and put an end to the persecutions. Conrad

III. came to meet him at Frankfurt, but resisted the appeal of Bernhard to take the cross. At Christmas of the same year a diet was to be held at Speier, and Bernhard determined to make another effort to enlist the German king. During the services in the cathedral Bernhard rose and declared that he could not permit the day to pass without preaching. In his sermon he described the dangers that threatened Jerusalem and the Church, and dwelt on the religious blessings to be attained by going on a crusade. He then turned directly to Conrad and reminded him of all that God had done for him, and appealed to him to do this little service for God in return. Conrad was overcome by the powerful and unexpected address, and in tears received the cross from the hands of Bernhard. Many of his nobles also joined him in the movement.

Conrad III.

Bernhard sent letters to Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, Bohemia, and even to England, calling upon the people everywhere to join the crusade. The Saxons expressed a desire to lead a crusade against the Slavs beyond the Elbe, and Bernhard gave them permission to proceed with it. It may be said here, however, that this crusade against the Slavs accomplished but little. About one hundred thousand men marched into Pomerania and Mecklenburg. In a peaceable way German influence and Christianity had been spreading there for some time. The invasion disturbed this process and probably did more damage than good. The crusaders had the good sense at last to see this and gave up the crusade.

Crusade against the Slavs.

The success of Bernhard was immense. Seventy thousand knights joined Conrad alone. Later, when the crusaders crossed the Bosporus, the Greeks reported that they numbered nine hundred thousand men. The army was not only too large, but it was also divided into two hostile camps. The French were partisans of the Normans and hated the Greek Emperor, while Conrad was in close alliance with him. Conrad determined, therefore, to go by way of Constantinople. The Normans tried

hard to persuade Louis to go by way of southern Italy, and he was inclined to do so. But at last he concluded that he ought not to separate himself from Conrad, and so decided to go by the same route.

In 1147 the Germans came together in the East Mark, and began their journey through Hungary. Conrad for some time wished to use the crusaders to reduce the Hungarian king, Geisa, to subjection. His better judgment prevailed, however, and the army passed on into the Empire. Manuel sent them messengers to say that they should have the opportunity to purchase provisions if they would preserve the peace while passing through the country. For a while everything went well, but as soon as the Germans came into the rich, fertile valleys of Thrace their lawless character asserted itself. They plundered and destroyed without provocation, until at last Manuel was compelled to set upon them with his troops. After suffering considerable loss they behaved somewhat better for a time, but upon reaching Constantinople sacked one of its suburbs. They took possession of Pera and continued their depredations. Manuel again fell upon them and in self-defence compelled them to cross the Bosporus (September, 1147).

Conrad III. on the march.

Manuel now tried to make peace with the Germans. He gave them an excellent guide through Asia Minor and did all in his power to help them. The Germans would not wait for the French but wished to be led at once against the enemy. Conrad had now had time to repent of his vow and was desirous of finishing the crusade as quickly as possible. His army was accordingly set in motion, but owing to its utter lack of order but little progress was made. Although their failure was all their own fault, the leaders bitterly reproached the Greek officer who was serving them as guide, and, fearing for his life, he fled from the camp. A division of fifteen thousand men left the main body and first turned south along the coast and then went into the

The German army destroyed in Asia Minor.

interior. At Laodicæa they were attacked and so nearly destroyed that only a few of them escaped into Pamphylia and from there continued their journey by sea. Among them was Otto, bishop of Freising, half brother of the king, and one of the most important chroniclers of his day. Toward the end of October the main army reached Dorylæum, where the Seldjuks set upon them. The army was so miserably mismanaged that it was soon put to utter rout. No one tried to resist the Turks, but all turned and fled. The army was cut to pieces. Many of those who escaped the sword of the Turks died of the hardships endured while trying to reach shelter. Conrad with a few of his nobles was saved. Nearly all who were so fortunate as to escape with their lives now set out for home. They had no further desire to take part in the crusade. Conrad was left with but a handful of men to continue the crusade.

The French army.

Manuel was in constant fear while the French army was approaching because he knew that they were well disposed toward the Normans. At that very time (1147) King Roger of Sicily was committing the greatest depredations in the western part of the Empire. He captured Corfu and plundered many cities such as Corinth and Thebes. If the crusaders should make common cause with them, Manuel foresaw that it would go hard with him. The French had left Metz and passed through Bavaria and Hungary. When they entered the Empire messengers came to meet them to make them the same offers as were made to the Germans, and also to demand that Louis and his nobles should take an oath to deliver to the Emperor all such future conquests of territory as had once been a part of the Greek Empire. Louis refused to take this oath, and the hostility between the Greeks and the French was increased. The French, however, did but little damage while passing through the Empire. They reached Constantinople October 4th. Louis was received with great honor and feasted by Manuel for several days. But the army was more hostile

Louis VII. and the Emperor.

than ever to the Greeks, and the proposition was made to depose Manuel and place some one from the west on his throne. Manuel had good reason to fear and saw that he must get the French out of Constantinople as soon as possible. Since they were not inclined to go of their own accord, he caused a story to be circulated that the German army had taken Iconium and captured much booty. This had the desired effect. The crusaders' cupidity was stirred, and they demanded to be led at once across the Bosporus and against the Turks. Manuel tried to make an alliance with them against Roger of Sicily, but they rejected it. He succeeded only in obtaining the feudal oath from them. The army had made but little progress into the interior when it was met by the fleeing Germans, who brought the sad news of their ruin. Louis received Conrad with tears and sympathy and they continued their journey together. Conrad, however, was soon taken ill and returned to Constantinople to recover.

Frightened by the fate of the Germans, the French made the mistake of turning further to the south, where they found a much more difficult country to pass through. They eventually reached Laodicæa, but instead of following the regular route from that point, they again committed the mistake of turning to the south. The difficulties of this way were very great, and order in the army could not be preserved. During the rest of their journey to Attalia, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, they suffered heavy losses by the attacks of the Turks. The army was in a wretched condition when it reached Attalia. The long march and the constant fighting had utterly worn it out. In Attalia the French could obtain no food for their horses, which consequently died in a short time. They appealed to the Greeks for a fleet to enable them to continue their journey, but when it came it was sufficient to carry only the nobility. The common people were therefore left to take care of themselves. The nobility sailed away alone. The people being thus basely deserted attempted

The French army worn out.

to reach Syria by following along the coast, but were destroyed almost to a man by the enemy. The destruction of the great army that had set out from Europe was thus complete. Of the nine hundred thousand men who had entered upon the crusade only a few thousands at the most reached Syria. For this failure the crusaders themselves were very largely to blame.

In the meantime affairs in Syria had taken even a worse turn. Joscelin had got possession of Edessa again, but held it only for a short time. Zenki had been slain by his own people, but his elder son, Seifeddin Ghazi, had secured the possession of Mosul, while Nureddin, another son, got all the western part of his territory. Nureddin then besieged Edessa, took it, and utterly destroyed it. Its inhabitants were either slain or sold into slavery.

Fall of Edessa.

In Jerusalem the unpardonable mistake was made of breaking with Anar, the emir of Damascus, and making an alliance with some of his revolted subjects. Anar was a friend of the Christian states, and their common enemy was Nureddin. At the time when the Christians should have been making an alliance with him they made war on him. Conrad III. landed at Acco and proceeded to Jerusalem, where he, too, was persuaded to take up the war against Anar. He began to collect an army by enlisting as many pilgrims as he could and prepared to make an expedition against Damascus.

Jerusalem and Damascus.

In Antioch Raymond did nothing while waiting for the crusaders. At last Louis VII. and his wife, Eleanor of Poitou, reached Antioch. Raymond, however, began a criminal flirtation with the queen, and Louis, indignant over such treachery, went on to Jerusalem. The expedition against Damascus was nearly ready, and Louis joined it. With an army of fifty thousand the siege of Damascus was begun. It was wretchedly mismanaged, however. Rather than give the city over to the Christians, Anar announced that he would surrender it to Nureddin. The Christians, therefore, prepared to make terms with Anar and gave up the siege. A plan was

Damascus besieged.

then made to attack Ascalon, but the mutual hatred of the French and Germans rendered this impossible. Conrad, filled with disgust, left Palestine (September, 1148) and returned to Germany by way of Constantinople. Louis spent the winter in Jerusalem and returned to France in the spring of 1149.

The only success achieved by the second crusade was in Portugal. In May, 1147, about thirteen thousand crusaders, composed of Englishmen, Friesians and others from the mouth of the Rhine sailed from Dartmouth. They reached Oporto, where the bishop of the city asked them to help in the siege of Lisbon, which was still Mohammedan. After a considerable delay terms were made, and they joined the army of king Alphonso before the city. After a siege of nearly four months Lisbon was taken and plundered. The capture of the city was of the utmost importance to Alphonso, who soon made it the principal city and capital of his territory. Thence the crusaders sailed on to Palestine, where some of them undoubtedly took part in the unfortunate expedition against Damascus.

Success in Portugal.

The disappointment in Europe caused by the failure of this crusade was very great. The reputation of Bernhard suffered a good deal because of it. Another crusade was called for at once, and a group of French barons very foolishly elected Bernhard as its leader. The feeling against him was so strong, however, that he could not possibly succeed in raising another army. Besides, the west had affairs of its own to attend to, and the Christian states in Syria were left to take care of themselves. Their history till the fall of Jerusalem is most uninteresting, full of petty intrigue and violence. Their rulers were on the whole very bad, being ambitious, lustful, luxurious, and without any political insight or ability. The women of their families were of the same character and contributed to make matters worse. The resources of the kingdoms were wasted on ill-advised expeditions, while the really dangerous enemy was

Disappointment in Europe.

Syria, 1148-87.

seldom disturbed. The Greek Emperor caused a good deal of trouble by his claims. Worst of all, the moral degeneracy of the Christians in Syria was increasing with appalling rapidity. The Templars and Knights of Saint John quarrelled with each other continually.

The death of the great Nureddin gave the coveted opportunity to Saladin to rise into power. He was a member of a warlike family which had served Nureddin faithfully and well. He spent his youth in Damascus engaged in study, and he was filled with sorrow when his uncle compelled him to go with him to Egypt to take part in the government of that country. His tastes were those of a student, not of a statesman. He soon began, however, to take delight in his political work. When Nureddin died he seized the government of Egypt and made himself independent. He made war on the emirs of Syria, and his awakened ambition led him to try to unite all of western Asia under his sceptre. Toward the Christians of Jerusalem he was friendly and made peace with them. His plans kept him busy farther to the north and east reducing the emirs to subjection. The Christians, however, were not wise enough to make the most of this peace. Several times, purely out of the desire for booty, they made marauding excursions into Saladin's territory and plundered his caravans as they passed by. They did not hesitate to break their oaths and carry off booty whenever the opportunity offered itself. At length Saladin could endure their perfidy no longer. He collected a large army, and on July 4 and 5, 1187, met the Christian force at the Horns of Hattin, not far from the Sea of Galilee. His success was decisive. The Christians were either taken prisoners or slain in the conflict. The king and other leaders were captured, and almost all of them except the king put to death. Relying on the supernatural power of the true cross, they had carried it at the head of the army. It was now captured by the Mohammedans.

Saladin.

Horns of Hattin, 1187.

Saladin immediately began to reap the fruits of his victory. One after another of the Christian cities surrendered to him, and on the 19th of September, 1187, he brought his army together before Jerusalem. The people were so discouraged that effectual resistance was impossible. On the 2d of October the city was surrendered and given over to Saladin. The inhabitants were allowed to leave the city on the payment of a heavy ransom. Every man was compelled to pay ten gold pieces, every woman five, children over seven years of age, two, and under seven, one. The people moved out and began their sorrowful search for homes. Unfortunately most of them died of hunger and fatigue, and few of them reached a place of safety. Saladin continued his conquests, but without so much success as formerly. Tyre was able to resist him and to withstand a long and difficult siege. Antioch and Tripolis he could not take. Saladin kept up his efforts, but new forces were soon to come from the west, called into the conflict by the sad news of the fall of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem and all Syria in the hand of Saladin.

As soon as Jerusalem had surrendered, messengers were sent to the west, and in a few days all of Europe was filled with sorrow at the sad fate of the holy city. From Italy to England and Scandinavia there was talk of a crusade. Everywhere there was a voluntary uprising, and when the three greatest rulers of Europe took the vow, it seemed that now at last the Mohammedans must be driven back and the Christian supremacy established in the east.

The call for a crusade.

In 1187 the Pope sent Henry, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, to Germany to preach the crusade. Frederick Barbarossa was, however, still having trouble with the archbishop of Cologne, and Henry the Lion was ready to rebel if an opportunity were given. By the help of the papal legate Frederick was able to bring the archbishop to subjection. At a great diet held at Mainz several German bishops made powerful addresses and appealed to the Emperor

Frederick I.

as well as to the people to assist in the recovery of the holy places. At length Frederick was won. He took the cross amid the approving shouts of his people. He tried to persuade Henry the Lion to go with him. On Henry's refusal he banished him from Germany for three years.

Something had been learned by the failure of the previous crusades. The crusaders had set out without sufficient preparations and consequently had suffered much from hunger. Frederick put off the time of starting for a year in order that he might be able to make the necessary arrangements for feeding the army while on the march. It had also been discovered that the great numbers of people who had accompanied the former armies were a hindrance to success, and Frederick decreed that no one might join in his crusade unless he had three silver marks (about thirty dollars). Messengers were sent to the king of Hungary, to the eastern Emperor, and to Kilidsch Arslan, the emir of Iconium, to announce his coming and to ask their assistance. Another embassy was sent to Saladin to demand the surrender of the kingdom of Jerusalem of the true cross which had been captured in the battle of the Horns of Hattin, and the release of all Christian slaves. If he should refuse he was threatened with the invasion of his territory by all Christendom. A diet was held at Nuernberg in December, 1188, at which embassies were present from all the above mentioned except Saladin, whose messengers came later. The Greek Emperor demanded security that Frederick would not attack him. Frederick took the required oath, and the messengers promised that the army should have good leaders, the opportunity to purchase provisions at low rates, and a fleet to set them across the Bosporus. Saladin's reply was a message of defiance.

Well-laid plans.

On the 23d of April, 1188, more than one hundred thousand men left Regensburg under the command of Frederick. These were all well armed and equipped. The army differed radically from the lawless crowds of all previous crusades. Frederick

established order at once and punished severely all violence and disobedience.

But again affairs were taking such a turn that this crusade could not be a success. In the first place, the Normans in Sicily began another war on the eastern Empire. In 1185 they attacked Durazzo, and established themselves there. They attacked Thessalonica and after a few weeks took and sacked it. From there they moved against Constantinople. The government was in a wretched state. Manuel had died (1180) and been succeeded by his son Alexius II. who was only thirteen years old. His mother, Maria of Antioch, was regent, but the authority was in the hands of the Emperor's cousin, Alexius Comnenus. Another cousin, Andronicus Comnenus, usurped the power and title and put the young king and his mother to death. This barbarity was followed by many revolts in various parts of the Empire. Thereupon another Comnenus, Isaac, got possession of Cyprus and assumed the title of Emperor. An uprising in the city followed, and the Emperor Andronicus was deposed, and Isaac Angelus raised to the vacant throne. Although he was without much ability, he succeeded in defeating the Normans and forcing them to surrender Thessalonica and Durazzo. Revolts followed in other parts of the Empire. The Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Wallachians rebelled against the tax collectors of the Emperor and made themselves independent. All the northern part of the Empire was thus broken off from the central government.

The Normans in the way.

Affairs in Constantinople.

Still worse were the political relations with the east. Kilidsch Arslan, the emir of Iconium, and the states of the Christians were hostile to the Greek Emperor. For one hundred years the Emperors had been trying to get possession of the territory which was held by them. Saladin was also trying to conquer both the Christians and the Mohammedans of Asia Minor. It was not strange, therefore, that the Greek Emperor and

Isaac Angelus and Saladin against the crusaders and Kilidsch Arslan.

Saladin should make common cause against these enemies and agree to divide the spoil. On the other hand, it was but natural that the Christians should make an alliance with Kilidsch Arslan to resist their common enemies. Since the party lines were thus drawn in the east, it was inevitable that the fresh crusading armies would attach themselves to Kilidsch Arslan and the Christians of Antioch. The Greeks would, therefore, be more than ever in danger from them. This was exactly the condition when Frederick Barbarossa entered the Empire. Isaac and Saladin had made an offensive and defensive alliance. Saladin gave the Greeks in his territory religious liberty, and promised help to the Emperor against Kilidsch Arslan. Isaac promised to hinder the approach of the crusaders, to give the Mohammedans religious liberty in Constantinople, and to assist Saladin against his enemies. This was most unfortunate, but, while it may seem short-sighted, Isaac can hardly be blamed for his conduct. He was driven to it by the attacks which the crusaders and the Normans had made on him. Saladin was the only one on whom he believed he could rely. It may now appear to us that this was a mistaken policy, but the danger from the west was great and imminent.

While Frederick was passing through the territory of the Serbs and Bulgarians he was besought to help them, and make an attack upon the Emperor. Frederick refused, however, and declared that he did not wish to fight with the Emperor unless he undertook to prevent the crusaders from reaching Asia. As those countries were in revolt, lawlessness was rampant, and the army suffered from a kind of guerilla warfare, which was carried on against it. When it entered Thrace, Isaac sent messengers to say that he knew that Frederick meant to do his government some injury, and forbade him to proceed any further unless he should give hostages and promise to deliver one-half of all his future conquests in the east to him. A little later Frederick learned that his ambassadors to Isaac had been seized, imprisoned, and maltreated.

Double-dealing of Isaac.

It was evident, therefore, that the Emperor was not dealing openly with him, and Frederick began to treat the land as an enemy's country. The garrison of Philippopolis fled, leaving the city to the mercy of Frederick. A Greek army approached, but was defeated and driven back. The crusaders began to capture all the towns in the district, and to establish themselves as the conquerors of the land. All were interested in securing as much booty as possible, and so were scattered about over a large area. Frederick saw the danger that threatened his army and took measures to avert it. He reorganized the army and enforced discipline with the greatest energy. Refusing to forget that his real object was to reach Syria, he wished to end the troubles with Isaac as soon as possible. After several weeks of negotiation he secured the release of his ambassadors. Three months more passed before Frederick could bring Isaac to make peace with him. In the meantime Frederick had moved his army forward to Adrianople, and was plundering the country. He sent word to the Pope to announce a crusade against the Greeks, and told his son to see that several of the Italian cities should send fleets to help him the next spring in the east. He made alliances with the Serbs and Bulgarians. Isaac was now thoroughly frightened and made a treaty whose terms were most favorable to the Germans. During the last days of March the army was transported across the Hellespont, and began its march toward the interior.

A change in Asia Minor.

From Laodicæa on there was constant fighting with the Turks. Kilidsch Arslan, emir of Iconium, had just died, and his sons had made peace with Saladin, so that instead of a friend, the Christians met with a new enemy. Iconium had to be taken by storm, but the labor was well repaid, for the Christians found great quantities of supplies in the city. The sufferings and the privations of the long march were now over. The Turks made peace with them, and they were able to replace the horses and other beasts

of burden which had perished on the way. The march was continued to the south, and in a few days the army reached Cilicia and found itself among the friendly Armenians. The Taurus mountains were traversed with great difficulty, and the army was delighted to reach the fertile lands on the coast. But on the 9th of June, 1190, the army was overcome with sorrow at the misfortune which befell its leader. In trying to cross a swollen mountain stream, the Saleph, near Seleucia, Frederick was drowned. The soldiers already utterly exhausted, were rendered helpless and hopeless by this new blow. Many of them returned at once to Europe. Others were slain in battle or sold in the slave markets of the Mohammedan cities. Only a few of them reached Antioch. This was the third great German army which had miserably perished without accomplishing anything for the cause.

Death of Barbarossa.

Besides this principal body of German crusaders who went with Frederick, there were three other smaller bands. The landgrave William of Thuringia with a goodly following passed through Italy and, sailing from Brindisi, was successful in reaching Syria. Two fleets sailed from the lower Rhine a few months apart, and both landed in Portugal, where they were invited by the king to help him against the Mohammedans of that country. The first fleet rendered him valuable assistance in capturing from the Mohammedans the important fortress, Alvor, and the other assisted him in the siege of the city just to the north of it, Silves. By these conquests the power of the king of Portugal was much increased. Both these fleets continued their journey and reached Syria in time to take part in the siege of Acco.

German crusaders in Portugal.

For several years there had been much talk in both England and France about a crusade, but nothing had come of it all, because of the complications between the two countries. The king of England had possession of about one half of France. All the territory from

France and England.

Normandy to Gascony acknowledged Henry II. as king. The two rulers were therefore engaged in a constant struggle. The king of England wished to maintain himself in his continental possessions, and the king of France knew that it was the first business of his life to win back all this lost territory. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the kings of these two countries could not act in harmony for a long time. Finally, early in 1188, Henry II. and Philip II. met, made peace, and took the cross. Hostilities, however, broke out afresh between them, and the crusade was postponed.

Henry II.'s last years were made bitter by the revolts of his sons, which were promoted, if not directly caused, by the intrigues of Philip II. By fostering their ambitions Philip II. won them to his side, and Henry II. died from the blow which he thus received from his own sons (1189). He was succeeded by his son Richard, who, at this time, was on the best terms with Philip II. Under these circumstances it was possisible for them both to fulfil their vows. Accordingly plans were laid for beginning the crusade in the spring of 1190. Money was collected from all quarters. The Jews were persecuted and robbed, offices and other dignities and rights sold, and a tax, called Saladin's tithe, levied. At the appointed time more than one hundred thousand crusaders assembled, and the two kings marched through France. It was found, however, that so large a number could not easily be fed. The army was therefore divided according to nationalities. Richard sailed from Marseilles, skirted the coast of Italy, and, after frequently seeking adventures on the mainland, landed in Sicily. Philip II. sailed from Genoa and safely reached Messina.

Philip II. and Richard I.

The king of Sicily had just died, and his widow, the sister of Richard, had been imprisoned by a usurper, Tancred of Lecce. Richard, therefore, stopped and saw that his sister was set free and her rights secured. In the end Messina was stormed and taken by him

Quarrels in Sicily.

and plundered. Philip II. and Richard quarrelled over the spoils, and the old enmity between Englishmen and Frenchmen was renewed. Richard was engaged to marry the sister of Philip II., but now refused to do so. His engagement to the princess Berengaria of Navarre was announced instead, and the lady herself soon came to Sicily in company with Richard's mother. Thus the whole winter was spent in alternate periods of strife and revelry.

Philip II. finally determined to proceed, and on March 30th sailed away with his troops to Acco. Ten days later Richard also set sail. A storm separated his vessels and some of them were wrecked on the coast of Cyprus. The island was still in the hands of Isaac Comnenus, who a few years before had made himself master of it and assumed the title of Emperor. He robbed and maltreated those who had been wrecked, and even tried to kidnap Berengaria, whose ship had safely reached the harbor. A few days later Richard came up with the rest of his fleet and demanded satisfaction for the injury done his people. Isaac refused, and Richard attacked him with such vigor that he was compelled to flee, leaving Limossol in Richard's hands. It was here that Richard celebrated his marriage with Berengaria. In spite of attempts at reconciliation with Isaac, hostilities were renewed, and in less than a month Isaac was taken prisoner, and all the island fell into the hands of Richard. He divided it up into fiefs and gave it to some knights of his army and proceeded to Acco. Cyprus was thus added to the states of the crusaders, and was to be of the greatest importance in their future history. Richard landed at Acco, June 8th.

Cyprus taken, 1191.

It was a grave misfortune for the whole movement that the siege of Acco had been begun and had been made the most important object of attack. Guido of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, had been set free by Saladin and had gone to Tyre, which had been a part of his kingdom, but was now held by Conrad of Montferrat Conrad, how-

Siege of Acco.

ever, refused to surrender his position to him. Guido, without any thought of what was best for the kingdom, set out with a small force and laid siege to Acco, hoping to secure a good port. Since the Christians held other ports, Acco was not at all essential to the existence of the Christians in the east. Saladin was the real danger, and all the strength of the Christians should have been directed against him. The siege was begun in the summer of 1189. All the bands of Christians which came from the west were gathered together before the city. Since Acco was situated on a peninsula, the Christians were able to invest it in such a way as to cut off all communication with the mainland. Walls and a line of forts were built clear across the neck of land, and since Saladin was in the rear of the Christians they constructed defences against him, and so were in a kind of fort which faced both ways. The Christians besieged Acco and were in turn besieged by Saladin.

The hatred between Guido and Conrad was bitter, and each sought to win the new crusaders to his support. Since Philip II. and Richard were also quarrelling, it was but natural that they should espouse opposite sides. Richard went with Guido, while Philip II. made terms with Conrad. The enmity was thereby increased. The siege had already lasted nearly two years when Philip II. and Richard arrived. The coming of Philip and Richard put new life into the attack, and in spite of all the quarrelling and jealousy Acco was so hard pressed that it was compelled to capitulate. The city and all its possessions were surrendered, but the inhabitants were permitted to withdraw in safety. Saladin, moreover, promised to set free a large number of Christian slaves and prisoners, to restore the true cross to the Christians, and to pay two hundred thousand pieces of gold to the crusaders. A large number of hostages was given them to insure the payment of the money.

The next work of the crusaders should have been to attack the Mohammedan cities in the interior. Jerusalem especially should have been retaken. Instead of this their time was spent

in quarrelling. Guido and Conrad continued their struggle. Other bands of crusaders were coming all the time, and the Englishmen and Frenchmen treated them all with great haughtiness and injustice. Philip II. then declared that he was ill and must therefore go home. The real reason of this determination was that he wished to secure the territory of Philip of Flanders, who had recently died. He hoped also in the absence of Richard to be able to recover some of his lost French possessions. In July, 1291, he safely reached Europe.

The further conduct of the crusade was left in the hands of Richard, but he was utterly without the qualifications of a successful leader, though he was a thorough knight, strong and adventurous. No single combat was too hard for him, and the more dangerous an undertaking, the more sure he was to try it. But the army needed not a knight but a head, a commander, who would direct it in the proper way. Richard was entirely incapable of this. Probably at the instigation of some of the Italian cities, and perhaps of some of the princes, it was determined to attack Ascalon next. This was a mistake, but the army marched to the south. Saladin in the meanwhile destroyed all the cities along the coast to prevent their falling into the hands of the crusaders. When the army reached Joppa they found it in ruins. Here, however, the army stopped and spent several days. Saladin took advantage of this delay to destroy Ascalon also. Valuable time was wasted in Joppa, and Conrad of Tyre grew tired of waiting. He made a treaty with Saladin by which he was to receive certain cities, and in return was to help Saladin against the Christians. Treason thus found its way into their own ranks. Richard was desirous of returning to England, because he had heard that his brother John and Philip II. were both trying to deprive him of his power. He wished therefore to make peace with Saladin, but was so changeable that no definite treaty could be made. He began the march against Jerusalem and gave it up without cause. He

Richard's inability.

spent his time in hunting for adventures. He would declare that he must go back to Europe, and then apparently forget it and go on another expedition. He made Conrad of Tyre king of Jerusalem, but the Assassins murdered the newly made monarch. Count Henry of Champagne was made his successor, and the deposed king, Guido, was indemnified by the gift of Cyprus. After beginning many things and completing nothing, Richard at last made a wretched peace with Saladin. The only favor granted the Christians was to enter Jerusalem as unarmed pilgrims during the next three years. Saladin retained all his possessions, the Christian slaves were not set free, and the cross was not delivered up. The treaty was received by a storm of opposition, and Richard was cursed by the Christians in Palestine. Shortly after this he sailed away (September, 1192). His vessel was wrecked near Venice, and he began his journey through Europe in disguise. He was made a prisoner not far from Vienna by duke Leopold of Austria, and delivered over to Henry VI. of Germany. After being in prison for nearly eighteen months he was set free upon the payment of a heavy ransom, and eventually reached his kingdom.

The preparations which Henry VI. made for a crusade have already been spoken of. In 1196 more than sixty thousand crusaders, mostly Germans, sailed from Apulia and safely reached Syria. They made Amalrich of Cyprus king instead of Henry of Champagne, who had just lost his life by an accident. They marched against Beirut, which easily fell into their hands since the Mohammedans were unwilling to endure a siege. The army was then making plans to carry the war into the interior when the news of the death of Henry VI. deprived it of all courage. In a short time the army went to pieces, and nearly all set out for their homes in Europe. Germany was, at this time, the seat of war between the Guelfs and the Hohenstaufen, and the kings of England and France were in strife with each other and their subjects. The prospect of a new crusade was not, therefore, very flattering. Neverthe-

The crusade of Henry VI., 1196.

less the great Pope Innocent III. determined that another army should be sent to the east. He sent messengers to the Armenians, who acknowledged him as their ecclesiastical head, urging them to resist the Turks and promising them help. He called upon Alexius III. of Constantinople to prepare for a crusade and to assist the army from the west when it should appear. He sent representatives to Constantinople to a council to be held for the purpose of uniting the Churches of the east and west again. To the rulers of western Europe he sent letters and messengers, calling on them to join in the new crusade. He promised to all who should do so the forgiveness of their sins and the special protection of Saint Peter. The clergy were called upon to pay a tax of one-fortieth of all their property and income to defray the expenses of the army. Many preachers were sent out, some of whom acquired a very great reputation for holiness and persuaded large numbers to take the cross. Fulco, a priest of Neuilly on the river Aisne, it is said, received the vow from more than two hundred thousand persons. These, however, were mostly common people, who, it had been found, were rather a hindrance than a help to a crusading army. The upper classes were slow to be moved, but in 1199 several members of the nobility were persuaded to take the vow. The next year they held several meetings, elected count Thibaud as their leader, and sent messengers to Venice to secure help from the city in their undertaking. The Venetians agreed to furnish a fleet sufficient to transport forty-five hundred knights, nine thousand squires, and twenty thousand foot soldiers, to furnish provisions for the same for one year, and to add fifty galleys to the army. For this they demanded eighty-five thousand marks of silver (nearly nine hundred thousand dollars). The date of departure was fixed for April, 1202. Egypt was to be the objective point, since the crusaders believed that they ought to attack the Mohammedans in the seat of their power.

Efforts of Innocent III.

Venice was at this time at peace with Egypt, and her com-

merce with that country was considerable. She had no interest in the crusade as such, but was willing to take part in any expedition which promised to increase her harbor and commercial privileges in the east. With Constantinople she was having trouble because the Emperor had granted the people of other Italian cities the same privileges as she possessed. Her Doge, Henry Dandolo, had a personal grudge against Constantinople because of the violence and indignities he had suffered there some years before. It is probable that from the first he thought of using the crusade against the eastern Empire. Count Thibaud, the first leader, having died, the margrave Boniface of Montferrat was made leader in his stead. Boniface was the sort of man who would look after his material interests far more carefully than the interests of Christianity.

Commercial interests of Venice.

Alexius III. Angelus had acquired the crown (1195) by deposing his brother Isaac II. Angelus, blinding him, and putting him in prison. The young son of Isaac, Alexius, was also imprisoned, but in the summer of 1201 made his escape and went to western Europe to secure help against his unnatural uncle. He applied to Innocent III., but without success. He then went to Germany and besought the aid of his brother-in-law, king Philip. Philip espoused his cause and suggested that the crusade should be sent against Constantinople to restore the old Emperor Isaac and his son. He strongly recommended this view to Boniface. Henry Dandolo was fully in sympathy with the proposition. It was not difficult to persuade nearly all the crusaders that this was the thing to do, especially since most of them cherished the deepest hatred of the Greeks. Many of the knights wished to establish themselves as independent princes in the east, and it was a matter of indifference to them against whom they fought if they could only be successful. Dandolo was the controlling spirit in the army and was able to direct things as he wished.

Revolts in Constantinople.

Many of the crusaders did not come to Venice, but sought to reach Palestine by some other way. Some of them went to Rome, where Innocent III. used them against the imperial officers who held towns and fortresses in central Italy. The number of those who came to Venice was, therefore, not so large as had been expected. After paying all they possibly could, they were still in debt to the city thirty-four thousand silver marks. Dandolo was glad of this because of the power which it gave him over them. He proposed that they should earn the passage by helping the city conquer some of its enemies. The city of Zara, on the coast of Dalmatia (exactly opposite Rimini), lived very largely by piracy. Her fleet preyed upon the Venetian commerce and rendered the Adriatic unsafe. In October, 1202, more than two hundred boats of various sizes sailed from Venice, carrying the crusaders, and by the end of October Zara was in their hands.

Attack on Zara.

The Pope had done all he could to prevent this diversion. He had put obstacles in the way of the alliance between the crusaders and the Venetians because he knew the character of the latter, and was afraid that they would seek only their own advantage. The crusaders excused themselves to him by saying that their obligations to the Venetians were such that they could not act otherwise. The Pope forgave them, and although he put the Venetians under the ban, allowed the crusaders to continue in their association in order that they might use their fleet for the purposes of transportation. He forbade them to proceed against Constantinople, and reminded them that it was the duty of crusaders to fight against the Mohammedans, not to punish the wrongdoings of the Greek usurper. The crusaders, however, paid no attention to his prohibition, because Philip of Germany sent ambassadors to offer them, on the part of Alexius, two hundred thousand marks of silver, a re-enforcement of ten thousand soldiers for one year to help subdue the Mohammedans, and the subjection of the Greek Church to the

papacy, if they would restore him to his throne. The crusaders could not resist this tempting offer, and the fleet was set in motion against Constantinople.

The expedition would probably have failed but for the inability of the usurper, Alexius III. He imposed heavy taxes upon the people and committed all sorts of violence against his subjects. The army was not kept in condition and the fleet was dismantled and sold. In all parts of the Empire there were revolts. The central part of Greece was seized by Leon Sguros, and the peoples along the Danube plundered at will. Alexius made no preparations to resist the crusaders until it was too late. Toward the end of June, 1203, their fleet entered the harbor and the siege began. On the 17th of July a part of the walls of the city was taken. Alexius III. made a sally against the troops on the land, but was defeated and driven back. Overcome with fear, he fled that night with all the money and valuables he could collect. Next day the people brought out the old Isaac, who had been blinded, and made him Emperor again. Since this was what the crusaders had set out to accomplish, they were satisfied. The young prince Alexius IV. was crowned and associated in the government with his father, and the siege was ended. The crusaders helped Alexius IV. in his campaign against those who opposed him in the country. In the city there was a good deal of ill-feeling shown, and the Greeks resented the haughty insolence and violence of the "Latins," as the crusaders were called. The city was set on fire, and nearly one-half of it was reduced to ashes.

Incompetency of Alexius III.

Constantinople taken.

The new Emperors were unable to pay all they had promised. By the heaviest exactions they could collect only one hundred thousand silver marks. The crusaders demanded the full amount and threatened violence if it were not paid. War broke out, and the siege was renewed. The winter of 1203–4 wore away. In the city a revolution took place

which resulted in the death of Alexius IV. and in putting Alexius Ducas Marzuflus on the throne as Alexius V. After great preparations and many attacks the city was finally taken (April 12, 1204). One of the gates of the city was shattered, and at the same time two ships which were joined together came close enough to the walls to fasten their ladders to one of the towers. The tower was quickly filled by the crusaders, and so from two directions they poured into the city. For some days the soldiers gave themselves up to plunder and murder. Their cruelty passed all bounds. Another fire broke out and a large part of the city was burned. Alexius V. fled, and the crown was offered by some of the Greeks to Theodore Lascaris. He refused it and fled into Asia Minor.

Constantinople again taken and sacked, 1204.

The victors divided the spoils and the Empire went to pieces. Baldwin of Flanders was made Emperor of the new Latin kingdom, and Boniface of Montferrat received Thessalonica and the surrounding territory, with the title of king. Both tried to extend their power, but not always with the best success. Bulgaria caused a good deal of trouble in the north. In Asia Minor several Greeks set themselves up with the title of Emperor, but each one ruled over only a small territory. Probably the most important of these pretenders was Theodore Lascaris who took up his residence at Nicæa.

Constantinople the seat of a Latin kingdom.

Venice also received her share of the booty. According to the terms of the agreement she should have received three-eighths of the Empire. But although the Doge took as his official title "Ruler of One-Fourth and One-Eighth of the Whole Roman Empire," he never got possession of that amount. Among other possessions large quarters in the city of Constantinople fell to the Venetians. In the Peloponnesus they got some territory in the southwestern part of Messene. They took possession of nearly all the Greek islands, and controlled to a great extent the eastern Mediter-

The spoils divided.

ranean. The rest of the Peloponnesus fell into the hands of Godfrey of Villehardouin and William of Champlitte, the latter with the title of Prince of Achaia. Epirus was ruled by a Greek, who was able to maintain himself there under the title of despot. Athens formed a duchy. Other princes established themselves in various places with various titles, all of them more or less dependent upon Venice.

It was impossible, however, for these Latins to maintain themselves in the east. They were not numerous enough to dominate and assimilate the Greeks. The religious hatred was too strong. They also quarrelled among themselves, and the Greeks gradually took advantage of their opportunities to recover their lost territory. In 1261 Constantinople with all its surrounding territory was taken by the Greek Emperor Michael. In the following years many of the Latin principalities were reconquered, although Venice retained her hold on the islands. In the first years of the fourteenth century the Aragonese of Spain established themselves in Attica, after doing much damage to the whole coast of the Balkan peninsula. These Catalonians, as they were called, were later to be conquered by the Osman Turks.

The Greeks reconquer the lost territory.

Although this fourth crusade worked injury, on the whole, to the cause of the crusades, it was of the greatest importance to the civilization of Europe. The many Latin colonists in the east were living among the Greeks and Arabs, and were in daily contact with them. Their intercourse with the Mohammedans was very free. Through these crusaders the civilization of the east, both Greek and Arab, was carried to the west. This was the greatest benefit derived by Europe from the crusades.

Effects of the fourth crusade.

The crusades which followed this expedition against Constantinople were all unimportant in their results. One of the most curious of them was the children's crusade.[1] In the

[1] See G. Z. Gray, The Children's Crusade.

spring of 1212 Stephen of Cloyes, a mere boy, was led, probably by the tricks of the clergy, to believe that he was called of God to preach a new crusade in which only children should take part. He was finally brought to Saint Denis, where he had the opportunity of preaching to thousands of people. Many other boys were influenced by his example to enter on the work of preaching the crusade, and the fever soon spread over France and Germany. A boy named Nicholas became the leader of the German children, and after collecting about forty thousand of them he began the march to the south. It is possible that the army, as it was called, was divided into two parts, one of which crossed over the Mont Cenis pass, while the other went by way of Saint Gotthard. Some of the children soon turned back, many died by the way, others, especially the girls, were seized and made prisoners. Only a few of them reached Genoa, where, in their pathetical innocence, they expected the sea to open up and give them a passage on dry land to Palestine. It is probable that two shiploads of them sailed from Pisa for Palestine. Others went on to Rome, where they presented themselves to Innocent III., who ordered them to return home and wait until they had grown up. It seems, however, that a small band of them, whether of the Mont Cenis party or those who crossed the Saint Gotthard is not quite clear, reached Brindisi. It is said that a few hundreds sailed away from Brindisi, but that they were never heard of again.

The Children's Crusade, 1212.

Nicholas and the German children.

Stephen of Cloyes collected an army of about thirty thousand children and set out for Marseilles. After many hardships they reached the city only to be disappointed in the promises which had been held out that God would open up a way for them through the sea. Day after day they waited, but in vain. At length when their hope was almost gone two merchants offered to furnish ships to convey them to Syria. Seven vessels were provided and about five thousand children sailed away in them. Two

Stephen and the French children.

of the ships were wrecked on the island of San Pietro, off the southwest coast of Sardinia. The others safely reached some Mohammedan port, but only to thrust the children upon a worse fate than death. The merchants who had furnished the ships were slave-dealers and had taken these means of securing a large number of persons for the Mohammedan slave-markets.

In 1217 Andrew, king of Hungary, brought together a considerable number of troops and went to Syria. He did not know what points to attack, and so, after making several useless expeditions into the interior he became disgusted and returned home. Soon after this a large fleet, composed of vessels from the territory about the mouth of the Rhine, reached Acco. It was soon decided that the proper point of attack was Egypt, and so the whole fleet, re-enforced by all the crusaders who were already at Acco, sailed away for Damietta. During the last days of May, 1218, the crusaders landed and began the siege. After gaining solid advantages they were offered excellent terms of peace by the Sultan. He offered to restore to the Christians the kingdom of Jerusalem and the true cross, and to pay them a large sum of money, if they would withdraw from Damietta. Very foolishly the offer was rejected. Many of the crusaders thought that it should have been accepted, but the fanaticism of the papal legate and the commercial interests of the Italian cities prevailed. The siege was continued until November 5, 1219, when the city fell into the hands of the Christians.

Andrew of Hungary, 1217.

Damietta Besieged.

The next step was to attack the Sultan, who had established himself at Mansurah. This was put off, however, from time to time, and the Christian army remained idle until the summer of 1221. In July of that year the Christians finally began their march against the Sultan. Again the most advantageous offers of peace were made them, but were refused. The crusaders continued their march. The Nile, however, was overflowing, and the crusaders did not know their way through the maze of

canals. The army at length found it impossible to fight longer against the Sultan, and began a retreat which resulted in the destruction of the army. Even Damietta had to be given up, and the work of the crusade was entirely undone.

The army destroyed.

The crusade of Frederick II. has already been partially described. For several years the Pope had tried in every way to compel him to begin the journey, but for various reasons Frederick put it off until the summer of 1228. He found the Christians in Syria quarrelling as usual, but the Mohammedans were, if possible, in worse condition. War was raging between the sultan of Egypt and the emir of Damascus. Each was afraid that the other would make some concessions to Frederick, and thereby gain a decided advantage, and both were, therefore, only too willing to make terms with Frederick without risking a battle. Frederick was also desirous of settling matters without fighting, because, although, off and on, many crusaders had come to Syria during the last fifteen years, the most of them had become tired of waiting and had returned to Europe. Frederick's forces were, therefore, not large. In February, 1229, he made a treaty with the Mohammedans the terms of which were most favorable to the Christians. Jerusalem, with the exception of the mosque of Omar, was surrendered to them, as were also several cities and strongholds which were so situated that pilgrims could safely make the rounds of all the holy places. All the Christians who were held as slaves by the Mohammedans were to be set free. Frederick promised in return to protect the sultan against all his enemies, even if these were Christians, and agreed not to aid the princes in northern Syria.

Frederick II.

This peace brought a storm of criticism upon Frederick. The Christians in northern Syria, especially Boemund V. of Antioch, the Templars, and the Knights of Saint John, were angry that they had not been included in it. The Pope refused to accept it because, he said, no treaty should be made with

the infidels. Frederick, however, entered Jerusalem, crowned himself before the Holy Sepulchre king of Jerusalem, and then hastened back to Europe. The principal result of his crusade was that Jerusalem and several other places (Nazareth, Bethlehem, and others) were again in Christian hands.

In the years 1239–40 several French nobles under the lead of Thibaud of Navarre made an expedition to Syria. The Pope tried to use them against the Emperor and did all he could to prevent their sailing. They reached Acco, but, although their numbers were large, they did nothing to improve the situation. They turned their attention to capturing as much booty as possible. In the spring of 1240 they were re-enforced by a crusade of Englishmen, who were led by Richard of Cornwall. After making a peace with the sultan of Egypt to the advantage of the Christians, and strengthening some of the places, Richard returned to England.

Crusade of 1239-40.

The Christians in Syria continued their quarrelling, but the Mohammedan world was luckily also divided. The emirs of Damascus and other cities in northern Syria opposed the sultan of Egypt, and made an alliance with the Christians against him. To meet this the sultan called on a wild horde of Turks for help, and in 1244 they sent an army of ten thousand horsemen to assist him. Their route from Mesopotamia through Syria was marked by ruins. In September they took Jerusalem and put the Christian inhabitants to the sword. One after another the Christian cities were reduced until the kingdom of Jerusalem was wholly in the hands of the Mohammedans. Jerusalem was definitely lost to the Christians and was destined to remain under Mohammedan control.

Jerusalem lost anew, 1244.

The fall of Jerusalem was not able to create so great a commotion in Europe as it had fifty years before. Frederick II. was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Pope. Only in France did it have any effect, and even there it was principally because of the character of king Louis IX. that anything came of it. The king and many

Louis IX. in Egypt.

of his barons prepared for a crusade. In the summer of 1248 they came to Cyprus, but, instead of proceeding at once to Syria, spent the winter there. While on the island it was determined to change the destination of the expedition and to proceed directly against Egypt. They landed before Damietta and caused so great fear among the inhabitants that they at once deserted the city, and the Christians took possession of it without a blow. From here the army proceeded into the interior. After several months of fighting the crusaders were compelled to begin a retreat. The whole army was either destroyed or taken prisoner. Louis himself and many of his nobles were made captives. He purchased the freedom of himself and the others by the payment of 800,000 pieces of gold, and the surrender of Damietta. From Egypt he went to Syria, where he spent nearly four years trying in various ways to restore the fortunes of the Christians there. He called for help from Europe, but little or no attention was paid to him. At length he returned to France (1254) without having accomplished anything.

In 1266 Louis IX. wished to make another crusade, but it was four years before he was prepared to begin it. In 1270 he sailed from southern France, and after a severe storm landed on the coast of Sardinia. There it was determined to attack Tunis because, it was said, its emir wished to become a Christian, and would certainly do so if sufficient force of argument were exerted upon him. At any rate the sultan of Egypt would be greatly weakened by the loss of Tunis. The real reason of the diversion, however, was that Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX., feared an attack from Tunis, because it had taken the part of the Hohenstaufen. He played his royal brother a trick and succeeded in directing the army against his personal enemies. Tunis was reached and the siege begun, but it was not pushed with much vigor. A pest broke out in the camp, and many of the soldiers were carried off by it. The old king himself was finally seized, and died

The crusade of 1270.

August 25, 1270. The siege was carried on for a while longer, but ended with a treaty of peace which was, on the whole, favorable to the Christians. Most of the crusaders then returned to Europe. Only the two English princes, Edward and Edmund, sons of Henry III., continued their journey to Syria, where, however, they did nothing of importance.

The end of the Christian power in Syria was fast approaching. The military-monkish Orders fought with each other, and the Venetians and other Italian states were engaged in constant feuds. The Mongols were extending their power over the Mohammedan world in Asia, but were eventually driven back. The sultan of Bibars carried on the work of conquest with skill. In 1265 Cæsarea and Arsuf were taken by him and destroyed. The great fortress Safed was taken the next year. In 1268 Joppa shared the same fate, and the whole of northern Syria was lost by the surrender of Antioch in May of the same year. Thereupon Gregory X. preached a crusade throughout all Europe, but without success. More than once divisions among the Mohammedans gave the remaining Christians in Syria a little respite, but their fate could not be avoided. Tripolis was taken by the sultan, 1289, and in 1291 Acco was besieged by him. After a few months of brave resistance this stronghold also was captured. The Christians were thus driven out of Syria, and the whole country was in the hands of the Mohammedans. The Knights of Saint John established themselves on some of the islands, especially Rhodes, which they held for nearly two hundred years. Cyprus remained a Latin kingdom until 1489, when it was seized by Venice and made a part of her territory.

Syria reconquered by the Mohammedans.

Although there were no more crusades, the idea of having one did not die. Several Popes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries called on Europe to arm itself against the Mohammedans. Several kings of France even took the cross and proclaimed a crusade. This

Why did the crusades cease?

was done, however, apparently for no other purpose than to afford the king an opportunity to collect some extraordinary taxes. The reasons for the cessation of the crusades are many. In the first place the crusades had failed. Millions of lives and untold wealth had been squandered in the east, and nothing had been accomplished. The task seemed too great. The people of Europe lost faith in the movement. The crusading spirit was turned into other channels. In Spain the war was kept up with the Mohammedans. On the eastern frontiers of Germany crusades were carried on against the heathen Letts and Slavs. The heretics in the Empire were put on the same plane as the infidels, and wars against them were declared to be as holy and deserving of the same rewards as those against the Mohammedans. Then the national life of the countries was growing much stronger. International struggles arose and all the forces of the country were needed at home. At the same time the religious needs of the people were satisfied in another way. Gethsemanes, Via Dolorosas, and Calvaries were constructed in the west, and these artificial holy places came to be regarded with almost as much superstitious reverence as were their originals. The rising sale of indulgences also made it unnecessary to go on a long and dangerous journey to the holy land to win religious peace. It was still quite common for people to take a vow to go on a crusade, but by a peculiar bit of sophistry it was supposed that all the benefits of the vow could thus be artificially obtained. The life of Europe grew larger, its interests more complex, and the fields of its activity more numerous. There was no longer any surplus of energy to be spent in such far-away enterprises.

Causes of failure.

That the crusades failed to accomplish what they were organized to do is evident from the above account. The causes of this failure are not far to seek. The crusaders themselves were much to blame—both while on the way and after they reached the east. They lacked good leaders. They were too lawless and moblike. The

princes quarrelled constantly, and their personal ambitions kept them from working for the common good. Especially the ambition of the Normans and their many ill-timed attacks on the eastern Empire had a bad effect on the course of events. The Greek Emperors were also to blame and followed a disastrous policy, although the conduct of the crusaders generally drove them to it. The struggle between the German Emperors and the Popes also had a baneful influence. The Italian cities come in for their share of the blame because they were interested so deeply in commerce that they often sacrificed the common interests to their selfish ends. Finally, the difficulty of colonizing so large a territory and of absorbing the Mohammedan population was so great that it could not be overcome.

Both the direct and indirect effects of the crusades on Europe were great and varied. They did much to increase the power of the Papacy, especially during the first hundred years. Urban II. virtually was at the head of Christian Europe, and his leadership of this most popular movement confirmed him in the high place in the mind of the Christian world. Chivalry was perhaps inevitable, but the crusades forced it to become organized and made of it the institution which it became. The military-monkish Orders owed their existence wholly to the crusades. The conquests of the German Order among the heathen on the Baltic may be regarded as one of the most important of their indirect effects.

Effect of the crusades.

The crusades helped destroy feudalism. The barons often sold their rights, privileges, lands, and other feudal possessions in order to get money to go on a crusade. The creation of a new nobility to offset the old was also hastened by the crusades. They diminished the number of feudal subjects of the lower class and so created the demand for laborers which resulted in the elevation of the serfs into a class of free day-laborers. They also had some effect on the process by which the kings were increasing their power at the

Feudalism.

expense of the nobles. They did not destroy feudalism, but did much to weaken it. Since they brought together large numbers of people of all countries, they developed the consciousness of national differences. Each nation came to hate all the others, one of the necessary steps, apparently, in the development of nationality.

Commerce.

On commerce the effects of the crusades were most marked. They gave a great impetus to ship-building, since the carrying of pilgrims between Europe and Asia came to be a lucrative occupation, and the amount of commerce greatly increased. Many new objects of merchandise were now introduced for the first time into Europe. The crusades created and supplied a large demand in the west for wines, sugar, cotton, silk, all kinds of textile fabrics, rugs, pottery, glass-ware, spices, medicines, perfumes, coloring substances, incense, various kinds of oil, mastix, dates, grains, and many other things. It would not be too much to say that the crusades made Europe rich. The cities especially profited by the commerce. The rise of the citizen or middle class was therefore greatly hastened by the crusades. The literature and learning of Europe were also deeply affected by them. They gave a strong impulse to literary activity. Many chronicles, histories, and poems were written about them, and the legends which grew out of them were innumerable. The literature of chivalry may be traced indirectly to the same impulse. The great cycles of legends about Solomon, Troy, and Alexander the Great, arose under their influence. In 1141 the Koran was translated into Latin. About the same time a school was established in Paris to teach the eastern languages, such as Armenian and Arabic.

Also Europe's fund of knowledge was generally increased. As regards zoölogy, the crusaders became acquainted with many animals which aroused their curiosity. This interest resulted in the formation of zoölogical gardens, first of all in Sicily and Italy, in which strange animals were collected not

simply for the sake of curiosity, but also to satisfy a rising scientific interest in them. Further some new domestic animals were introduced into Europe, such as the mule, the donkey, and the Arab horse.

In botany and practical farming Europe had much to learn from the Arabs. They taught the best methods of irrigation. The "Dutch" windmill is an Arabic invention, and was used for grinding corn and drawing water in the east. It was introduced into Europe by the crusaders. Many new plants and grains were brought to the west, and experiments made in their cultivation. Among them were sugar, cotton, rice, indigo, sesame, and other grains, saffron, the mulberry-tree, the pistachio-tree, fig, citron, pomegranate, watermelon, musk-melon, apricot, plum, and artichoke.

Practical farming.

In medicine and chemistry, which among the Arabs were closely related, the Christians learned of sirups, juleps, elixir, camphor, senna, rhubarb, and many similar ingredients. Many of the chemical terms, such as alembic, alcohol, alkali, borax, and amalgam are Arabic in origin. Their knowledge of mathematics and astronomy has already been spoken of. The intercourse between the Christians and the Mohammedans facilitated the spread to the west of the Arabic achievements in these subjects. Many astronomical terms, such as zenith, nadir, azimuth, and almanac were derived from the Arabic.

Medicine and chemistry.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the general enlargement of the intellectual horizon of Europe, caused by the travel of the Christians in foreign lands which had a different, higher, and finer civilization than their own. Life in the west was still very rude. The houses lacked all luxuries and comforts, and most of those things which are now even regarded as necessities. The European, whose experiences had been very limited indeed, entered into a new world when he set out on a crusade. He found new climates, new natural products, strange dress, houses, and customs. The

The horizon of Europe enlarged.

features of the landscape, and even the skies above him, were different. In the houses he found many new objects of comfort and luxury, such as divans, sofas, alcoves, mattresses, carafes, baldaquins, jars, and precious stones. Talisman, amulet, carat, and the names of many stones are Arabic. The geographical knowledge of the west was very limited, but the crusades brought experience in travel and a practical knowledge of large territories. Great interest was aroused in the study of geography. A good knowledge of the Mediterranean and large parts of Asia and Africa was acquired. The curiosity awakened by the new regions, together with the mercenary and commercial interests in many quarters, led Europeans to undertake long journeys of discovery. One of the most famous of the travellers of the Middle Age was Marco Polo, who traversed central Asia, visiting all the peoples of that region, and finally reaching even the Pacific. Other travellers only a little less famous are Plan Carpin and Andrew of Longjumeau. The accounts of their travels, which they published, were very widely read, and while adding information they increased the interest of Europe in foreign lands. The influence of the crusades in this direction can hardly be overestimated. Without them the Renaissance could not have been what it was.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITIES, MORE ESPECIALLY IN FRANCE

The cities in the Empire.

The history of the cities of the Roman Empire during the first ten centuries of the Christian era is obscure. In Gaul there were more than one hundred cities (civitates) and a larger number of strongholds (castra). The cities were governed by the Roman municipal form of government. In the fourth century they were all on the road to ruin because of the financial oppression which they endured from the Emperor. Sometime during or after the invasion of the Barbarians the municipal government of the cities was destroyed, and the cities passed into the hands of a bishop or of some nobleman in the neighborhood. Often the city was divided, the bishop having control of part of it and the nobleman ruling over the remainder. Some of the cities were actually destroyed by the invasion and their sites entirely lost.

The Germans, it will be remembered, generally settled in the country. It would seem that at the time of Karl the Great by far the larger number of the inhabitants of Scandinavia and Germany still lived on the soil. The violence of the times, and especially the invasions of the Norsemen and Huns, compelled the people to live together in walled inclosures, and these became in time cities. Many cities grew up around monasteries and castles. They were, of course, small in their beginnings and grew slowly. The ruling class did not live in the cities but in the castles. From the fifth to the tenth century there was little or no commerce except for a short time during the

reign of Karl the Great. The insecurity of the roads destroyed commerce and hindered travel.

The cities in the hands of a lord.

Before the time of Karl the cities were ruled by a lord, whether duke, count, or baron. Karl the Great put almost all the cities of his Empire under an officer who was generally called a count. The people of the cities had no political rights. Not even in the government of themselves did they have a voice. Their lord collected the taxes, appointed officials, kept order, and punished offenders. It is possible, however, that in some cases the people had preserved a mere remnant of their former independence and had a certain right in determining who should hold a few of the offices. Practically, however, it is true that they had no political rights. They were at the mercy of their lords.

Guilds.

A sort of basis or starting-point for the free commune of later times was the guilds which prevailed throughout the whole Middle Age. People who had common interests were brought together and united into a secret organization known as a guild. For the people engaged in the same occupation there was a separate guild. Each guild worked only for its own interests at first, but later some of them united and supported the common cause.

Revival of industry and commerce.

The principal cause of the communal revolt of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the revival of industry and commerce, and the consequent increase of wealth. It was the merchants who led in the movement, a proof of which is that the revolt spread along the routes of commerce and travel. During the tenth century efforts were made to put an end to private wars and to secure peace. Feudalism became more fixed in its customs and a certain degree of order prevailed. The revival of commerce is due in large measure to this fact. There was no revolt against the burdens imposed upon the cities by their lords until there grew up a rich merchant class, a sort of aristocracy of wealth, commanding resources and means of

carrying on the struggle with the lord. As soon as this class became at all numerous there was a revolt against the exactions of various kinds which the lords levied upon them. The lords of the cities thought that the richer the town the greater the feudal dues that might be demanded of it. For a while, therefore, the cities submitted to all sorts of unjust taxation. In the end, however, they revolted against this and refused to pay. In the struggle that followed they were able to secure not only freedom from this unjust taxation but also in many cases the right of governing themselves.

In France this movement of revolt had its first faint beginnings in the tenth century and reached its height about the years 1050–1200. It is probable that the cities in southern France were the first to enjoy large political liberties and rights, but the charters which confirmed these rights did not antedate those of the cities in the north. Early in the eleventh century there were many cities in Provence and Languedoc which were essentially free communes, but did not receive their charters for more than one hundred years after that time. In the north, up to the year 1100, there were perhaps not more than a half dozen cities that had secured the title of commune. Between the years 1100 and 1135 a large number of them had obtained charters. Among them were Noyon, Valenciennes, Amiens, Corbie, Soissons, Bruges, Lille, St. Omer, Ghent, Liège, and others. Then the movement quickly became popular and spread rapidly. During the next hundred years it may be said to have been at its height.

Cities in southern France.

Many of the cities met with great resistance in their efforts to free themselves from their masters. It is only natural that the lords of the cities should have opposed anything which threatened to diminish their power and income. One of the principal aims of the cities in revolting was to secure freedom from unjust financial exactions imposed upon them by their lord. The clergy were generally exceedingly hostile to the movement. Commune was declared by

Opposition to the communes.

them to be "a new and detestable word." "Agreements made with them are null and binding on no one because they are contrary to the canon law and to the decisions of the holy fathers." "They were introducing diabolical usages which tended to overthrow the jurisdiction of the Church." Several Church councils legislated against them. The nobility also were at first, for the most part, hostile to the formation of the communes and endeavored to put them down by force. Some of them, however, were glad enough to part with their prerogatives for money and made the cities pay well for their privileges. Still others, at least toward the end of the movement, were wise enough to see that a prosperous commune was of far more value than a poor dependent city, and therefore hastened the process by offering charters to those cities which had not already secured them. In some cases they even forced the cities to buy charters. The kings of France followed no fixed policy in the matter but were guided in each particular case by their own royal interests. For instance, in 1112 Louis VI. protected the commune of Amiens and destroyed that of Laon. His successors, however, saw that the commune might be used against the nobles, and were therefore glad to confirm charters whenever they were appealed to.

Policy of the French kings.

Although many of the cities got their charters in a peaceable way, some of them acquired them only after an armed revolt. Others, indeed, were unable to get a charter even by force. They were successfully resisted by their lord and kept in subjection. Montpellier (1142), Toulouse (1188), Béziers (1167), Laon (1106–12), Lille, Ghent, Amiens, and many others were compelled to fight hard for their charters. Vézelay revolted five times and attempted to get a charter, but was unsuccessful every time. Chateau Neuf, near Tours, appealed to arms a dozen times, but never succeeded in acquiring a charter. Orleans was so thoroughly chastised by Louis VII. for her attempt in 1137, that she never again tried it.

Charters acquired by force.

The charters were far more easily purchased with money than acquired by force of arms. The nobles were always in need of money, and since the cities were rich, the common way of obtaining a charter was by purchase. **Charters acquired by purchase.** Even after a charter had been secured it was not uncommon for a commune to extend its power and prerogatives and ask for a new charter in confirmation of its new privileges. It may be said that the cities in England always got their charters by purchase. The movement there never took on the character of a revolt. In Germany the cities were not allowed any political liberties during the reign of the Hohenstaufen, although they secured a great many restrictions upon the arbitrary taxations of their lords. During, or after, the interregnum, however, when the imperial power was either destroyed or greatly weakened, they were able to emancipate themselves entirely and secure their complete political independence.

It was only in the south and in the west of France that the cities were successful in establishing themselves as communes. In the central part, which was more directly under the control of the king, there were almost **No communes in central France.** no communes. The king was so near to them that he was able to check their growth, or, at least, to keep them in partial dependence. Orleans and Paris never became communes. All such cities have been called "villes de bourgeoisie." This distinction into two classes is arbitrary, because it is often impossible to distinguish villes from communes. They both received charters. The charters of the villes, however, simply guaranteed that the people of the city should not be arbitrarily taxed or should have certain commercial or other privileges. Generally these cities were not allowed to rule themselves or to elect their officers. They were subject to their king or lord and were ruled by the officers whom he sent to them. In some of these "villes de bourgeoisie," however, there was a certain amount of political autonomy and the people had a voice in the election of some of their officers. Since the king's

officers were always present, these villes were always peaceable. The mob was kept in check, and the finances of the city were well managed and kept in good condition. Louis VII. gave a charter of the above kind to the little ville Lorris. It was so well adapted to the object for which it was intended that it was afterward introduced into more than eighty villes in the central part of France. The charter of Beaumont-en-Argonne was used in more than three hundred villes in the northeast, especially in the archbishopric of Rheims, the duchies of Luxemburg and Lorraine, and the county of Chiny. This charter was very like that of the commune. It provided for the election of a mayor and a kind of Board of Commissioners by the people of the ville. These administered the government, but rendered an account of their work to their lord, the archbishop of Rheims. They even had the right of administering justice to a certain extent, the archbishop reserving for his court only the more important cases. The distinction between such villes and the communes would perhaps be made clear by saying that the communes became feudal individuals while the villes remained subject to feudal dues without ever becoming feudal individuals and having vassals under them.

The so-called villes de bourgeoisie.

The number of these villes was greatly increased from the eleventh century on, by the founding of many new towns. In order to improve their estates or to increase their incomes the lords often established new settlements which grew into towns or cities. The common name for all such was "ville neuve," or new town. In order to secure inhabitants for these, large inducements had to be offered. The lord generally published a charter and made it known for many miles around that he intended to establish such a new town. He offered special rights and privileges to all who would come and settle there. The ground was generally parcelled out among those who came, a market established, and the fullest protection guaranteed. Such places were generally

New towns established.

granted the right of asylum, so that the criminal who fled there was free from punishment or vengeance. Only murderers and thieves were not protected by this right of asylum. Serfs who ran away and lived here for a year and a day without being claimed by their masters were then regarded as free men. From this peculiar privilege the common name for such towns came to be "places of safety" (salvitates). These and other privileges made such towns very popular and succeeded in bringing many people within their walls. These villes were ruled always by the lord who founded them. Their inhabitants never gained their political independence and did not elect their officials. The charters secured for them only commercial or financial advantages such as freedom from many of the most burdensome feudal dues.

Process of acquiring a charter.

It was generally a guild of merchants that began the agitation to secure a charter for a commune. When it was determined to resist the lord, all the members took an oath of fidelity, and the people of the town were also asked to swear that they would support the common cause. Their desires were then formulated, and if they were successful their requests were granted and confirmed by a written document called a charter. The charters which have been preserved to us vary in size and character. Generally they contain only the new points at issue between the city and its lord. The old established customs and relations were not mentioned because, since they were not in question, it was not considered necessary to do so. While some cities secured charters which dealt only with their particular needs, and hence were local and special, many others demanded that their lord give them the same charter which was in force in some other town. The charter of Soissons, for example, was introduced into nearly all the communes of the duchy of Burgundy.

The town which thus received a charter was thereby fitted into the feudal system just as if it were an individual. The commune then owed the regular feudal duties to its lord, and

might in its turn become a feudal lord and have vassals of its own. The lord promised, above all, to protect the commune in all its rights and against all violence of whatever kind. The commune, through its elective officers, did homage to its lord and took the oath of fealty to him. The charter generally limited and fixed the amount of feudal dues which the lord might demand. He no longer had the right to demand money when he chose, but generally had to content himself with the payment of a fixed sum each year. The feudal rights of the lord were not destroyed, but merely curtailed and made definite. Of course the commune owed military service to its lord. In accordance with the ideas and customs of the times every commune had the right of private war. If it were offended or injured by some commune or by some lord, whether clerical or lay, it had the right to arm its troops, secure allies, and attack the offender. The intercommunal feuds and wars added much to the violence of the times. On the other hand, it often happened that many communes leagued together to protect their common interests, especially their commerce, and so did much to preserve the peace. Such were the leagues of the Hansa, of the Rhine, and of Suabia.

The commune a feudal individual.

The power in the commune was not generally vested in the whole body of its inhabitants. There were a few cities, however, in which all inhabitants were members of the commune and had political rights. Such was the case in Lyon, Rouen, and some others. This, however, was the exception, not the rule. It was more often the case that only the members of one or more guilds exercised political rights. Sometimes these rights were extended a little more widely and only those were excluded who were serfs, bastards, or criminals. In some places the whole laboring class was excluded. In some communes only those were active members who possessed property within its limits. Ordinarily, however, the commune was not a republic, but a kind of oligarchy or aristocracy. As the commune developed in wealth and

Limitation of communal membership.

power, and membership in it increased in value, it became more and more difficult to enter it. The aristocratic or oligarchic character of the ruling body became more pronounced.

Officials.

The internal organization of the communes was not the same in all places. Almost every one that did not accept a ready-made charter created offices to suit itself. The principal officials bore different names in the different communes. They were in some cities called consuls; in others there were a mayor and jurati, or men under oath to serve the commune in the best way possible. In the north of France they were called échevins or aldermen. Their numbers also differed. Sometimes there were two, sometimes there were even twenty-four of them. Bordeaux had a mayor and fifty jurati. Associated with these was a council differing in size from one city to another. Generally the method of election was very complex. It was not uncommon for the members of the commune to be divided into classes, generally according to their occupations, and each class had the right to elect a certain number of consuls. The bitter class feeling in the commune, however, often made it impossible for the people to agree on their officials. Especially in the south of France it became common to call in a foreigner who was made absolute master or podestá of the city.

These officials, by whatever name they were called, exercised the power in the city, both legislative and executive, and, within certain limitations, judicial. The management of the finances of the city was also in their hands. In order to attend to all these duties they had to have the service of a large number of helpers, such as tax-collectors, policemen, sheriffs, and the like.

Violence and mismanagement in the communes.

The communes had gained their liberty but did not know how to preserve it. Their members were invariably divided into factions, and feuds and street brawls were common. The history of the French communes is an exact counterpart of that of the Italian cities. There were also social troubles coupled with the polit-

ical difficulties. The lower orders were often ranged against the higher, the poor against the rich. The magistrates of the cities were generally hard masters, and those outside the ruling guilds were unmercifully imposed upon. This led to the formation of guilds among those who in the earlier time had been without such organizations. They organized themselves for opposition, and sometimes succeeded in acquiring membership in the commune. Even if they failed to do this they filled the city with violence. Peace had to be restored by someone from without, and this was generally the king. Another cause of internal trouble was the bad administration of the finances of the city. The officials of the commune were often guilty of fraud and peculation. It seemed to be impossible to bring such offenders to justice, because they refused to render any account of their doings to the people. They claimed that they had done their duty when they had made their reports to each other. It is not surprising, therefore, that the cities often became bankrupt. The expenses of the communes, together with large sums that were taken from the treasury in a fraudulent way, far exceeded the regular income.

These two things, the insolvency of the communes and their lawlessness, were the real cause of their destruction. The kings of France were now following steadily the policy of collecting all power in their own hands. The process of centralizing was becoming more and more rapid. The nobles were gradually yielding to the kings, and the communes were made the object of a policy which, in the end, was sure to break them down, too. The officials of the king's treasury interfered in the administration of the finances of the communes and punished all maladministration by seizing the charter of the commune and declaring it forfeited. The judicial jurisdiction of the communes was limited in every way. The parliament, which exercised the judicial power in France, tried to destroy the local tribunals by increasing the number of cases which could be settled only by the king or by his tribunal.

The king and the communes.

The policy of parliament and sovereign was to make the king's justice prevalent throughout the land. The central authority also increased the taxes of the communes. As the king's power grew he interfered more and more in the affairs of the communes. He controlled their elections and inspected their magistrates. He imposed heavy fines on all those communes which refused him obedience or offended him in the slightest way. He placed all kinds of burdens on them in order to break them down. When the day of reckoning came the king had them in his power. He forced them to give up their charters and all that these stood for, their political independence and their privileges. They fell into the king's hands and so increased his power. This policy toward the communes may be said to date from Louis IX. (1227–70). Under Philip IV. (1285–1314) the seizures became frequent, and by the year 1400 the communes had disappeared. They had lost all their acquired liberties and had sunk back into dependence on the crown.

CHAPTER XVII

ITALY TO THE INVASION OF CHARLES VIII., 1494

National development of Italy and Germany delayed.

Italy and Germany were the last of the great European countries to acquire their political unity. The occurrence lies within the memory of living men. Approximately speaking, they lagged some three centuries behind France, Spain, and England. The decentralizing forces were engaged in battle with the centralizing ones everywhere in mediæval times, in Germany and Italy alone they won a victory. The reason is that there were a number of grave disadvantages which struck exclusively these two middle European countries, and fatally handicapped them over against their western neighbors in the movement toward national consolidation. Destiny had appointed them to be the principal bearers of the dominant mediæval fiction of the Church and the Empire. Now Church and Empire alike looked toward universality. It was their business to keep nationalism in abeyance. The struggle between the two mutually exclusive principles of imperialism and nationalism was unconsciously engaged on Christmas Day, 800, when Karl, the head of a national monarchy, received at Rome the crown of the renewed Empire of the west. The desertion, in the course of the next few centuries, of territory on territory from Karl's political structure to constitute itself on the national basis, proved that his work was a delusion. Germany and Italy, however, the unlucky partners in an impossible undertaking, were pledged to it for better, or for worse, and when they finally did begin to surmise its futility, the chance of national unification had been lost.

But there is another local reason for Italy's failure to fall in with the unitarian movement of Spain, France, and England. The prerequisite of every positive political unity is a foregoing ideal unity of speech, institutions, and manners. The western countries, generally, were fortunate enough to attain this by a process of amalgamation between the Teutonic invaders and the Roman civilization. In the case of Italy this amalgamation was much retarded, or, to state the problem in another way, more numerous and more repugnant elements had to blend in the making of the Italian nationality than in the making of the others.

Diverse racial elements of Italy.

The Roman civilization naturally had a stronger hold upon the Italian peninsula than upon the other Roman provinces. That is why it did not decay utterly there together with the power of Rome, and could maintain some faint bloom even under the sway of the Barbarians. The East Goth rule (489–554), the first regular attempt of the Germans to subjugate the peninsula, failed chiefly because of its inability to crush or reconcile the Roman element. The East Goths were almost annihilated by the Greeks, and for some time the Greek Emperor had power over the whole, or a part of the peninsula (554–68 over all Italy). His firmest hold was on the south (till 1050). The effect of this connection on Italy was the introduction into the population of a second race element, the Greek, which, owing to the support it got from home, would not assimilate with the native Latins without a struggle. After the Greeks came the Lombards (568–774), who represent the third racial element of the peninsula, and the most important Germanic contribution to the Italian nationality. But they inaugurate no era of reconciliation. The Romans and the Greeks stand fearfully, or sullenly, aloof. The Lombard rule is a foreign domination to the last. Later on the Saracens (850) settle in the south, bringing with them their Mohammedan atmosphere, and these are

East Goths.

The Greeks.

The Lombards.

The Saracens.

only gradually ousted by another invader, the Norman (1050), whose victory brings with it the establishment of that feudal system of which he is the prominent apostle. Such were the racial elements of Italy when the mediæval period of conquest ends. They served to form very gradually two types of Italians, which, although they have been converging all these centuries, are still perfectly recognizable. There is the Greek-Norman-Saracen type of the south, and the Roman-German type of the north. In our period they were still in the early stages of their evolution, and between them, separating them and hindering their knowledge of each other, lay the States of the Papacy with interests averse to both and a sovereign practically cosmopolitan. There is then much diversity of racial material in the Italian peninsula, and diversity, in consequence, and not unity, is the significant feature of Italian history in the Middle Age.

The Normans.

If the divisions of Italy are pretty clearly foreordained by these political and racial conditions we must not understand that they were accepted from the first. A look at the peninsula with its long protective coast line and its northern barrier of the Alps will convince us that it was intended by nature to form a single state. Bold governments would therefore be quite involuntarily pushed to attempt its unification. The East Goth (489–554) and Greek (554–68) tries at empire proved failures. The Lombard attempt (568–774) was more serious. This people conquered the whole north, and with the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento drove a wedge of Teutonism far into the south. But the coast districts of the east and west, Venice and Genoa, proved invincible since the Lombards had no fleets. Nor did the Lombards drive the Greeks out of the eastern province, known as the Exarchate of Ravenna, or out of the west-central (Rome) and southern parts of the peninsula (Naples). The Greek-Roman coalition against them proved an effective check; the Lombard rule embraced for the

Attempts at unification.

Extent of the Lombard kingdom.

first hundred years hardly more than one-half of the peninsula. A change came when the Greeks and Romans fell apart.

The most important man of the province of Rome had for some time back been the Pope. Gregory I., called the Great (590–604), gave during the Lombard period a tremendous impetus to the expanding power of the Papacy. On the one hand, he put himself at the head of the native opposition to the aggressions of the Lombards, and, on the other, he took successful steps looking toward the independence of his office from the Greek Emperor. When, therefore, the western world was outraged in its religious feelings by the Emperor Leo the Isaurian's edict against image-worship (726), Pope Gregory II. could venture to head the general Roman insurrection, and overthrow both the spiritual and the civil supremacy of the Greeks in the Exarchate and at Rome. It was the first time in history that the Pope emerged clearly as a sovereign power. But he had forgotten for the moment that there were more dangerous enemies on the peninsula than the degenerate Greeks. The division of the Greek and native forces was the opportunity the Lombards had long been looking for. Under their king, Liutprand (713–35), they now fell upon the Exarchate and even threatened Rome. A sharp conflict ensued. The young independence of the Roman Bishop seemed on the point of being sacrificed to the avowed policy of the Lombards to subjugate the whole country. It was the offer of a blessing to Italy, but it came too late. The Pope was already something of a universal power and had foreign resources to which he could appeal. To preserve his independence, he turned to the Franks for help, and therewith inaugurated that baleful policy of foreign interference to which the Papacy has consistently clung down to our own day (1870), and by means of which it has over and over again crushed the resurgent unitarian forces of Italy. Pippin got the crown of the Franks (752) in payment for his proffered

Growth and independence of Papacy.

The Pope checks the Lombards by means of the Franks.

aid, then checked the Lombards and made the Pope the famous gift of the disputed Greek lands (Exarchate), which ever afterward constituted the bulk of his temporal power (755). Pippin's son, Karl the Great, completed the work of his father by deposing (774) the last king of the Lombards and taking his title and realm.

The year 800 witnessed the splendid resurrection of the Roman Empire of the west, with Karl at its head. Italian politics entered therewith upon a new phase. Italy became a province of the Empire, but even under the mighty Karl, not a united province. Venice maintained its independence, the Greeks were left in possession of the south, and in the centre, the States of the Church, although they maintained one of those uncertain connections with the Empire, so characteristic of mediæval times, could put forward on need a well-founded claim to independence. The rule of the family of Karl the Great in Italy came to an end amid confusion in 888. For about a century Italy was left to herself. The iron crown of the Lombards went a begging and was eagerly sought in turn by the great feudatories of the realm. It was another good chance for a national kingship, but provincial jealousy resented a strong central power. Berengar, the last of the puppet-kings of this period, seemed nearer the great goal than his predecessors when the opposing faction made the appeal to Germany which drew Otto I. across the Alps (951).[1] In 962 this great king received the imperial crown, and Italy was henceforth welded together with Germany in the Roman Empire.

Italy under the Carolingians, 774-888.

Italy left to herself, 888-951.

Italy and Germany united under Otto I., 962.

Theoretically the members of the Empire stood on a basis of equality. Practically, however, the Empire was a German power, and Italy, or, more accurately, that northern part of Italy which constituted the kingdom of the Lombards and had been included in the Empire of

Relation of Italy to Germany.

[1] See Chapter VIII.

Karl, became in consequence a mere dependency of Germany.

Otto and his immediate successors maintained a firm hold on the peninsula. Even the Papacy, owing to a temporary eclipse, appears in a subjection to them nothing less than vassalage. The brilliance of Karl's Empire seemed eclipsed when the Ottos undertook to make use of the conflict between the Saracens and the Greeks in the south to crowd out both and complete their Italian dominion. In this they failed. The south was destined to another power. The eleventh century is the century of the expansion of the Normans. By bravery and adroitness the Normans succeeded in gradually expelling all three combatants —Greeks, Saracens, and Germans—from the south, and in fixing their dominion upon Naples and Sicily (1040–90).[1] While the south was thus definitely lost, another enemy of the Empire had been gathering strength in Italy, who demanded an immediate attention.

The Ottos.

The Normans in the South.

We are face to face with one of the most far-reaching revolutions of history. The Papacy, having been reconstituted by the Emperors and reformed by the archdeacon Hildebrand, was irresistibly borne upward on the wave of the religious enthusiasm which was just then breaking over Europe. It dared to put forth a categorical claim to world-empire.[2] When Hildebrand himself became Pope, under the title of Gregory VII. (1073–85), the storm began. The direct quarrel with the Emperor touched the episcopal investitures. This was nothing less than the question whether or not the Emperor should be sovereign in his own dominion. There was only one answer possible to such a claim. So the two powers joined arms in a long and bitter struggle, which was only settled by the mutual concessions of the Concordat of Worms (1122). Although Italy was not the principal subject of the quarrel, the period had a very unique significance for

The Papacy and Empire.

[1] See Chapter X. [2] See Chapter XIII.

her. For out of the confusion of authorities which necessarily accompanied the long dispute, there arose, first tentatively, here and there, then triumphantly everywhere in Lombardy, by steps even yet not quite made clear by the most studious investigation, that young and splendid force which marks the birth of modernism in history, the *commune*.

Birth of the commune.

The commune is the organized will of the free inhabitants of a city. What does its rise mean? It signifies that here and there, in the cities of Italy, certain groups of men had developed, which had been slowly emancipating themselves from the hampering authority of the feudal *régime*, and now declared that by virtue of their wealth and strength they were sufficient unto themselves. These new groups constituted the communes. By the industrial and commercial interests which they represented, by the democratic spirit which they harbored, the communes became the forerunners of the modern society and state. Since the old feudal state was built upon agricultural interests and an aristocratic spirit, a conflict between the two systems, sooner or later, was inevitable. From a certain point of view it was a war between city and country, where the former was reinforced by every new industry, and by every intellectual acquisition, and the latter as constantly weakened by desertions to the more magnetic centres of the new life. Where the victory would finally incline was apparent from the first, but it took a struggle of some centuries to decide it. Thus the commune figured everywhere as the banner-bearer of modernism, Italy leading the way in the challenge of the feudal system, and the other countries following about one hundred years later.[1]

The meaning of the commune.

The origins of the commune lead us back to the days of the old Roman Empire. Italy was then the country of cities *par excellence*. Milan, Bologna, Capua, rivalled the splendors of Rome. Then came the decay of the Empire and the conquest of Italy by the Lombards. How

The history of the commune.

[1] See Chapter XVI.

far these invaders destroyed the cities has long been a vexed question. Although they probably swept away the curiæ (local senates) and the Roman administration, something of the old character and importance must have been retained by the cities even in the new era. That they were not utterly eclipsed is proved by the fact that the feudal system never got a firm hold upon Italy, and was sloughed off by that country first among western nations and with comparative ease.

In the ninth century the cities surrounded themselves by walls. The military spirit, first symptom of the action of the Germanic leaven, experienced a revival. The cities defended themselves successfully against the invasions of the Magyars. Their government was then (ninth and tenth centuries) in the hands of the bishops, who had lately usurped the civil functions of the count, the vassal and regular delegate, here as elsewhere, of the royal authority. The emperors themselves (*e.g.*, Otto I., 961–71) had favored this usurpation because there was an evident advantage for the central authority in an unmilitary bishop for representative over an adventurous and ambitious count. So about the year 1000 the bishops are found to levy taxes, dispense justice, and command the military throughout the cities of Lombardy, that is, are sovereign saving the authority of the Emperor. Meanwhile the cities are taking a splendid economic development. There are brisk industries and a lively commerce. The inhabitants group themselves by their occupations into arts or guilds. But as yet their only political activity consists in a nominal share in the election of the bishops. Small wonder that they should be tempted to expand that privilege, now that the oriental deadness of the Roman times has been supplanted by a new volition. Milan, for example, the largest and most prosperous of these towns, is supposed to have had some 300,000 inhabitants in the Middle Age. What could an unwarlike bishop do, though his power were never so absolute, if these arrived at the consciousness of their strength?

The bishops govern the cities.

Such a moment came, and the friction between bishop and townspeople began and increased (1000–70). At Cremona, for example, the bishop Landulf (1003–31) was driven from the city and his castle destroyed. Then the local issue becomes involved in the greater one between the Popes and the Emperors over the investitures (1073–1122). The general confusion was the cities' chance. Pope and Emperor alike were looking for allies and were willing to pay for them by grants of privileges. They were proffered to the cities in profusion. The bishops helplessly withstood the new development. There follows a vague period of conflict, and by the end of the eleventh century the new municipal government is everywhere emergent. Its constitution bears at first an uncertain character, differing in the various cities of Lombardy, and constantly changing even in the same city. Then the term *consuls* begins to be applied to the highest functionaries. In 1095 consuls appear at Asti, 1107 at Milan, and soon they are everywhere. The *consular constitution* is the first famous form of the young municipal freedom of Italy.

The cities throw off the rule of the bishops.

The consuls appear about 1100.

This constitution presents a great variety of forms in the different cities. Its essential elements are three: consuls, a council, and a parliament. The consuls varied in number anywhere from two to twenty. They were the executive, and generally divided its functions among themselves, so that some led the army, others presided at the courts, and still others performed the administrative duties. A number of elected citizens made up the council (credenza). It was an advisory body and had to be consulted in all important business. The parliament (parlamentum, concio) was the gathering of all the citizens. It was irregularly called and from its unwieldiness necessarily more of a mob than a deliberative body. Like all mobs it could be controlled by factions, and was rather mischievous than useful. However, it evidenced the victory of the principle of popular government, and,

The consular constitution.

in a loose way, long kept its authority since it was looked on by many as the source of all political power.

On paper this new organization looks very pretty and far more modern than it really was. Its weakness lay in the persistence within the city of class distinctions and the local feuds bred thereby. Every town had its noble class, its bourgeois proprietor class, and its lower industrial class, or proletariat. The nobility itself was not united. Here, too, as everywhere, there is the distinction of upper and lower nobility, there are the two noble classes of the milites and the valvassores. The segregative spirit of the Middle Age, with its castes, families, and guilds, could not be overcome in a generation. It was not human. Thus the new constitution did not recognize all the inhabitants of the city but only the two orders of nobles and the free citizens of the upper guilds, and these last hardly as the equals of the nobles. The lower guilds and the plebs are carefully excluded from the government. How long will they put up with such neglect? It is plain that there is an abundance of stormy weather ahead for the new commune.

The dangers of the new constitution. Social classes.

Citizenship restricted to the two orders of nobles and the upper guilds.

Threatening external troubles created a temporary harmony among the inhabitants. The new independence of the cities had not yet been sanctioned by the Emperor. The long struggle with the Papacy had drawn the sovereign's attention away from the communal development in Italy. When Frederick Barbarossa descended into Italy in 1154 and was confronted by it in its representatives, the consuls, at his first diet held at Roncaglia, he was much surprised. He was still feudal lord in his own eyes. By what right had the cities usurped the sovereignty? Sovereignty meant the regalia which consisted in the appointment to office, right of coinage, tolls, taxes, etc. These rights the cities exercised, and the Emperor claimed, and each side was convinced that it was right. War

The development not sanctioned by the Emperor.

Frederick I.

was the only solution. But it was complicated by the bitter enmities among the cities. The same mediæval spirit that ranged class against class within the walls, set city against city in the province. Milan had been oppressing its neighbors, and Pavia, its ancient rival, headed the complaint against it before the Emperor at Roncaglia. Frederick was strictly performing the high functions to which he was called if he imposed peace upon the disturber. No monarch in history presents a nobler figure than this Hohenstaufen. But, after all, the cities had a title as good as his mere legal right. Facts and time were on their side. The upshot of a long struggle, waged by word and by sword, was the various leagues of the threatened municipalities, of which the Lombard League is most famous; then followed the Emperor's utter rout at Legnano (1176) and the Peace of Constance (1183).[1] The question of the regalia was settled once for all on that occasion; the Emperors abdicated all but the name of lordship, and the young sovereignty of the cities was formally recognized.

The Peace of Constance, 1183.

Frederick's successors, his son and grandson, Henry VI. (1190–97) and Frederick II. (1215–50), were inclined to question this arrangement, and sometimes threatened the cities with their authority, but other matters generally filled their minds and obliged them to accept the situation. Then comes the interregnum (1254–73). The Empire, and with it the Middle Age, are dead for Italy. Henry VII., chivalrous and just, succeeds for a while in deceiving himself and poetical partisans like Dante on this point, but his attempt to restore the imperial authority in Italy was doomed to be a failure (1313). Successors, such as Louis of Bavaria (1326) and Charles IV. (1355), who try their hand at a revival draw only the scorn of the Italians upon themselves and their claims. So the significance for Lombard Italy of the Peace of Constance was far-

The independence of Italy accepted by Frederick's successors.

[1] For details, see Chapter XIII.

reaching. The cities thereby became their own masters and could now develop, domestically and territorially, without let or hindrance, except from each other. The Empire was, after all, a foreign enslavement, and now that the yoke was broken, there was nothing to check the triumphant unfolding of those vital forces of mind and will which had long been ripening. The great intellectual rebirth or Renaissance has its roots in the freedom won at Legnano.

Political liberty was gained for the present. The question was: could it be secured? There has been so much fine writing and loose thinking on this glorious Italian independence that the casual student finds it difficult to understand its quick decay. Let us not be deceived. There was here in Lombardy a tremendous outburst of popular vitality, which immediately effected a great commercial and industrial expansion, and, more remotely, furthered the cultivation of the things of the mind. It could not otherwise than display a political activity, too, sooner or later, and remodel the feudal apparatus of government. But it could not cover at one bound the vast space between the firm-rooted feudal inequality and its modern opposite. Equality as a political principle is as remote from this society as the principle of free scientific investigation is from mediæval theology. So the decaying feudalism leaves its dire clique-spirit behind. Cliques govern all relations of existence. A man only counts as he is a member of a powerful guild or influential class, and it never occurs to these various corporations that it is not perfectly legitimate to crowd their sister societies out of the government and secure the lion's share to themselves. The modern idea of the state, drawn from the conception of rights and duties shared in by all, is not yet born; the real social and political unit of the Middle Age is not the state but the art or guild. So it could happen that the consular constitution, in spite of the generous ring of the word, was a mere agreement about the division of

The difficulties of the new constitution.

Persistence of inequality in the new society.

power between the two noble classes and the rich merchant class. Nobody could feel that the reverence of law attached to such a constitution. It would last just so long as there was harmony and strength among the rulers, and docility among the ruled.

A second source of danger threatening the stability of the new political settlement lay in the general Italian situation. As the city was composed of cliques which warred against each other, so the whole state was a commercial clique over against its neighbors. A sharp rivalry arose over the question of markets and trade monopolies. These passionate and lawless republicans had no sense of a legitimate competition. To them a competitor was an enemy, and the safest treatment of an enemy was to annihilate him. War to the knife followed between Milan and Pavia. Half a hundred other cities engaged in similar mortal feuds. It was evident from the first that there would never be peace until some one of them had become master of the rest. Barely the struggle with Barbarossa sufficed to temporarily stop up this source of conflicts. When the danger was removed the provincial wars broke out more violently than before.

The feuds between the cities.

These are the political factors necessary to understand the constitutional changes the cities underwent during the one hundred years after the Peace of Constance (1183–1300). Although each city presents specific variations, the similarity is so great that a general description will suffice. Frederick I., during a period of temporary success, had placed his representative, as chief executive, in all the cities. He was called podestà (from potestas = power), and for a moment succeeded in centralizing the municipal administration in his own hands. Though he was immeasurably odious to the Lombards there must have been something satisfactory about the office, for after he was driven out we gradually find them setting such podestà over themselves of their own free will. About 1200 this is generally accomplished. It meant the

Changes in the constitution.

The podestà, the chief executive, 1200.

displacement of the many-headed consular executive (consisting usually of six to twelve members) by a single man; in other words, a consolidation of authority. It was a practical and necessary reform in view of the numberless intestinal disturbances. The often self-divided consular executive was impotent to deal with them. The nobles were the chief mischief-makers. They had been given a share in the constitution. So, for the most part, they had moved from their country-seats into the cities, had erected there huge castle-piles with lofty and impregnable towers for purposes of defence, and then, impelled by habit and an idle pride, began to quarrel with each other over office. Day and night the streets were the scenes of their brawls. The podestà with his dictatorial powers was to put an end to this intolerable confusion.[1] To give him more authority over these nobles, he was expected to be himself a noble; to assure his impartiality he had to be a foreigner. His office lasted generally a year. As for the rest of the constitution, it remained substantially intact. There were two councils instead of one, a lesser and a greater. The *parlamentum* gradually falls into disuse.

The nobles a disturbing element.

The constitution of the podestà.

The podestà means no radical change of the constitution. He is created with the consent of the three ruling orders. But at this very time the lower orders were beginning to demand more vigorously their political enfranchisement (1200). They already had their guilds. These having published their aspirations, and having been refused, boldly constituted a commune for themselves (called generally commune del popolo = people's commune), and put at its head, as rival of the podestà, the *capitano del popolo* (captain of the people). Therewith the organized civil war within the gates had begun. Does the state belong to the privileged classes or to the people, is the

The rise of the lower orders.

The capitano and the podestà.

[1] Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet is based on the tale of such a mortal feud at Verona. The Prince who appears as judge and peace-maker is the podestà.

substantial question. The former party, the party of privilege, seeks support in the Emperor and calls itself Ghibelline, while the latter, the popular party, holds to the Pope and calls itself Guelf. The names Guelf and Ghibelline are borrowed from German politics (Welf, Waiblingen), where they indicate contesting claimants for the Empire, but in Italy they serve to designate the opposing parties in the intestinal municipal strife. The imperial and papal titles are therefore mere labels, each party caring generally just so much for the imperial or papal cause as it favors its interest.

Guelfs and Ghibellines.

The civil war between the classes and the masses continues on this issue about a century (1200–1300). The victory of the Guelfs meant the exclusion of the Ghibellines from office and the banishment of the chiefs, and in case of a Ghibelline victory, the Guelfs fared likewise. There is no conciliation, no compromise. The end was inevitable. Only a military despot could secure peace to the city and obedience of both parties to a supreme will. By 1300 the cities are found for the most part to have lost their liberties, and a new period, that of the tyrants begins. The history of Milan is typical of the whole movement. In 1198 the lower orders arose and formed their special commune (called Credenza of Saint Ambrose, equivalent to people's commune). Therewith the city had two governments. Ambitious men, usually nobles, adopted the popular cause. The civil war served their ends. After the Guelf Della Torre family had first led the people to victory, the more politic Visconti, at the head of the Ghibellines, overthrew them (1277). The Visconti held the power through an army, and step by step established their absolutism. There is every reason to believe that it was held a godsend by the majority, for it meant rest. By 1300, or a little after, the Scaligers (Della Scala family) rule in Verona, the Carraresi in Padua, the Gonzaghi in Mantua, the Estensi

The end of the civil war is despotism.

The case of Milan.

The Visconti.

in Ferrara, etc.; but the despots governed everywhere with uncertainty at first, as was only natural from the illegality of the whole business, and under regularly recurring insurrections.

The cities of Tuscany, the province beyond the Apennines, had meanwhile run through the same internal conflicts as the cities of Lombardy. Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Pistoja, and Siena, to mention the most important, had adopted the consular constitution (1100), had then (1200) taken a podestà (the officer appears for the first time in 1193 in Florentine records), and next, when the people demanded their share in the municipal life, fell into the usual civil turmoils. Tyranny is the solution here, too, but it comes a little later than it did in Lombardy, and does not ever establish itself so firmly. Florence, the fair city of the Arno valley, destined to become soon the fountain of the Renaissance, is especially fortunate in staving this development off a long while. The delay in the subjugation of Florence to a tyrant is chiefly owing to a unique measure by which there is cut one of the strongest roots of the city troubles.

The cities of Tuscany.

In 1215 the Guelf and Ghibelline parties had suddenly crystallized in Florence over the murder of one of the powerful clan of the Buondelmonti who had offered a mortal insult to the Amidei by rejecting a bride of their family. The noble factions filled the city with arms from that time on. In 1250 the Guelfs were banished, their property confiscated. Before a year passed, however, they returned, and the Ghibellines had to leave the city in their turn. Filled with desire for revenge, they united with the Sienese, and at Montaperti utterly defeated their countrymen (1260). ("The slaughter which turned the Arbia blood-red." —*Inf.*, x., 86.) All this civic calamity was, in the main, brought on by the nobles. Meanwhile the people had been growing in influence. In 1250, during the height of the feuds between the nobles, they had arisen in anger over the

Florence.

mismanagement of the government and their continued exclusion, and constituted a commune of their own with a *capitano del popolo* (captain of the people) at the head (constitution called of the *primo popolo*). That was the beginning of self-assertion against the upper class, and by 1293 the people were strong enough to adopt their celebrated measure, meant to give the city a lasting peace, the *ordinamenti della giustizia* (Ordinances of Justice), by which the nobles were excluded from office altogether. At the same time a thorough revision of the constitution was undertaken. Henceforth a *gonfaloniere della giustizia* (banner-bearer of justice), appointed on purpose to watch over the decree against the nobility, together with eight priors of the greater arts, elected for two months, form the chief executive. In accordance with the custom, prevalent also, as we have seen, in Lombardy, two councils assist in the deliberations. In spite of uninterrupted modification and elaboration, these elements of the system continue for two hundred years.

The people constitute their own commune under the capitano, 1250.

The Ordinances of Justice, 1293.

The constitution of the priors.

However, the new constitution did not immediately succeed in crushing the nobility in Florence, as was planned. The Ghibellines, indeed, had been made harmless before this, and the city long since was stanchly Guelf, and now and afterward one of the pillars of that party in Italy. But the Guelf nobles now quarrelled among themselves, and the *Bianchi* and *Neri* (Whites and Blacks), supporting the rival interests of the great families of the Cerchi and the Donati, succeeded to feuds as violent as those of the Guelfs and Ghibellines. So the city was disturbed as much as ever, and the Ordinances are frequently defied; but they remain on the statute-book, and cause the power to incline steadily from now on toward the more peacefully minded merchant class ranked in the greater arts. So Florence owes much, on the whole, to these provisions, if it enjoyed a longer republican interlude

Continued disturbances.

But the Ordinances assure the city a democratic character.

than, for example, Milan. They largely contributed to give the city the peculiar democratic character by which it is known. But the defect here, as elsewhere, at this time is that the government is still exclusively conducted by and for the richer citizens.

As we cast our eye over Italy about 1300 it presents a picture of the utmost political confusion. The Middle Age was passing away, but had not yet vanished. Where the new society was established it was seeking a new political expression for itself, but the past could not be forgotten and was everywhere, but in different degree, asserting its claims. In the northwest, in the mountainous and agricultural country of Piedmont, the old feudal system had shown a particular tenacity. A number of great barons were disputing the province. Prominent among them were the counts of Savoy, destined to grow after many centuries into the royal house of Italy. To the east of Piedmont, in the commercial and industrial provinces of Lombardy and the Veronese March, we have seen the establishment of the petty tyrannies follow the republican constitutions. Tuscany to the south was drawn into the same current. Across the middle of the peninsula ran the States of the Church. The Pope's weak and unmilitary sway made it easy for the young and exuberant communities of the Romagna to defy his authority, and when, in 1309, the papal seat was moved to Avignon, the last impediment to independence was cleared away. Bologna became a republic. Tyrannies fixed themselves everywhere, the Montefeltri at Urbino, the Baglioni at Perugia, the Malatesti at Rimini, etc., and Rome itself was not less turbulent. Ever since its attempt at a republican reorganization under Arnold of Brescia (d. 1155),[1] the memories of ancient glory and independence had proved too stubborn for

Condition of Italy, 1300.

Piedmont.

Lombardy.

Tuscany.

The States of the Church.

Rome.

[1] See Chapter XIII.

the Pope to break. The chief officer is the *senator;* Innocent III. gets the right to nominate him (1205), but Innocent's successors cannot always make the right good, and are forced by the turmoils, chiefly of the nobles, to reside as much out of Rome as within it. In Naples and Sicily Charles of Anjou, the conqueror of the Hohenstaufen, had established (1266) an absolute monarchy. But Charles was a cruel and stern fanatic, and, as a foreigner, soon inspired his subjects with hatred. In 1282 the Sicilians arose and mercilessly butchered all the French on the island (Sicilian Vespers). The next year they invited Peter of Aragon (Spain) to take the crown of the island, and after a long war it was left finally in the hands of the Aragonese house (1302). The Anjou retained Naples.

Naples.

Sicilian Vespers, 1282. Sicily independent.

The free municipalities had perished almost everywhere by 1300. Only a few had withstood the general movement toward tyranny. Florence still held her own in Tuscany, and in the northeast and northwest, respectively, were the great rival trading republics of Venice and Genoa.

The republics.

These two communities owed their greatness to the impulse given to commerce by the crusades. They practically monopolized the immense trade of the Levant, and from thence reached out threads in their unbounded enterprise to India and even China. For a time Pisa had been a dangerous competitor of Genoa in the western half of the Mediterranean. These two young republics had built their power on the ruin of the Saracens (eleventh century). They took and shared Corsica and Sardinia and established themselves along the Spanish and French coasts. Then came jealousy and quarrels. After long wars the signal victory of the Genoese near Meloria, off Pisa, fixed their unquestioned hegemony over the western seas (1284). Having acquired the commerce of the west, Genoa began gradually to reach out for

Venice and Genoa.

Rivalry of Pisa and Genoa.

Meloria, 1284.

the commerce of the east. The fourth crusade, conducted by Venice and crowned by the conquest of Constantinople (1204), had given that city an immense predominance in the Orient.[1] But it was counterbalanced by a success which the Genoese achieved in 1261, when they led the Emperor back to his capital and got for reward the monopoly of the trade in the Black Sea. There follows a century of almost uninterrupted fighting. The victory at Curzola (1298) inclines the balance in favor of the Genoese. But in 1380 they suffer a terrible reverse. After having taken Chioggia and besieged Venice itself, they are in turn besieged within the lagoons and forced to surrender at discretion. Genoa never recovered from this blow, and Venice was henceforth supreme in the Mediterranean.

Growth of Venice.

Rivalry of Venice and Genoa.

Defeat of the Genoese at Chioggia, 1380.

Internal disturbances largely contributed to Genoa's decline. It was the old story. The first reference to the consular constitution is of the year 1099. Slowly the people began to assert themselves, and soon, as elsewhere, aristocracy and democracy, under the name of Ghibellines and Guelfs, joined arms. The Doria and Spinola led the former, the Fieschi and Grimaldi the latter. In 1339 the *dogato* (government of doge or dux) for life was tried, in imitation of Venice. The institution remained, but gave no permanent relief, and Genoa was again and again reduced to call in a foreign peacemaker, who was, at first, usually a Visconti of Milan and later the king of France.

Domestic history of Genoa.

The history of Venice up to the end of the fourteenth century is only loosely connected with that of Italy. The half-flooded islands of the Lagoons, composing the city, were poorly settled in Roman times by fishermen and traders. The invasions of the Huns (452) and the Lombards (568) drove thither many families of the continent for refuge, and the real life of the city begins about this time.

History of Venice.

[1] See Chapter XV.

As neither the Lombards nor the Franks could subdue it, it remained subject to the eastern Empire. But in 697 the communities of the several islands met and elected their own chief officer, called doge (duke). The first doges seem to have been nearly absolute. However, a jealous aristocracy soon devised checks upon their power in the form of councils. The act of 697 was a virtual declaration of independence from the eastern Empire, and the freedom thus won was bravely maintained in spite of frequent attempts of the western Empire to challenge it (chiefly by Karl the Great's son, Pippin, king of Italy). The city's power and wealth now grew rapidly. By the end of the eleventh century the Slavs of the Dalmatian coast had recognized the Venetian sovereignty. Then came the crusades. Venice, more sober and selfishly practical than the rest of Europe, engaged in them rather from commercial than from religious motives, and in the fourth crusade (1204) acquired the Peloponnesus, Crete, and the Greek Archipelago, thus laying the foundation of her eastern possessions. Genoa's threatening competition was, as we have seen, effectively beaten down (Chioggia, 1380).

The territorial expansion of Venice.

Meanwhile (toward the end of the twelfth century), a general revision of the political institutions had taken place. The doge, although he is still elected for life, is now definitely stripped of all real power. The authority is centred in the *great council* which takes the election of the doge away from the people and reserves it to itself. This council consists of 480 members and is renewable every year. Associated with the doge as executive body is the *small council* of six (the signoria). For all important business another council of 60 *pregadi* (invited citizens) must be consulted. This constitution is a plain step toward oligarchy. The movement was consummated by the famous act of 1297, the closing of the great council (*serrata del gran consiglio*), by which this body declared itself hereditary.

The constitution of Venice.

The closing of the great council, 1297.

But the aristocracy did not feel itself secure against the people whose power it had suppressed. It surrounded its constitution with safeguards. In 1311 the terrible *council of Ten* was established, with unlimited police powers of arrest and punishment. The vigilance of this body made popular conspiracies impossible. The world's history offers no parallel of any purely aristocratic constitution which displayed so much power and endured so long. The patriciate of Rome had only a weak hold on the government in comparison. The causes of the success of the Venetian aristocracy have been much discussed. The terrible and successful machinery of tyranny summed up by the council of Ten is only partially accountable for it. More important is it that the patriciate of Venice was a patriciate of business men, and that it furthered the interests of the state when it furthered its own. Then the best part of the popular element was always away from home doing service upon the seas. Lastly, the Venetians were inclined to mind their own business, and long kept well out of the Guelf-Ghibelline and other turmoils of the Continent. So Venice alone of Italian cities enjoyed political stability, and owed it chiefly to a united oligarchy of practical men.

Council of Ten.

Toward the end of the fourteenth century the city which had hitherto followed the sea so exclusively as to make it practically an extra-Italian state, took the momentous step of turning its conquests to the mainland. It was first pushed thereto by the necessity of securing its lines of trade. By 1420 it had already acquired Treviso, Padua, and Vicenza. Then it naturally came into conflict with the expanding state of Milan.

Conquests of Venice on the mainland.

The Ghibelline tyranny of the Visconti which we saw established in Milan toward 1300 had taken a great development. It took some time before the Della Torre family, and the Guelf interest which they represented, were entirely crushed. When Henry VII. made

Milan after 1300.

(1311) Matteo Visconti his Vicar, the definite success of that family was secured. Being now masters in their own city, the Visconti turned the civil forces, over which they had unlimited control, toward territorial expansion. It is a new mile-stone in Italian history. The little tyrannies, moderately secure at home, were everywhere trying to become large tyrannies. The practical talents of the Visconti and the greater resources of Milan co-operated to procure them the victory. Neighbor after neighbor was either conquered or purchased, and by 1350 all Lombardy had bowed to one master. But the height of power was reached under the bold Gian Galeazzo (1385–1402). He increased his territory until no independent state was left in the north but Venice. He even crossed the Apennines. By an unparalleled combination of fraud and force Pisa, Lucca, and Siena were acquired by him. For a moment it looked as if this duke's audacious scheme of an Italy united under his sceptre was going to be realized. But Florence still barred his way southward, and before he could crush the bold republic, the plague suddenly cut him off.

Power of the Visconti.

A unique excrescence of Italian society must be noted at this juncture, the *condottiere*, the leader of mercenary bands. He owed his rise to the peculiar social and political condition of Italy. On the one hand, the Italian people itself, engaged in business and arts, had dropped the employment of arms, and, on the other, the rulers, more especially the tyrants, naturally preferred a standing army dependent upon themselves to a militia of free burghers. But instead of being the support, the mercenaries just as often became the terror of their employers, whether these were tyrants or free cities. The *condottieri* and their troops are at first foreigners. The Englishman, John Hawkwood, employed by Pope Gregory XI. against Florence (1375), and later by that republic against the Visconti, made the institution popular. Ambitious natives saw their oppor-

The leader of mercenary bands.

John Hawkwood.

tunity, and throughout the fifteenth century the leadership of a devoted mercenary band was the approved means of acquiring power. Where everything is in flux, as in the republics and tyrannies of Italy, and the law, which stands for permanence, nowhere enjoys reverence, the final decision lies always with brute force. It did not take the *condottieri* long to carry this truth to its last consequences. The death of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1402) was their chance. He had held his immense territories together by force, and his sons were as yet mere boys. In a trice, therefore, half the conquered cities had shaken off their yoke, and the various commanders of Gian Galeazzo's armies scrambled for the rest. Gian Maria and Filippo Maria, the sons, barely retained Milan proper. But they were sprigs of the old stock; gradually, and by the same iniquitous means, the revolted parts were recovered,[1] and when Filippo Maria died (1447) his duchy was not much smaller than his father's had been before him.

The last Visconti.

But Filippo Maria was the last of the Visconti race, and with his death the question of the Milanese succession was re-opened. It is now that the most famous of the *condottieri* comes forward—Francesco Sforza. His father, Jacopo, had founded the soldier company and the family fame; Francesco planned to use the prestige thus acquired to carve out some principality for himself. A dozen other *condottieri* pursued exactly the same aim, and he was no worse than his time. In 1441 he had married Bianca, Filippo Maria's illegitimate daughter, in order to establish a sort of family connection with the Visconti. At the duke's death Milan proclaimed itself a republic. War shortly broke out

Sforza, Duke of Milan.

[1] These means deserve to be illustrated by an example. In perusing the story the reader must remember that it is no exception, rather the rule, and not confined to Milan, but characteristic of every Italian tyranny. Filippo Maria married the widow of Facino Cane, one of his father's *condottieri*. He did this to acquire by her Facino's soldiers and cities. Then having attained his end, he had her accused of adultery and executed.

with Venice—war with Venice had grown chronic during the last fifty years owing to the attempted extension of Venetian territory toward the west—and Milan foolishly engaged Sforza as her general. He drove back the enemy and then turned his victorious troops against the Milanese themselves. After attempting in vain to elude the necessity, the citizens received him as their duke (1450). Sforza's father had begun life as a peasant in the Romagna.

Florence after 1300.

We left Florence in the throes of the troubles which followed the establishment of the new constitution based upon the exclusion of the nobility (1293). The politics of this city are inextricably involved. Like the mind of the people itself they were in perpetual change, in fact, they afford a faithful expression of the brilliant, intoxicated genius of that community, which displayed a mental and industrial activity that hardly has an equal in history. If its political chaos contributed—as some contend—to its achievements in the arts and literature, we, who enjoy the one and do not suffer from the other, may take solace. But that the contemporaries suffered keenly from the continuous disorders is witnessed by the case of Dante. He became a victim of the *Bianchi-Neri* troubles which succeeded the Ordinances of Justice.[1] In 1301 he was sent into exile with the defeated party of the Whites, and never saw his native city again. In his "Divine Comedy" his love and his hatred of Florence have both found immortal expression. "So subtle are your provisions," he says to his countrymen with bitter irony, "that the thread you spin in October does not hold to the middle of November. How many times only in these last years have you changed the law, coinage, offices, customs, and parties" (*Purg.*, vi., 142). This spirit of change is one cause of the subsequent political calamities of Florence, the other is the desire it shares with every other community of

Perpetual flux.

Dante.

[1] See page 462.

the time, notably Milan and Venice, to reduce its weaker neighbors to obedience. Modern historians may well suggest that a federation of free Lombard or Tuscan cities might have saved Italy from foreign servitude; certain it is that the idea hardly occurred to a few advanced minds, and then too late.

Such are the general principles which govern the political and constitutional development of Florence. From 1293 to 1343 the city worked out the conditions created by the passage of the Ordinances of 1293. The troubles frequently grew so thick that the people surrendered temporarily to a foreign lord. In 1342 Walter of Brienne, a Frenchman and titular duke of Athens, was invited to the sovereignty. Before a year was over he had made himself so intolerable that the Florentines rose against him and drove him out in disgrace. As they renewed at the same time the laws against the nobility, this class may be said to have vanished finally, as a political factor, from Florentine history about this time.

The duke of Athens, 1343.

The increasing trade shortly created a new nobility of wealth (*nobili popolani*), and the fight for influence among the great began again. At the same time the lesser arts, which had hitherto been generally disfranchised, aspired to political power. Out of the new disorders rose the power of the Medici family. The first popular riots (1378), occasioned by the wool-carders (*ciompi*), brought Salvestro dei Medici to the front as favorer of the people though he himself belonged to the greater arts which held the power. He was wise enough to see that as the nobility had warred in vain against the greater arts, so these could not in the long run prevail against the lesser arts. For a number of generations his successors consistently followed his policy. They had acquired tremendous wealth, chiefly through their bank, a vast international institution, and gradually secured a wide following by corruption and interest. Cosmo dei Medici (d. 1464) was the first of the family who became really sovereign in the city. But his was a veiled and

Rise of the lower orders.

The Medici favor the people.

insidious rule. The Medici attached no title to their names, even affected republican simplicity, and, above all, left the constitution intact. All the old officers were appointed as before, only they owed their nomination to the influence of the Medici. Thus their position in the commonwealth may be likened to that of our American city rings, which, likewise, have no part in the constitution, but are, nevertheless, the real dispensers of patronage. Cosmo's grandson, Lorenzo, called the Magnificent (1469–92), at length dared to throw aside the mask and abolish the useless republican machinery. But even he assumed no title significant of his power, though he ruled henceforth merely with a Privy Council of Seventy of his own nomination.

Government of the Medici.

Lorenzo, 1469-92.

The course of the Medici had not always run smooth. There had been, and still were, elements in the city which regretted the passing of the republic. Savonarola will soon make himself their mouth-piece (1494). Hitherto, however, the chief opposition had come from the disgruntled *popolani* (merchant nobility), who could not forget the political importance they had lost with the rise of the Medici. They had even succeeded for a short time once in having Cosmo banished (1433). But the most vigorous, and at the same time most horrible, attempt to break the Medicean power came in 1478. Lorenzo and his brother Giuliano then governed the state. The Pazzi family instigated a conspiracy against them, the threads of which reached even to Saint Peter's at Rome. It is a characteristic and memorable fact that, in addition to Pope Sixtus IV., the archbishop of Pisa and several other priests were parties to the plot. The murder of the two brothers was to be perpetrated in the cathedral of Florence at the moment of the raising of the host. Giuliano was stabbed in the back, but Lorenzo managed to escape. The people showed their Medicean tendencies by wreaking a stern vengeance upon the assassins.

Opposition to the Medici.

Meanwhile the republic had been engaged in long wars. They were all waged for the dominion in Tuscany and the security and expansion of trade. By 1400 Florence had become one of the foremost cities for woollen and silk goods, and undeniably the greatest banking centre in the world. The whole modern bank and exchange system was first organized on a large scale by Florentines. The wars of the fourteenth century were chiefly directed upon Pisa, which had entered upon a steady decline after its defeat by the Genoese at Meloria (1284). In 1406 it was definitely conquered, and therewith all Tuscany had bowed to Florence.[1] Meanwhile the wars had already begun with the larger neighbors, the Pope to the south, and Milan to the north. In spite of great dangers, especially from Gian Galeazzo Visconti, the city succeeded in holding her own, and ranked, under Cosmo and Lorenzo, among the larger powers of Italy.

The territorial expansion of Florence.

We saw that in 1309 the Pope definitely abandoned Rome for Avignon, and that with his removal the last shadow of authority over the city and the States of the Church threatened to depart from him. This period of the Pope's absence in France is called the Babylonian Captivity. In Rome anarchy held sway. The magistracy found itself powerless against the great barons, who, following the example of the nobility of the north, were trying to get control of the city. The Colonna and the Orsini led the two rival factions, and, ensconced in the old deserted ruins, filled the streets with violence. In consequence Rome was almost depopulated. Among the wretched citizens, however, still dwelt the phantom of the city's ancient glory, and Nicholas or Cola di Rienzi now proved, as Crescentius (996) and Arnold of Brescia (1155) had proved before him, that it could be made to work won-

The States of the Church after 1300.

The Colonna and Orsini.

Rienzi, 1347.

[1] Siena and Lucca are to be excepted. The former maintained its independence till well into the sixteenth century, the latter even till the Napoleonic era.

ders, at least for a time. The signs of ancient greatness, scattered around at all hands, filled him with enthusiasm, and he soon began in public discourses to communicate this feeling to others. In May, 1347, an assembly convoked upon the Capitol gave him full powers to restore order. He took the Roman title of tribune, and actually swept the barons out of the city. But his success turned his head. He seemed to fancy that the restoration of the mere name of the Republic sufficed to give it its ancient power, and he was so vain and foolish as to summon the two contending Emperors, Louis of Bavaria and Charles IV., before him to have their case adjudged. Finally, he alienated the people by his luxury and pride. Before many months were over he had so thoroughly undermined his position that it took only a bold stroke of the exiled barons, supported by the Pope's anathema, to bring him down. In January, 1348, he fled from Rome.

Rienzi in exile.

Life, at least, and with it his plans, had been saved. He applied to the Emperor Charles IV. for assistance, but Charles laughed at the impracticable dreamer and sent him as a prisoner to the Pope at Avignon. Here he remained confined some time, until Innocent VI. (1352–62), desirous of winning back his Italian lands, resolved to use him for this end.

Rienzi again at Rome, 1354.

During Rienzi's absence from Rome the old troubles between the democracy and the nobles had broken out anew. Therefore, when he appeared again, this time seconded even by the Pope's blessing and support (August, 1354), the people remembered only his former championship of their interests and received him with enthusiasm. He was restored to supreme power, receiving the title of senator. But he immediately fell into his old extravagances, and the fickle populace offered no permanent support. By October his short-lived glory had faded, and, like his noble predecessors in the ancient and real tribunate, the Gracchi, he was massacred in an insurrection.

Meanwhile the cardinal Albornoz, commissioned by the same Pope, Innocent VI., was taking more effective measures to win back the Papal States. At the head of an army he made war upon the little tyrants of Viterbo, Orvieto, Bologna, etc., and after a long struggle reduced them to obedience. Now that the country was again governed by Papal legates, the Pope had no further excuse for not returning to Rome. Urban V., accordingly, made a beginning (1367), and finally Gregory XI., influenced strongly by the messages of Saint Catharine of Siena, took the important step of definitely transferring the government back to the Eternal City (1377). However, the action caused a split among the cardinals. The majority were Frenchmen and preferred Avignon as Papal seat; consequently, when the Italian party in the college elected an Italian prelate, Urban VI., to succeed Gregory XI. (d. 1378), on the condition of his making Rome his residence, the French cardinals were gradually induced to set up an anti-pope, who took his residence at Avignon. This is the beginning of the *Great Schism*, which is only healed by the Council of Constance (1417).

Cardinal Albornoz wins back the Papal States, 1355–65.

Gregory XI. returns to Rome, 1377.

The Great Schism.

The Conciliar epoch (1409–39) and the question of supremacy which it raised between Pope and Council, next engaged the Popes' attention. But already the whole character of the Papacy was changing. The late troubles had done much toward undermining the respect of Europe for Christ's Vicar; then the decay of the Empire robbed it of that pillar, to which even, when it hacked at it most viciously, it owed its political world-importance; and lastly, the times themselves had changed. It was the early spring of the Renaissance, and men's energies were eagerly turning away from the old religious interests into the worldly channels of a new material, intellectual, and artistic life. The Popes were borne along by the current, and now appear no longer the gloomy and obstinate ascetics of the

The Papacy changes character.

Middle Age, but splendid Mæcenases or gifted dilettanti with all the tastes of any prince of the time. The word prince justly characterizes their new position in the world, and, as in intellectual aspirations and in carnal vices, so also in their territorial greed, they closely resemble the sovereigns of the neighboring states. They go so far in forgetting the holy character of their office that they use their power principally to establish their families in places of honor. They do not even hesitate to carve out principalities for them at the expense of the See itself. Never in the history of the Church had the vice called nepotism flourished so luxuriantly.

Its secularization.

Under these circumstances the highest aim of the average Renaissance Pope is to consolidate his dominion over Rome and the Papal states. In the city the Colonna and Orsini and their large followings were as turbulent as ever, and the measures of cardinal Albornoz in the Romagna and Umbria had only temporarily put down the tyrannies, which soon raised their heads as defiantly as ever. Of course these all recognized the Pope's authority in some vague way, but practically they were sovereign in their dominion. Nicholas V. (1447–55), who introduces the Renaissance Popes, and is an enthusiastic builder and collector of manuscripts, is the first to make himself real master of the city. The occasion for doing this was offered him when Stefano Porcari led what proved to be the last and the most ignoble of the popular uprisings in behalf of the delusive old Roman freedom (1453). The insurrection was sternly put down, and although the nobles were still turbulent occasionally after this, the democracy, at least, was well held in check. The next Pope, Calixtus III. (1455–58), was a Borgia, and is interesting only as the founder of the fortunes of that famous family. Then comes Pius II. (1458–64), a great scholar and writer, better known, though, under the name of Æneas Silvius Piccolomini. However, the Popes, who by their policy are most characteristic of

The Renaissance Popes.

Nicholas V., 1447-55.

Calixtus III., 1455-58.

Pius II., 1458-64.

this era, are Sixtus IV. (1471–84) and Alexander VI. (1492–1503). They were resolved by hook and by crook to oust the tyrannies and local governments, and to establish their undisputed sovereignty. Their crimes[1] are innumerable, their vices unnamable. Sixtus IV. had six nephews to set up in the world. Happily most of them destroyed themselves through their excesses, or the Papacy would have been ruined. Poison and the dagger were with Sixtus the common way of removing opposition. He was an undoubted party to the base Pazzi conspiracy at Florence. In Alexander VI. (Roderigo Borgia) the incredible immorality of the age had created a man after its heart. Offices were sold at auction[2] under him, cardinals and bishops[3] were poisoned at his table, and the Vatican (the Pope's palace) saw festivals of lust worthy of a Nero. Worst of all was the Pope's relation to his children, whom he openly recognized. His son, Cæsar Borgia, was a man of remarkable powers of mind, but a monster of iniquity. To him, as his general, Alexander entrusted the task of subduing the States of the Church. This task Cæsar accomplished, regardless of means, with such thoroughness,[4] that whatever else—and it is everything—can be said against him, the sovereignty of the Pope was never again questioned. The rest of his history and that of the reign of his father lies beyond our scope.

Sixtus IV., 1471–84, and Alexander VI., 1492–1503.

Cæsar Borgia.

[1] Sale of offices was the common means of getting money. There were regular price-catalogues for the ecclesiastical honors, a deanship costing so much, a cardinal's hat so much, etc. Sixtus IV. remarked, "a Pope needs only pen and ink to get what he wants."

[2] A verse went the rounds in Rome to the effect: "Alexander sells the keys, the altars, Christ. Well, he bought them; so he has a right to sell them."

[3] The Venetian ambassador wrote: "Every night they find in Rome four or five murdered men, bishops and prelates, etc." There was even a Borgia poison, a white, odorless powder, the secret of which has been lost, which was dropped into the food or blown upon the body of the victim.

[4] The snare he laid for the Orsini at Sinigaglia is famous. They had helped him conquer the Romagna and he wanted to get rid of them. They were suspicious, but such were his arts that he beguiled them to the castle where he stayed and had them all strangled.

Although we last saw the House of Anjou stripped of Sicily, it long maintained all its old influence in Italy by championing the Guelf interest. Robert (d. 1343) even gave a new lustre to his house by his literary interests. Petrarch was his friend, Boccaccio frequented his court. But with his granddaughter, Johanna I. (1343–82), begins a period of confusion which continues into the sixteenth century. Johanna was only eighteen years old at her accession, beautiful and cultured, but of southern passions. She had lately married her cousin Andrew, of the younger branch of the Anjou, established in Hungary, but the match was unfortunate. When Andrew was murdered (1345) the suspicion fell upon his wife, and his brother Louis, king of Hungary, accordingly invaded Naples to punish the malefactress. After a time he retired without accomplishing anything, and Johanna now sinking deeper and deeper in her debaucheries, the barons ruled as they pleased and filled the poor land with predatory companies. Finally, as if bent on increasing the confusion, she unnecessarily raised a question of succession. The crown should have fallen by right to Charles of Durazzo, of the Hungarian Anjou, but Johanna, merely to please a whim, resolved to give it to the French house of that name. Charles thereupon captured Naples and had her executed (1382). He was soon followed by his son Ladislaus, an able and ambitious man (d. 1414), but not without a long struggle with the French Angevin claimant. His sister succeeded him. As she bore the name of the former queen, Johanna, so she reproduced all the other's abominable vices (1414–35). Finally there was a party formed against her in her own land and Louis, of the rival French line, put himself at its head. In defence she called in Alphonse V., king of Aragon, who already held of Italian territory Sardinia and Sicily, and, in default of heirs, appointed him

Naples after 1300.

Johanna I., 1343-82.

Charles of Durazzo.

Ladislaus, 1386-1414.

Johanna II., 1414-35.

Rivalry of the Houses of Aragon and Anjou.

her successor. Alphonse entered Naples in triumph. Then, characteristically enough, Johanna repented of what she had done, called back Louis (known as Louis III.), and, dying, conferred her territories upon him. Alphonse soon returned, and after a long struggle with Louis conquered the kingdom. But it was a decayed, impoverished province which he thus won. The long wars had torn up the bases of ordered society, and the proud barons had been systematically taught a lawlessness which they were slow to unlearn. If Naples took such a small part in the glorious period of the Renaissance just breaking over Italy, the explanation is given in these hopeless, persistently feudal and mediæval conditions of society in the lower part of the peninsula.

Condition of Naples.

Personally Alphonse was one of the most attractive of the princes of his time; perhaps it is not exaggeration to call him the model prince of the early Renaissance. He loved splendor, encouraged building, and was an eager patron of artists and men of letters. They gave him, and he deserved, the title Magnanimous. But even he was not able to restore what the misrule of the later Angevins had undone. When he died (1458) his dominions were divided. Aragon, Sardinia,[1] and Sicily passed to his next legal heir, his brother John; Naples, his conquest, he could dispose of as he pleased, and he accordingly left it to his illegitimate son, Ferdinand.

Alphonse, 1435-58.

This Ferdinand (1458–94) was one of the most ferocious villains who ever sat upon a throne. His barons found life so intolerable under him that they revived the claims of the banished Angevins of France, and it was the resurgence of this old question of the Neapolitan succession that was destined to bring the long-hovering doom of Italy upon her. For with the death of Réné (brother of

Ferdinand, 1458-94.

[1] The other large Italian island, Corsica, was at this time still in possession of Genoa. It was only in the eighteenth century that it was ceded to France, which holds it to this day.

Louis III.) and Charles of Maine (1481), the last of the Anjou, their possessions, with their claims, reverted to the House of France, and the conquest of Naples, and therewith the enslavement of Italy, hinged from now on merely on the willingness of the French king to embark on the policy of foreign adventure which the pursuit of those claims entailed. Louis XI. (d. 1483) was much too practical a mind to allow himself to be enticed by the enigmatical prospects of distant Italy, but his son, Charles VIII., a young, incompetent, but ambitious changeling, was, after long hesitation, prevailed upon by a number of circumstances to undertake the expedition, which turned out to be the beginning of Italy's ruin (1494).

The king of France inherits the claims to Naples.

Charles VIII. resolves to invade Italy.

The country's only hope against this danger would have been the alliance of all against the common enemy. In the distracted Italy of 1494 that was impossible. A national feeling was the first requisite of such a patriotic league, and since Italy had never been united, where was that to come from? The past spoke not for harmony, but for faction. The society of Italy had arrived at its modern consciousness in the midst of and through civil wars, and had not yet gained its political equilibrium. But as we take a survey of the status of the peninsula immediately before the French invasion and compare it with the situation of about 1300, we note broadly this fact: Italy has progressed toward consolidation. The confusion of little states, especially in Lombardy, Tuscany, and the northeast marches, has given way to larger formations. The peninsula now holds five great powers: the republic of Venice embraces the territory of the northeast as far as the river Adda; the duchy of Milan spreads along the middle course of the Po; of the other three powers, all south of the Apennines, the republic of Florence holds Tuscany; the Papacy, Rome and environment, together with Umbria and Romagna; and the king-

The situation in Italy in 1494.

The five Italian powers.

dom of Naples includes the whole south. Scattered in between are a number of independent republics and lordships, such as Ferrara, Siena, Urbino, and the territories of the House of Savoy in Piedmont, but they count just as little in the general politics of the peninsula as Belgium, Portugal, etc., do in the politics of Europe at this day. Genoa is still rich through her trade, but oscillates in dependence between Milan and France.

These five powers were, if united, more than strong enough to repel any foreign invasion. It is, therefore, literally true that they have themselves and their distractions to blame for Italy's ruin. Their political system was very complex. It had found its typical form toward the middle of the fifteenth century under the direction of Cosmo dei Medici, and was largely determined by the common fear of the richest and strongest of the states, Venice. It was out of dread of Venice that Cosmo had favored the establishment of the Sforza in Milan (1450), and Florence and Milan had become close allies. Then Naples was persuaded to cast in her lot with these two states, and the triple alliance thus created secured a comparative stability to the peninsula during the whole second half of the fifteenth century. Of course, there was sporadic fighting, caused generally by the territorial ambition of the Popes or of Venice, but the outlook, on the whole, was promising. There even seemed to be a prospect of a permanent and general confederation. But it proved a delusion. There were germs of discord among the Italian states which could not be suppressed. Even the members of the triple alliance were not over-friendly to each other. As long as Lorenzo lived his great personal authority kept them together, but his foolish son, Pietro, who succeeded him (1492), had no talent for playing the part of "the needle of the political balance in Italy," as his father had done before him. Milan and Naples drifted apart. Lodovico Sforza had seized the government of Milan as regent for

The relation of the five powers.

Quarrel between Naples and Milan.

his nephew, the lawful duke (1480), but having once enjoyed the power, had no mind to give it up. The nephew, however, was married to a princess of Naples, and king Ferdinand, in consequence, felt the injury done the young imprisoned duke personally. When Pietro dei Medici inclined to side with Naples, Lodovico felt that the hold which the triple alliance had hitherto afforded him was slipping away. He began to plot against the House of Aragon by supporting the Angevin claim to Naples. His ambassadors were ordered to spur on king Charles of France to undertake the expedition which promised so much honor. At the same time other influences were brought to bear on the young king, all tending toward the same goal. A party of cardinals vehemently hostile to Alexander VI. (elected 1492) urged Charles to proceed to Italy in order to call a council and depose the Pope. Then, too, the domestic affairs of Florence had lately been going as badly as its foreign alliances. Foolish Pietro's misgovernment aroused the old republican memories of the citizens and their temper was further inflamed by the sermons of Girolamo Savonarola. Savonarola was a Dominican monk of stern moral stuff, who was horrified by the religious decay which he met on all hands. Reform of manners, reform of the Church, were the subjects of his prophetic visions and his stirring addresses. He has rightly been called a precursor of Protestantism. And with this religious programme he associated a political one. He openly attacked the Medici as the authors of the sins of Florence, and prophetically insisted that punishment for them and their indifferent subjects was at hand. His popularity and, with it, his authority became immense. Rarely has history exhibited a more curious case of the domination of one man. Under these circumstances there was wanted only the occasion and the Medici rule would come to an end.

Causes conspiring to draw Charles VIII. to Italy.

Savonarola.

All these appeals and temptations and uncertainties were too much for Charles. He boldly threw them into the balance

with his own ambition, his military strength, and the prosperity of France, and in the fall of 1494 crossed the Alps. A new period began therewith for Italy. She was overrun by foreigners, first the French, and then in rivalry by the Spaniards and the Germans, and soon subjugated to foreign influence. A new period began also for the world. France, Spain, and Germany touched the new culture of the wonderful peninsula, the mother of Europe, and the currents of her finer intellectual and artistic impulses poured through and transformed their coarser civilization.

The invasion of 1494 and its consequences.

CHAPTER XVIII

FRANCE, 1108–1494; ENGLAND, 1070–1485

1. FRANCE, 1108 TO THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Condition of the Crown.

During the eleventh century the royal House of France exercised but little authority. The barons were strong and lawless, and resisted the king. The royal estates were very small and confined to the central and northern parts of France. In going from one estate to another the king was compelled to pass through hostile territory. The crown was without honor. The accession of Louis VI. (1108–37), called the Fat, marks a change in the fortunes of the Capetian House. All but the last years of his life were spent in passing through his kingdom, punishing the rebellious barons, asserting his royal rights, acquiring territory, and, in general, in increasing the prestige of the royal name.

Louis VI., 1108–37, and the Church.

Louis VI. assumed the rôle of protector of the Church. Many of his conquests were undertaken to restore some bishop or archbishop to his property or rights. During the eleventh century the hostility between the Pope and the king of France was somewhat less pronounced, and early in the twelfth century we see evidences of a newly formed alliance between them. The Pope needed help against the Emperor and also a place of safety to which he might flee when he was driven from Rome. He found them both in France. The attitude of Louis toward the bishops and archbishops of his kingdom was wholly in keeping with this policy. He was their champion against all their oppressors. No one could with impunity seize their lands, abridge their rights, or refuse them their dues. It must be said, how-

ever, that his motive was not simply religious. These church lands paid him a good income every year, and it was greatly to his interest to see that they were kept unimpaired. His inclination coincided with his best interests. For this vigorous protection the clergy were devoutly thankful to him. Their whole influence was used to exalt his dignity and increase his authority. The crown profited immensely by this alliance.

In his own lands, the duchy of France, the king was at constant war with the barons, who were little better than brigands. They seized travellers and held them for ransom; robbed the trains of merchandise; seized the cattle and produce of the serfs, and even robbed the churches and monasteries. Safe in their castles, they could swoop down on the passer-by and return in safety to their strongholds. It was the violence and exactions of the barons that led the cities to organize into communes for resistance. The communes were therefore good allies and helpers of the king in his struggle with them. The king spent his reign in punishing these robber barons. He developed a remarkable activity, passing continually from one part of his lands to another, righting wrongs and preserving order. By this means he was successful in instilling into the minds of his subjects a most wholesome respect for the royal power.

The nobility.

Louis VI. was so busy with the affairs of his immediate lands that he had little time to devote to the great lords, who practically ruled the rest of France independently. The duke of Normandy, who was also king of England, Henry I., was one of his most powerful vassals and found innumerable opportunities to check and thwart him in his plans. Henry I. had got possession of his brother Robert, who had been made duke of Normandy, and kept him in prison till he died. Robert's son, William Clito, appealed to Louis VI. for help, and the struggle lasted till the death of William, which occurred in 1128. Louis VI. was not able to get possession of Normandy. It remained in the hands of the king of England. Henry I. also aided

and abetted Louis's rebellious and brigand nobles. Louis, however, found an excellent ally in the count of Flanders, who remained true to him throughout his whole reign. For the most part, however, he was compelled to resist his enemies alone. He provided for the acquisition of more territory by marrying his son, Louis VII., to Eleanor, the daughter of William X. of Aquitaine. This seemed like a great acquisition, but it was so far away that the royal power never reached to it, and besides it was soon lost to the French crown by the unfortunate divorce of Eleanor.

Character of Louis VI.

Louis VI. was one of the most able of the Capetian family. Until his growing corpulence made it impossible for him to travel he was constantly in motion. He was candid and open, and hated all fraud, duplicity, and perfidy. He was true to all his obligations. He was humane and affable to all. He found an excellent counsellor in Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis, who gave him great assistance in all his work. He tried to secure a good administration of justice in his lands by sending his own judges throughout all of his possessions to report to him anything that needed redress or correction. "He found the crown at his accession depressed to the lowest point of weakness and insignificance; he restored its dignity, asserted its prerogatives, and enforced its authority."

Louis VII., 1137-80.

The character of his son and successor, Louis VII., was very different. He was religious, simple, credulous, and capricious. The good understanding between him and the Pope was disturbed for some years by a quarrel over the appointment of the archbishop of Bourges. In the end, however, he yielded to the Pope, and peace was restored. Through the influence of the clergy his authority was increased in certain directions. So long as Suger lived he was able to keep the king from making many serious mistakes. The one great one which he did make was to go on the crusade. Suger had opposed this step, but without success.

4° Longitude West 2° from Greenwich 0° Longitude East 2° from Greenwich 4°
London
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
FLANDERS
Rhine
EMPIRE
PONTHIEU
Amiens
VERMANDOIS
AMIENS
Harfleur
Rouen
Bayeux
Caen
Bec
Seine R.
NORMANDY
ISLE OF FRANCE
Marne R.
Rheims
CHAMPAGNE
Paris
BRITTANY
Rennes
MAINE
CHARTRES
Orleans
ANJOU
Loire R.
Nantes
TOURAINE
Tours
BLOIS
SANCERRES
NEVERS
BOURGES
BURGUNDY
Saone R.
Poitiers
POITOU
BERRY
BOURBON
LA MARCHE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGOUMOIS
Lyons
FOREZ
SAINT ONGE
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
PERIGORD
AQUITANE
VELAY
Bordeaux
BORDEAUX
Dordogne R.
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
AGENAIS
QUERCY
VIVARAIS
UZES
TOULOUSE
PROVENCE
(PART OF ARLES)
GASCONY
Toulouse
BEARN
Narbonne
ARAGON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
FRANCE
1185.
Dominions directly governed by Henry II.
Dominions dependent on Henry II.
Dominions directly governed by King of France
Dominions dependent on King of France
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N.Y.
2° 0° 2° 4°

During his absence in the east Suger practically ruled the country, and it was owing to his ability that Louis VII. found his kingdom in so good a condition when he returned. There is no doubt, however, that his long absence from the land worked some injury to the royal prerogative.

After the death of Suger, Louis made the politically serious mistake of divorcing his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine. He lost, thereby, her possessions, the important duchy of Aquitaine. This loss, however, was only a small part of the misfortune. By her marriage with Henry II. of England Aquitaine was added to the already large English possessions in France. All the western part of France, from Normandy to the Pyrenees, was thus lost to the French King. Within a few years a hostile state was established, embracing nearly one-half of the soil of France. Louis VII. would have found it even more difficult to resist the encroachments of Henry but for the quarrel of the latter with Beket and the ambition of his sons. Louis intrigued with Henry's rebellious sons and aided them, so that Henry II. was obliged to divide his French territory among them. This division materially weakened the English power, and prevented further encroachments on French territory.

Divorce of Eleanor.

Louis's policy his more able son, Philip II., Augustus (1180–1223), carried consistently to a successful issue. Philip II. was a diplomat and a politician in the worst sense which these words have acquired. He was treacherous, cruel, and unscrupulous. He had excellent political judgment, knew what was to be done, and was able to do it. His life was devoted to the one object, which was to be attained in many ways—the increase of the royal power at the expense of the great feudal lords. Conspicuous among these were the kings and princes of England, whom he sought in every way to deprive of their French possessions. Henry II. and his four sons were constantly quarrelling over their possessions in France. Philip followed the pol-

Philip II., 1180-1223.

His Policy.

icy of his father toward them, and always assisted the weaker of the parties. He attacked the English possessions in Berry (1187), and before Henry II. could bring assistance made himself master of much of the province. A truce was made, and in the meantime the news of the fall of Jerusalem arrived. The two kings met and made a treaty preparatory to undertaking a crusade. It was soon broken, however. Philip aided Richard, Henry's son, in his revolt against his father and gained a decided advantage over Henry in battle. Henry II. was forced to make peace and surrender all his claims to Berry. Richard did homage to Philip II. for his French possessions. An account of the crusade of the two kings has already been given. Philip returned from the east in order, if possible, to secure some advantage over Richard. He made war on his possessions, but, in spite of favorable opportunities, met with little success until after the death of Richard (1199). King John, who followed Richard, offered a better opportunity. He had put to death his nephew, Arthur, who had secured the possession of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Philip summoned him to appear before his court and submit to trial. When John disregarded the summons, Philip deposed him and confiscated his feudal possessions on the ground that he had violated his feudal obligations. With astonishing rapidity Philip reduced Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoulême. Shortly afterward nearly all of Aquitaine submitted to him. John was left with only a small strip of territory in the southwestern part of France.

Philip II. and John of England.

During the first years of his reign Philip had been compelled to face a dangerous alliance among some of his most powerful subjects, the counts of Flanders, Namur and Hainault, Sancerre, Blois, and the duke of Burgundy. For six years Philip carried on war against them, and defeated them one after another, and reduced them to obedience. He compelled them to surrender to him several rich districts, thus enlarging his domains.

By wresting so many dependencies from the king of England

and attaching them to himself the French king, for the first time in the history of France, became more powerful than any of his feudal subjects. He was the largest land-holder in France. He was now king in fact as well as in name. He had acquired a long strip of sea-coast, which was a great advantage to him. The remaining nobles, however, saw the danger that threatened them, and from this time on there were constant alliances among them for the purpose of resisting the too great growth of the king. They became clearly conscious of their danger when, in 1213, Philip II. showed his easy superiority over the count of Flanders. This frightened all the feudal lords in the north, and led them to join a great alliance that was being formed against Philip and his ally, Frederick II. of Germany. The parties of the confederation were John of England, the Guelf family of Germany, with Otto IV. at its head, and the principal barons of the Netherlands. John landed at Rochelle, in Poitou, and met with much success, but was stoutly resisted by prince Louis, the son of Philip. Otto IV. united his forces with those of the Low Countries and met Philip II. at Bouvines (July 27, 1214). Philip won a signal victory, and during the rest of his reign was undisturbed by the English. He was master in Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, although some of the cities of the last-named county were still in the hands of the English.

Bouvines, 1214.

With the crusade proclaimed by Innocent III. against the famous heretics, the Albigenses, Philip II. had nothing to do in a direct way, but he was destined to derive great gain from it. Southern France and northern Italy were at this time strongly affected by heretical opinions. Innocent III. during the first years of his pontificate tried to root out the heresy by peaceable measures. He sent his teachers among them, but all their efforts were without success. Count Raymond VI. of Toulouse was himself in sympathy with his heretical subjects, and apparently shared their opin-

The Albigenses.

ions. He was very lukewarm in his support of the papal representatives, and when, in 1208, one of them was murdered, the count was thought to have been guilty of the crime in an indirect way. A crusade was therefore preached against him. In order to save himself and his possessions Raymond made every concession demanded of him and submitted to the Pope's representatives. The crusading army, however, continued its preparations and attacked Beziers, Carcassone, and other places. The army was everywhere successful, and Raymond of Toulouse, in spite of his concessions, was next attacked. Simon de Montfort led the crusaders, and was able in a short time to drive out the count and get control of his territory. He was rewarded by the possessions of Raymond, which were given him as a fief. He went to Paris to take the oath of allegiance to the king for his newly acquired land. The crown prince Louis then assisted Simon in the further reduction of some of the strongholds. In 1218 Raymond made an effort to regain possession of his county. He appeared among his former subjects, who rose at his call and flocked to his banner. Simon de Montfort was slain in trying to put down the rebellion. Raymond VI. died in 1232, and his son, Raymond VII., finally was victorious over his enemies and got possession of all his ancestral estates. But Honorius III. preached another crusade against him, and Louis VIII. having made war on him, conquered a large part of Languedoc. This actually took place after the death of Philip II., but it lay in the line of his policy.

The royal domain.

The reign of Philip II. was of fundamental importance for the growth of the royal power. The king's domain was more than doubled by him, and his income correspondingly increased. For the first time the king was rich. Philip II. found the old system of administration insufficient. His estates had thus far been managed by a prévot, who administered justice in the name of the king, collected the taxes, and preserved order. Although these prévots were the king's officers, there was the tendency, in

accordance with the character of the age, for them to look upon their office as a fief, and hence hereditary. To keep them from growing quite away from him, and also to get the best returns from his estates, Philip II. created a new officer, the baillie. He was put above the prévots, several of whom were generally in his bailiwick. He was required to hold court every month for the rendering of justice and to make a full report of his doings to the king. He was especially entrusted with collecting all the money possible for the king and delivering it at Paris. The reign of Philip II. had resulted in two most important things—the great extension of the royal power and the better administration of the royal affairs. The hereditary character of the crown seemed so well established in his reign that he did not think it necessary to secure the election of his son. It was taken for granted that the crown would pass on to him.

The reign of his son, Louis VIII. (1223–26), was but the continuation of that of Philip II. Although he was thirty-six years old when his father died, he had never occupied an independent position in the kingdom. He had served his father faithfully in many ways, but had never been officially recognized or united with his father in the government. His connection with the fortunate close of the Albigensian war has already been given. He was successful in extending the imperial authority over certain other feudal dependencies. It must be said, however, that the work had for the most part been done by his father. He simply reaped the benefit of it. His work was to complete the conquest of Poitou and Saintonge and other provinces in the southwestern part of France. Henry III. of England was following a weak policy in that part of his kingdom. He left the communes there to themselves, and so permitted them to escape from his jurisdiction. Louis VIII. had no difficulty in getting possession of all the country as far as the frontier of Gascony. Henry III. did little or nothing to check him. His reign,

Louis VIII., 1223-26.

therefore, witnessed another important enlargement of the royal territory and power.

As has been said before Louis had been kept in all respects dependent on his father. Up to this time the royal princes had no independent income. This was humiliating to them, especially since, although they were of the royal family, they must necessarily be far inferior in actual power and influence to many of the vassals of the king who were beneath them in birth. It is probable that his own unpleasant experiences while crown prince caused him to hit upon the plan of giving to each of his sons a certain territory to rule over. It followed, of course, that the son was entitled to the income of this territory, and was therefore in a manner independent of his father. While this measure had many things in its favor, it proved in the end to have been ill-advised, because it tended to alienate certain provinces from the crown at a time when everything possible should have been done to consolidate the royal possessions. It also opened up opportunities for endless strifes and ambitions in the royal family.

Creation of appanages.

Louis IX. (1226–70) was only eleven years old when his father died, and therefore could not rule in person. His mother, Blanche of Castile, seized the power as regent and administered affairs in the young king's name. The vigorous policy of the two previous kings had naturally produced great dissatisfaction among the high feudal nobility. Blanche of Castile, being a Spaniard, and therefore a foreigner, was thoroughly hated by them. She was supposed to be devoted to the interests of Spain and was charged with sending French money to her people. Her name was also linked in a very compromising way with Thibaut, count of Champagne, as well as with a cardinal who was living in Paris. Since she was not known to possess any particular ability, the nobles now thought an excellent opportunity had come to regain their lost independence

Louis IX., 1226-70, and Blanche of Castile.

and power. The nobility accordingly conspired against the regent, and prepared to undo all that Philip II. and Louis VIII. had accomplished for the royal house. The conspiracy was wide-spread, especially in the north and the south, and included the king of England, the counts of Boulogne, Brittany, Toulouse, La Marche, the duke of Burgundy and others. Every one who had any grievance against the government joined the rebels. The treason invaded even the royal family. The count of Boulogne was the uncle of the young king, Louis IX.

The barons, however, were thoroughly mistaken in the character of Blanche. She had, indeed, had no opportunity to show her ability until this time. She now proved herself to be possessed of great courage and cleverness, deep political insight, and remarkable executive ability. Although virile in her will and energy, she nevertheless possessed strong womanly qualities, which she knew how to use to her advantage. She was engaging and persuasive in manner and managed people with consummate skill. She was able to win count Thibaut of Champagne to her cause, and although he more than once seemed about to desert her, she always succeeded in retaining his services. She had her son crowned at Rheims and then attacked the rebels one after another with such rapidity and force that she was everywhere victorious. For nearly six years the contest lasted, but when it was ended, the royal power was more secure than ever.

Victory for the Crown.

By the treaty of Meaux (1229) the trouble begun by the Albigensian crusade was finally settled. The count of Toulouse agreed to destroy the walls of all his principal cities, to persecute all heretics, to go on a crusade for five years, and to give his daughter in marriage to a brother of Louis IX. who should also be the heir to the county of Toulouse. Raymond VIII. of Toulouse, the successor of Raymond VII., was left only a small part of western Languedoc, while all the rest of his territory passed into the hands of the royal family.

The count of Brittany also made a most desperate resistance to Blanche, relying on the help of Henry III. of England. But Blanche was able to reduce him to subjection. By the year 1232 the kingdom was at peace and entirely under her control.

Blanche displayed the same vigorous spirit in her relations with all the powers of France. With the clergy she was more than once embroiled because of her interference in ecclesiastical affairs. She disregarded feudal rights and customs, whenever it seemed good to her. Her harshness led to some unpleasant results. In 1229 some of the students of the University of Paris engaged in a free fight with some of the citizens and beat them severely. The police of the city, disregarding the immunity of the students, punished them with great cruelty. The professors and the authorities of the University demanded reparation because their rights as a corporation had been infringed upon. They appealed to the regent, but she refused to listen to them. The whole faculty ceased lecturing and with the students withdrew from the city. The Pope, however, interfered as peacemaker, and succeeded in patching up the quarrel and bringing the professors back again.

Louis IX. became of age and began his independent reign 1236. His mother, however, retained a controlling influence over him so long as she lived. She had given the most careful attention to his training and the development of his character. It is her greatest honor to have borne such a son and to have made of him what she did. He was first of all a Christian and all his judgments were formed under the influence of a dominating Christian ideal. Few rulers have ever taken Christianity so seriously and followed its dictates, even when it was against their apparent interests, so closely. Christian conduct under all circumstances was to him the most important thing. His religious conscience was absolute master of him. This won for him

Character of Louis IX.

the reputation of the most perfect justice and made him the arbiter of all Europe. The Christian world was willing to submit all cases to him because it knew that he would decide according to the facts, and with the strictest loyalty. Although deeply religious, he was neither ascetic nor indifferent to the affairs of state. He loved the chase and the hunt; horses, dogs, and falcons were his pets; he was lavish in expenditure, rich in dress, and luxurious in the appointments of his court. But all these things were a part of his conception of the dignity of a king. He was the model Christian of his time, and, though the paths of conquest opened to him, he walked the ways of peace.

Although he increased the royal power during his reign, it was not his fixed policy to do so, at least in the same way as it had been the policy of his predecessors. In 1241 a conspiracy against him was formed among the nobles in the western and southwestern parts of the country, backed up by Henry III. of England. Louis had just established his brother Alphonso as count of Poitiers, and the conspiracy was primarily directed against him. Louis took the field at once on behalf of his brother, and Poitou surrendered to him almost without a blow. Henry III. was defeated before the city of Saintes (1242) and fled to Bordeaux. The conspiracy was broken up and Louis prepared to follow up Henry III. and attack him, when he was taken ill, and the campaign was cut short. The treaty of Lorris (1243) imposed upon the rebellious nobles as hard terms as those to which Raymond of Toulouse had been compelled to submit. Louis might now have conquered the whole of the English possessions. Henry III. became involved with his barons at home, and Louis had a free field in southwestern France. His sense of justice, however, prevented him from improving his opportunities. He even came to the conclusion that some of the conquests of Philip II. had been made unjustly and contrary to the rights of those who had been deposed. To satisfy his conscience he therefore voluntarily ceded to

Henry III. several provinces, Limousin, Quercy, Périgord, and others. Henry III. in return gave up all his claims to Poitou, Blois, Brittany, La Marche, Auvergne, and other districts.

Raymond VIII. of Toulouse died 1247, and all of his territory passed to Alphonso as his appanage. During his life Alphonso acted in complete harmony with his brother the king. He ruled the province well, restoring order and preserving the peace. The country was brought under the control of the French king, but so wisely that there was no difficulty about it. By assuming a conciliatory attitude, and adopting a mild policy, Toulouse was attached to the crown.

The Pope and Emperor.

The struggle between the Emperor and the Pope caused Louis much distress. He believed that both the papacy and the Empire were necessary to the existing order of things, and was pained at the bitter war between them. To him both were representatives of God. He could not, therefore, espouse unreservedly the cause of either. He had the highest sense of his duties and relations to both of them. He preserved, whenever possible, a neutral position and tried to reconcile them. He disregarded the Pope's deposition of the Emperor, but when Frederick was about to attack Lyon in order to make the Pope a prisoner, Louis was willing to interfere on the Pope's behalf. In 1239 Gregory IX. offered the imperial crown to Louis's brother, Robert, but the king would not allow him to accept it. When the struggle ended in the victory of the Pope, Louis might have taken advantage of the weak condition of Germany to extend his boundaries on the east. He refrained from anything of the sort and contented himself with preventing his enemy, Richard of Cornwall, from acquiring possession of the Empire. He did all he could to raise up an opponent to Richard in the person of Alphonso of Castile. His only acquisition of territory on the east was the county of Macon, in Burgundy. By marriage the Provence became the possession of his brother, Charles of Anjou,

and fell therefore under the influence of the French House. When the Pope offered him the crown of Sicily he refused it, but permitted his brother, Charles of Anjou, to accept it. He made terms with the various Spanish rulers by which the Pyrenees were made the boundary between the two countries. Barcelona became Spanish, and the king of Aragon surrendered all his claims to the southern parts of Languedoc and the Provence.

Louis's relations with England have already been made clear. He made war on Henry III., but only for just cause. He did not follow up his advantages after he had gained a victory, but as has been seen above, surrendered certain lands which he thought had been obtained unjustly. His reputation for uprightness led the king of England and his barons to appeal to him to settle their quarrel. But they did not abide by his decision. The ruin of the Empire left France the strongest power in Europe. In about forty years the French king was to show his superiority by removing the seat of the papacy to Avignon, and by using the Popes as tools to further the interests of France.

Louis and England.

From the reign of Louis IX. date some of the most important changes and improvements in the administration of the government. More than eighty of his subjects had the right to coin money, and up to this time the money coined in any particular province was the only legal tender within that province. In travelling from one province to another it was necessary, therefore, to change one's money, always, of course, at some loss. In 1263 Louis decreed that the money struck by the lords must bear a different inscription from that coined by himself. The king's money was to be the only legal tender in the provinces owned directly by himself, and in all other parts of the country was to be on a par with the local coinage. Several laws were published prohibiting counterfeiting and debasement of the royal money. This was, in fact, a good step toward the unity of the kingdom.

Changes in the administration.

The office of baillie which had been created by his grandfather had not been kept entirely free from feudal influences and therefore rendered the king less valuable service than it was capable of doing. To correct this and bring the baillies back to their proper relation with the king, Louis renewed the custom of sending missi dominici who should inquire into the manner in which they were administering their office and make a report to him. These were able to restore the close connection between the baillies and the crown, and so improved the government. In accordance with the information received from these missi, Louis published an ordinance (1254) regulating the office of baillie. It was prescribed that every baillie should take an oath to administer his office faithfully and justly, and to preserve local liberties as well as the rights of the king; he was forbidden to receive any money or gift from the people in his bailiwick; he was not to engage in any other business, or have any other interest in his bailiwick than to serve the king; he was forbidden to marry anyone from his district, or to surround himself with his relatives or to give them any office under him. He was ordered to hold court in person, regularly and in the appointed places, and to make reports to the king of all his doings. After being removed from his office, he was to remain in the province for forty days, in order that the opportunity might be given to prefer charges against him. Louis did all he could to secure uprightness, honesty, and efficiency in all his officials.

Baillie.

Around the person of the king there was constantly to be found a large number of people of different rank, who formed, in a loose kind of way, his court. The highest in rank of these were his council. Up to this time all this court had helped him in the administration of the affairs of government. Louis IX. introduced the principle of division of labor by dividing this council into three groups and assigning to each a particular kind of work. These divisions were the council proper, the officers of the

The council divided into three groups.

treasury, and the parlement. The council retained the executive functions of the government. The treasury officials had charge of the collection and disbursement of all the moneys of the king, while the parlement became the highest judicial body in the realm. Previous to this time the administration of justice had been made very difficult because the king was constantly travelling from one part of the kingdom to another, and since his council accompanied him and all cases must be tried in, or near, his presence, all the parties to a case were compelled to follow him about, and often several weeks, or even months, would elapse before a case might come to trial. This, of course, rendered it impossible for many people to receive justice. To remedy this, Louis established the parlement in Paris and gave it a fixed place of meeting.

The parlement.

The jurisdiction of the parlement was also gradually extended. The revival of the study of Roman law brought out the imperial principle that the king is the source of all justice. The theory arose that the jurisdiction of the nobles was a fief held of the king. He had simply delegated his authority to them. It followed almost as a matter of course that every one should have the right of appealing to the king in case he were not satisfied with the result of his trial, and also that the king might call before his court any case that he might wish. For various reasons the king wished to make the number of these "royal cases" as large as possible and so interfered more and more in the baronial courts, and brought all the important cases before his own judges. A "royal case" had never been defined, and, therefore, because of this indefiniteness, the extension of the authority of the parlement was easy. Louis forbade the trial by duel and put in its stead the appeal to a higher court. The parlement, therefore, became the court of appeal over all the baronial courts. The king's justice became superior to all baronial justice.

While Louis was truly religious in accordance with the

ideas of his age, and defended the Church against all violence and injustice, he nevertheless guarded his royal prerogatives against clerical encroachments. He compelled the Church to contribute its part toward the support of the government by the payment of tithes and other taxes. He limited, to a certain extent, the judicial power of the bishops, and subjected a part of the clergy to the civil law. He greatly favored the mendicant orders at the expense of the clergy. They were the most popular preachers and confessors. He used them as ambassadors, as missi dominici, and in many of his highest offices. Since the mendicants were the especial helpers of the Pope, he assisted half-unconsciously in extending the papal authority. The famous Pragmatic Sanction attributed to Louis IX., which is often regarded as a sort of Magna Charta of the Gallican Church, is a forgery of the fifteenth century.

Louis IX. and the clergy.

Philip III. (1270–85) was a faint reflection of his father, and a shadowy personality. In his reign for the first time we find powerful favorites at the court, known as légistes, who by their great activity and influence, practically throw the king into the shade. Pierre de la Broce was one of these favorites, a man of the common people, but capable and ambitious. Because both of his low birth and his high office he was hated by the nobility, who coveted his power. His influence with the king was so great that his advice prevailed over that of all the rest of the king's counsellors. The queen, Mary of Brabant, was also his enemy, and after a bitter struggle against her and the nobility, Pierre's power was destroyed and he was hung. His place in the king's affections was taken by Matthew, abbot of Saint Denis. Matthew's influence was so great that a chronicle of the times declares that he ruled France.

Philip III., 1270-85.

Favorites at the court, the légistes.

The principal foreign complications during Philip's reign arose with Spain. The first trouble with Spain was in connection with Navarre. At the death of the king of Na-

varre (1274) the kings of Castile and Aragon laid claim to his crown, and his widow, Blanche of Artois, took refuge with her child at the court of Philip III. She was well received, and her child, the heiress of Navarre, was engaged to the king's second son, who afterward succeeded him. An army was sent into Navarre, which reduced it to subjection, and made of it practically a dependency of the French crown. In 1276 Philip III. attempted to interfere in the affairs of Castile in favor of another French princess, but without much success. In connection with the Sicilian Vespers (1282) and the consequent expulsion of the French, the crown of Sicily was offered to Peter III. of Aragon. To support his uncle, Charles of Anjou, Philip III. collected an army and invaded Aragon. At first the army was successful, but the climate and disease compelled it to retreat. The expedition was a failure and Philip died on the way home (1285).

Trouble with Spain.

During his reign the royal domain was enlarged by the actual acquisition of Toulouse. It embraced the territories of Poitou, Saintonge, Toulon, Albigeois, Quercy, Rouergue, and Auvergne. Agenais and Venaissin (Avignon) were also included, but the former was given to the king of England and the latter to the Pope. By the marriage of the heiress-apparent of Navarre to the son of Philip III., a claim to that kingdom was established.

In regard to the extension of the royal authority, Philip III. followed the same policy as his father. The number of appeals to his parlement increased and the baronial courts lost accordingly. He punished with great severity the nobles who displeased him, or disturbed the peace. He defended the Church, but at the same time ruled it with a heavy hand. Large numbers of people had taken the tonsure and hence were called clergymen, but were engaged in business or led a wandering vagabond sort of life. Their clerical character gave them immunity from the laws of the land, and they abused the privileges thus obtained. Many of them

The royal power.

were married and lived in all respects as laymen. He deprived all such of the protection of the church law and subjected them to taxation and other state control. The clergy complained of this and their burdens, but without avail. He established the right of amortisement; that is, he required the Church to pay him the income for two or three years of all her newly acquired lands. The Church had to pay in this way for her right to acquire property.

Philip IV., 1285-1314.

The character of Philip IV., called The Handsome (1285–1314), is even more uncertain than that of his father. His contemporaries, who wrote about him, have given us contradictory estimates of his character and ability. The difficulty is that he hid behind his counsellors and favorites, even more successfully than Philip III. had done.

The government Romanized.

During his reign the revived study of Roman law began to bear much fruit. The lawyers (légistes, that is, those versed in Roman law) furnished him with his conception of his office and rights, and therefore practically dictated his policy. France, once the peculiarly Christian kingdom of Louis IX., became thoroughly Roman. The ideals of Justinian dominated everywhere. The king was taught to believe that he was and should be absolute. The influence of the Roman law on his reign may be seen in part from the fact that so large a number of great questions were settled by the form of trial.

Favorite counsellors.

Among these lawyers who were at the same time the king's favorites and counsellors, were four worthy of especial notice. They were Pierre Flotte, William of Nogaret, William of Plaisian, who served him during the first years of his reign, and Enguerrand de Marigny, who held the position during the last years of his life. They in turn were in reality, if not in name, prime-ministers, and their influence with the king was unbounded. Marigny was called by the men of the time the "coadjutor of the king and the governor of the kingdom." He was regarded as the master of the

king. It is impossible to determine how much of the policy of the king was his own and how much was derived from the influence and teachings of these men.

At this time France became more than ever the leading power of Europe. Her foreign relations multiplied with astonishing rapidity. The king sent out embassies, composed mostly of clergymen, in all directions, and diplomatic relations were established betwen France and all the other countries of Europe.

Philip IV. inherited from his father the unsettled Sicilian question. He had no thought, however, of carrying on the war. After several years of negotiation Sicily was allowed to remain in the possession of the Aragonese. On the German frontier he carried on a sharp aggressive policy. He chose the most opportune times of interfering in the affairs of the small provinces on the frontier, and since the Emperor was without power, he was able to extend his boundaries considerably. He got possession of several large principalities, such as Hainault, Montfaucon, Beaulieu, Bar-le-duc, several places in Lorraine, Lyon, and Viviers. The duke of Burgundy also did homage to him. He met only with the most ineffectual opposition from the German Emperors. Since his power was, in its extent and character, practically imperial, he was ambitious to become Emperor. In 1308 he was a candidate for the honor, but the electors seem not to have thought of him seriously for a moment.

The Empire.

The relations of Philip IV. with England were intimately connected with those existing between himself and Flanders, but for some time there was no hostility between himself and the king of England. Edward I. was engaged in other struggles and therefore did not wish to have any trouble with France. At the request of Philip IV. he came to France and did homage to him for the possession of Guienne. Many things happened, however, to cause trouble between the kings, and at last Philip cited Edward

Philip IV. and England.

to appear before him to be tried for his offences against his sovereign. Edward refused to appear, and war was declared. Each sought for allies and naturally looked about to see who were the natural enemies of the other. Since they were hostile to France, Edward I. made alliances with the German Emperor, Savoy, and all the lords of the Low Countries; especially the count of Flanders was well disposed to England, because he was now in greater danger than ever before from the increasing power of France. Philip IV. found many allies in the southwestern part of the Empire, and most important of all he discovered the enmity between Scotland and England and made use of it. Scotland was only too glad to become the friend of so powerful an opponent of England. The alliance of France and Scotland, so injurious to England, was to last for three hundred years. Philip IV. was successful in all his engagements and Edward thereupon began negotiations for peace. But as neither king was willing to desert his allies, especially Scotland and Flanders, the matter dragged for several years. Many treaties were proposed only to be rejected. At last the whole business stopped where it had begun. Guienne was restored to Edward, and he again did homage to Philip for it.

Peace was thus established between the principals, but only at the price of the desertion of their allies. Edward I. attacked Scotland and Philip IV. continued the war with Flanders. His army invaded the country and the count was compelled to surrender. In 1300 all Flanders was conquered and united to the crown of France, and Philip IV. and his queen made a tour through the province. They were received with the forms of the greatest honor, but the people showed no personal enthusiasm over their appearance. The wealth of the cities was, however, revealed to the French. Flanders was at this time perhaps the richest part of Europe. It had numerous cities, all of them seats of industry and commerce. The products of their looms were everywhere eagerly sought after. The display of wealth excited the cupidity of the

Flanders.

king as well as of his nobles. He placed Jacques de Chatillon as governor over the province, who began to extort money from the people in every way possible. His exactions led to a revolt in Bruges. Nearly 3,500 Frenchmen were murdered in that city (the matins of Bruges) and the king sent an army against the town to punish it. Almost the whole of Flanders joined in the rebellion and the French forces were utterly destroyed at the battle of Courtrai (1302). Two years later the king sent another army, which was in part victorious in the battle of Mons-en-Pevèle near Lille (1304). But Flanders prepared to make a more determined resistance and Philip IV. feared to continue the war. He made peace with the count, who ceded to him a district on his southern boundary. The people of Flanders, however, regarded this as a national calamity and were opposed to its recognition.

The quarrel of Philip IV. with the papacy has already been briefly described. The humiliation of Boniface VIII. was complete. The election of the bishop of Bordeaux as Clement V. put the papacy entirely in the hands of the king of France. Clement V. spent several years moving about from one place to another in France, and finally in 1309 took up his permanent residence in Avignon. But Philip IV. was not yet satisfied with his victory over Boniface VIII. and demanded that he be tried by the new Pope. A charge containing forty-three counts was preferred against him. There is scarcely a crime of which he was not accused. Clement V. tried to escape from this necessity, but the king and other enemies of the dead Pope were relentless. The trial began and it was evident that nothing but condemnation would satisfy the accusers. But the king now signified his willingness to spare Clement the humiliation of pronouncing against one of his predecessors if the Templars were put at his mercy. Clement yielded and for the sake of the good name of the papacy, already sadly smirched, agreed to destroy the order. A council was held at Guienne (1311), in which Boniface

The Papacy at Avignon.

The Templars suppressed.

VIII. was cleared of all charges against him, but those who had done him violence were pardoned. Moreover, the order of the Templars was formally suppressed. Their trial had already been in progress for some years. They had been subjected to the greatest cruelty and injustice and base charges of all sorts had been trumped up against them. The evidence against them, however, was of the most flimsy sort. The most that could be said against them was that they were rich, luxurious, and idle. Individual members may have been guilty of sensuality. The order had no doubt degenerated morally, but the same may be said of all the monastic orders. The real motive of the king was to get possession of the great wealth of the order. There is good reason to believe that Philip IV. pushed the prosecution of Boniface only in order that Clement V., fearing the scandal that would come upon the papacy, might be forced to yield to him and condemn the Templars. At any rate, that was the outcome of the whole matter. The king seized all the property of the order. He made a pretence of turning it over to the Knights of Saint John, but in reality it went into his own treasury.

Improvements in the government.

In the time of Philip IV. order was introduced into the government by the creation of certain new offices, the functions of which were prescribed. The various sorts of work in the government were differentiated and each sort assigned to a particular set of officials. For the personal service of the king there was a court called at that time the king's "Hôtel;" the chamberlain, the chaplain, and those who had control of the guard and the troops were the most important persons of the Hôtel. The "chancellerie" had charge of all public affairs and the government may be said to have been administered through it. All intercourse between the king and his people was conducted by means of it. Within the chancellerie there was a college of notaries who drew up all public or state documents. The heads of this college were called "clercs du secret," or private secretaries of the king,

because they were acquainted with the secrets of the king and his council. The third chief division in the government was called the king's Council, the members of which had to take a special oath to the king. They were his secret counsellors and deliberated with him all important questions. The States-general[1] were not yet an organic part of the government; they may be regarded as a relic of the ancient Germanic diets or Mayfields. The attendance upon these, however, had in the process of time come to be limited to the more powerful nobles and to the abbots and bishops. It had been customary for the king to summon them to obtain their advice whenever the special situation demanded. In 1302 when the trouble with the Pope was assuming large proportions, the king felt that he must know whether he would have the support of all his people if he proceeded to extreme measures against the papacy. He therefore summoned the States-general and at the same time called on the cities each to send two or three representatives to attend the meeting. The king laid before the whole body his plans and asked for their judgment. After some deliberation, the whole body through its spokesman signified its approval and promised him the support of the whole people. In 1308 a similar meeting of the same body was held to discuss the charges against the Templars. More than two hundred cities sent their representatives and again the States-general did nothing but say yes to the king's proposals. It is characteristic of the part which the cities played in this proceeding that they were "asked by the king to send deputies to hear, receive, approve, and do all that might be commanded them by the king." Again in 1314 the war with Flanders was about to be renewed and the king's treasury was empty. The king, therefore, summoned the States-general and told them what he wanted. The States-general did noth-

The States-general.

[1] It should be noted that "States-general" correspond to the Parliament in England, while in France the name Parlement was given to the body of the king's judges. The Parlement in France is a judicial body, in England the Parliament is a legislative body.

ing but express their submission to the will of the king. This was the much written about entrance of the Third Estate into the political history of France. French historians never tire of exalting its importance. But as a matter of fact, the influence of the Third Estate was, and remained, practically nothing, till the time of the French Revolution. It had no such history and development as the House of Commons in England. In France the authority of the king prevailed, and the Third Estate was simply permitted to say yes when it was commanded to do so.

The growth of the parlement during this reign was remarkable. Ordinary cases arising on the royal domain were tried before it, and the number of appeals from all parts of the kingdom greatly increased. The absolute supremacy of the king's court and the king's justice over all baronial courts and baronial justice was more than ever recognized. The right of appeal was made use of to such an extent that the king was compelled to empower his baillies to decide many cases in order to prevent the parlement from being overwhelmed with work. Feudalism received a heavy blow by the establishment and development of the parlement.

The parlement and the king's justice.

As the government grew more thoroughly organized, it became much more expensive. Louis IX. had always had enough income to support the government. Philip IV. was always in debt. He made the most strenuous efforts to raise money. Even by taxes, seizures, aids, forced loans, confiscations, persecutions of the Jews, taxation of all the foreign merchants in France, taxation of the Church, the seizure of the possessions of the Templars, and many other questionable means, Philip IV. was not able to keep his treasury full.

Taxation.

Philip IV. was succeeded by his three sons in turn; Louis X. (1314–16), Philip V., called the Long (1316–22), and Charles IV. (1322–28). They were not able to preserve the

monarchy in that state to which their predecessors had brought it. There was a general reaction on the part of the nobles against the absolutism of Philip IV., and they were able to force from these kings many provincial charters which restored and safeguarded local feudal rights. Louis X. especially made a large number of such concessions. When he died he left no male heir, but as his wife was pregnant at the time, it was hoped that an heir might yet be born. The queen was indeed delivered of a boy, but he died within a week, and Philip V., who had been acting as regent, was now crowned king. Louis X. had left a daughter, but her rights were passed over, and to justify the usurpation Philip V. called a council which declared that a woman could not inherit the crown of France, nor could the crown pass by way of the female line. This was based on an obscure law in the code of the Salian Franks in regard to the inheritance of property.[1] It had never had anything to do with the inheritance of the crown.

End of the direct Capetian line.

The reign of Philip V. was productive of many laws concerning the development and establishment of the Hôtel, the council, the parlement, the administration of finance, the treasury, and many other parts of the machinery of government. The tendency of all his work was to unify the government and to centralize it in the hands of the king. He tried to make the royal money the only legal tender in the whole kingdom and took away from the barons the right of coinage. His exactions were many and grievous. His work was not understood by his people, and he died hated by them all. His successor, Charles IV., turned to the east and tried to secure his election as Emperor. In order to give his whole attention to imperial affairs, he made peace with Edward III., and ceded him Guienne. Ludwig, the Bavarian, however, patched up his quarrel with the Pope and secured the imperial crown.

[1] Lex Salica LIX. (5) De terra vero nulla in muliere hereditas non pertinebit sed ad virilem sexum qui fratres fuerint tota terra perteneat. That is, the wife could not inherit the land of her husband.

Since Charles IV. also died without a male heir the question was at once raised as to who should succeed him. Louis X. had left a daughter, and Philip V. two daughters, but it had been decided that the crown could not pass by the female line. The nearest male heir was Philip of Valois. His father was Charles of Valois, a brother of Philip IV. He was therefore a first cousin of the dead king. Edward III., of England, however, was induced to present a claim to the crown on the ground that he was the nearest male heir by the female line. His father, Edward II., had married Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV. He was therefore a nephew of the last king. The daughters of Louis X. and Philip V., however, were nearer the crown than he, if it was to pass by the female line. The wife of Charles IV. was also pregnant at his death. There was considerable discussion as to who should be regent, for unless the expected child should be a boy, it was probable that the regent would receive the crown. The claims of Edward III. were presented by some lawyers, but they were rejected and Philip of Valois was made regent. The queen died in giving birth to a daughter, and Philip of Valois was crowned king (1328–50). Edward III. gave up his pretensions and came to Amiens to do homage to the new king, Philip VI., for his feudal holdings. There was still some question in his mind about the right of succession, but in 1330 and again in 1331 he sent letters to Philip VI. in which he acknowledged himself without any reserve as the feudal subject of the king of France. He thereby gave up all his claims to the French crown.

Philip of Valois.

2. ENGLAND, 1170 TO THE BEGINNING OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

The Norman genius showed itself in the government of William the Conqueror. He gave his conquered land an excellent rule. But as he collected much money for the expenses of his government, and devastated a large tract of land

to make a game preserve, he won a bad reputation among the common people. His great work was not understood by them.

He had the difficult task of ruling two peoples in one country. He was in danger alike from the English, and from the Norman barons. He used the one to keep the other in check. He weakened the English by confiscating their lands. He always had a Norman army at his command and he erected fortresses in all the large towns, which he garrisoned with Norman soldiers. He tried to make the English see that he was just, and so hoped to win their confidence. The lands which he took from them he gave to his Norman nobles, but lest these might become too strong for him, he gave them their lands in small pieces, scattered throughout all England. He made it impossible for one baron to consolidate his possessions in one great tract. He did not perpetuate the great English earldoms because he feared their power might be dangerous to him. He also kept the fyrd or English militia ready to use against his Normans if necessary. His precautions were shown to be wise by the revolt made by the Norman barons in 1075. Two of the Norman earls plotted against him, but William easily put them down.

The government of William the Conqueror.

William was exacting in the matter of his feudal dues. In order to learn just how much taxable property there was in England he caused to be made an exact list of the possessions and holdings of every man in his kingdom. He sent out his men to take this census, and their work was brought together into one great book, known as the Domesday Book (1085–86). By means of this information, and on the basis of it, William levied and collected his taxes with great regularity and exactness. The feudalism of England was essentially changed by the oath which William required of all men whether his direct vassals or not. In 1086 William called on all his people to come

Domesday Book, 1085.

English feudalism.

to Salisbury and take an oath of obedience directly to him. All sub-vassals swore that they would support the king, even against their lord, if the latter failed in his duty to the king. This gave William a certain amount of control over his sub-vassals and established between him and them a personal relation which might be used to great advantage. He continued to call together the Witenagemot, but this name was gradually changed to the Great Council. It was composed of those who held land directly from the king.

Under William the Church of England was brought into closer relations with the Church on the Continent, and especially with the Bishop of Rome. The king appointed Normans to all the high places in the Church. Lanfranc, Prior of the famous monastery of Bec, was made archbishop of Canterbury. William was heartily in favor of the Cluniac ideas of reform, but had no thought of yielding to the Pope his right to rule the Church. He resisted the pretensions of Gregory VII. and continued to exercise the right of appointing bishops and archbishops. However, he chose only good and able men to fill ecclesiastical offices.

William and the Church.

At his death (1087) the duchy of Normandy passed to his eldest son, Robert, and England was given to his second son, William Rufus, whose reign in England was one of violence. He was resisted by the Norman barons, but by the aid of the English established himself on the throne. He was covetous in the extreme, and his officers were permitted to make all kinds of unjust exactions from the people. He was blasphemous but superstitious, and abused the Church as he did his people.

William II., 1087-1100.

Early in his reign William II. seized Cumberland and fortified it against the Scotch. A few years later Malcolm, king of Scotland, retaliated by devastating large parts of Northumbria. William II. was prevented from any serious attempt against Scotland by a revolt of some of his barons which engaged him for some time. The son of Malcolm was eventually

made king in Scotland and agreed to hold the crown as a vassal of William.

William II. met his death in the New Forest, while hunting, probably at the hands of some one whom he had wronged. He was bitterly hated by the people and there was no sorrow felt at his fate. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Henry I. (1100–35). On his accession Henry published a charter of liberties which contained concessions to the Church, the vassals, and the nation at large. It was intended to propitiate all classes by assuring them that they should not be subjected to the wrongs that had been inflicted upon them during the reign of his brother. He abolished the "malæ consuetudines," that is, all the illegal exactions that had been made by his brother. His title to the crown was not very good, and the contest which he feared with his brother Robert made him desirous of conciliating his people. He made himself more popular still by his marriage with Eadgyth, known as Matilda, daughter of Malcolm of Scotland. Her mother was an English princess, a descendant of the old ruling family of the Anglo-Saxons. When Henry ascended the throne his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, was in the east. He returned and got possession of Normandy and was ambitious to acquire also the crown of England. His invasion of England came to nothing, because the English people stood faithfully by Henry. Robert gave up all claims upon the crown, and returned to Normandy. His bad administration in Normandy led Henry to interfere there. War ensued, and in the battle of Tinchebrai Robert was defeated and made prisoner. He was shut up in Cardiff Castle, where he spent the rest of his life, and Henry took possession of Normandy.

Henry I., 1100-35.

Charter of liberties.

Normandy.

In England many towns and boroughs were becoming large and rich and were inclined to resist the heavy exactions of their feudal lords. They now began to appeal to the king for protection. Henry was the first English king to grant to such

boroughs charters by which they were allowed to administer their own justice and were protected from unjust tolls and taxations. He also established an institution known as the "Curia Regis," to have control of the finances of the kingdom, and to try all cases in which the king's tenants in chief were concerned. From the fact that they met in a room which was called the Exchequer, from the chequered cloth on the table, its members were called barons of the Exchequer. In order to make their work more effective they sent out itinerant justices who heard all cases in which the king was concerned, and collected the taxes. They were a sort of "missi dominici" who brought the people into more direct connection with the king.

Town Charters.

The king's justice and finances.

During his reign there began a strong religious revival marked by the establishment of many Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries. Many churches were begun during this time and a little later. The Benedictines had become rich and, as was generally the case under such circumstances, relaxed their asceticism. The Cistercians, however, were far more strict in their rules. They shunned all society and established their monasteries in far out-of-the-way places, while the Benedictines established their monasteries often either in or near a town.

The only son of Henry and Matilda was drowned (1120), and when Henry came to die the question of the succession was a pressing one. Henry compelled all his nobles to take an oath that they would accept his daughter Matilda as their ruler. While yet a mere child she had been married to Henry V. of Germany. Henry I. now gave her in marriage to Geoffrey, the count of Anjou. At the death of Henry, however, one of his nephews, Stephen of Blois, came to London and secured his own election as king. The result of this step was a war between him and the supporters of Matilda, which grew more lawless and irregular during almost

Struggle for the crown.

the whole of his reign. David, king of Scotland, being the uncle of Matilda, espoused her cause. In two invasions he did much damage to the country, but was both times defeated and driven back. Stephen became embroiled with the clergy by imprisoning a member of the powerful family of the bishop of Ely. He also alienated many of his friends among the lay nobility by attacking some of them who were, or seemed to be, his friends. All the barons ranged themselves nominally on one side or the other, but many of them took advantage of the war to engage in plundering on their own account. The greatest anarchy followed. Matilda came to England (1139) and fought a battle at Lincoln, in which she was victorious and Stephen was taken prisoner. She now began to rule and was recognized by many as queen. But her violence was worse even than that of Stephen, and a general revolt against her took place. The queen's brother was taken prisoner by the insurgents, and she was compelled to set Stephen free in exchange for him. Fortune now favored Stephen, and Matilda was driven to the Continent. The war was continued there and she and Geoffrey conquered Normandy. Their son Henry they made duke of Normandy (1149) and he continued the struggle with Stephen. His first invasion of England (1150) was unsuccessful. In 1152 he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, and thereby acquired that great duchy. He now went back to England, and his success at arms was so great that it seemed he must succeed in dethroning Stephen. Since Stephen's son and heir died (1153) he was willing to make terms with Henry. It was agreed that Stephen should rule as long as he lived, but Henry should succeed him. On this basis they made peace and combined to restore order in England. The barons were unable to resist them and the island began to enjoy the advantages of peace. Stephen survived the treaty only a short time. He died in 1154 and Henry II. succeeded him without opposition.

Henry II. (1154–89) was strong and active, and able, therefore, to endure the hard work necessary to secure a good government. He had but one ideal, that of unifying the government, and establishing the whole power in his own hands. The nobility and the Church stood in the way of this policy, and his reign is famous for the struggle which he had with them. Henry had no regard for feudalism or for custom. He faced the problems of government almost in a modern way, and tried to invent the machinery to do the work which he saw must be done if he was to be strong. All his reforms were calculated to break down the authority of the barons.

Henry II., 1154–89.

His first work was to complete the restoration of order which had been left unfinished by his predecessor. He then attacked the county and manor courts, by putting his own courts into the foreground. For the purposes of consultation, he called the Great Council together often, and compelled many of the small feudal holders to attend it. The Curia Regis was also strengthened and its work of rendering justice emphasized. In 1166 he called a meeting of the Great Council at Clarendon and published a set of decrees called the Assize of Clarendon. By its terms the old custom of compurgation was prohibited. In its stead a new system was introduced. Twelve men in every county and four men from each township in it were to form a kind of jury for the purpose of deciding who should be brought to trial. They did the work of our grand jury. He revived the custom of sending out itinerant justices, who by rendering strict justice in the king's name brought the manorial and county courts into disfavor. In 1170 Henry inquired into the way in which the various barons who held the office of sheriff were performing their duties. As the result of the inquiry nearly all were turned out and replaced by men of lower birth, who would, therefore, be more dependent on the king. They served from this time on to keep a check over the higher nobility.

Assize of Clarendon, 1166.

The clergy were opposed to Henry's ideas of judicial reform because he meant to bring them also under his own jurisdiction. In 1164 he published the Constitutions of Clarendon, the purpose of which was to destroy the judicial independence of the clergy. "Every election of bishop or abbot was to take place before royal officers, in the king's chapel, and with the king's assent. The prelate-elect was bound to do homage to the king for his lands before consecration and to hold his lands as a barony from the king subject to all feudal burthens of taxation and attendance in the king's court. No bishop might leave the realm without the royal permission. No tenant in chief or royal servant might be excommunicated, or their land placed under interdict, but by the king's assent. What was new was the legislation respecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The king's court was to decide whether a suit between clerk and laymen whose nature was disputed belonged to the church courts or the king's. A royal officer was to be present at all ecclesiastical proceedings in order to confine the bishop's court within its own due limits, and the clerk once convicted there passed at once under the civil jurisdiction. An appeal was left from the Archbishop's court to the king's court for defect of justice, but none might appeal to the papal court save with the king's consent."—Green.

The Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.

The king met with the most determined opposition in the person of the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Beket. Thomas had formerly been his chancellor and most faithful servant, and the king had appointed him to the highest ecclesiastical position in the land because he thought that he would assist him in his legal reforms. Thomas, however, as soon as he was made archbishop, changed completely his point of view. He became a churchman thoroughly in sympathy with the movement toward absolute independence which was then controlling the Church. He refused to accept the Constitutions of Clarendon. The king

Beket.

tried to break down his opposition by persecutions. Henry at length called on him to make a report to him of all the money he had received from him while he was chancellor. He could not, of course, do so. Upon being declared a traitor he fled to France, where he added fresh fuel to the quarrel between the two countries.

Henry's policy toward the barons had alienated them from him and he needed help against them. He was afraid that they would not accept his eldest son as king, and therefore determined to secure his election before his own death. It had always been the right of the archbishop of Canterbury to crown the king, but Beket was on the Continent and at feud with the sovereign. Henry therefore called on the archbishop of York to perform the ceremony for his son Henry (1170). The day before the coronation was to take place Beket sent a letter to the archbishop of York excommunicating him and all bishops who should take part in the act. The king now determined to yield. He made peace with Beket, who returned to England in the same year. His conduct and attitude, however, were not in the least changed. Henry was angered at him again, and in response to a hasty remark some of his knights went to Canterbury and murdered Beket in his own church. The popular indignation at this outrage was great. Beket was at once regarded as a martyr, his grave became the object of pilgrimages, and it was believed that many miracles were performed there. In order to propitiate the Pope Henry acted in accordance with the terms of a bull which had been issued to him by Hadrian IV., crossed into Ireland, received the submission of a part of the island, and made its Church subject to Rome. When the papal legates arrived in 1171 Henry swore that he was innocent of the death of Beket, offered Ireland as a peace-offering to the Pope, and withdrew the Constitutions of Clarendon. He now had his son Henry recrowned, but the effect was that the young Henry demanded that the country now be

The murder of Beket.

Ireland.

given over to him. Supported by his father-in-law, Louis VII. of France, and the great barons and the king of Scotland, he began a war on his father. Henry II. did penance at the tomb of Beket, and at the same time his armies were victorious over all his rebellious subjects.

The military service which the barons owed Henry was limited to forty days and to their immediate neighborhood. It was impossible therefore for him to use them in any war carried on in his territory in France. Their service even in England was not worth much. Henry persuaded them to commute this service into a money payment (scutage). They were by that means practically put out of the army and, at the same time, Henry was able to hire mercenaries to fight for him on the Continent. He further strengthened himself against the barons by reorganizing the fyrd (1181). Every free man was bound to come at his call equipped at his own expense and ready to fight. This was not a feudal army but a return to the old Anglo-Saxon idea of the duty of all free men to bear arms whenever necessary.

Scutage.

The last years of his life were embittered by the revolts of his sons, to which their ambition and the intrigues of the king of France led them. Two of them, Henry and Geoffrey, died, and Richard made an alliance with Philip II. His favorite son, John, also joined in the rebellion. Henry died 1189, after having been defeated and humiliated by his sons and their allies.

His son, Richard I. (1189–99), had little to do with England, since he spent only a few months of his reign in that country. His character has been made sufficiently plain in the account of his crusade. Although a knight, he was no ruler, and yet, when he kept his romantic love of adventure under control, he was able to rule well. When he left England he established two justiciars to rule the country in his absence. One of them, however, drove out the other, only to be put down himself by the king's brother John, who seized

Richard I., 1189–99.

the government. John was so violent and oppressive, however, that the people were glad to welcome back Richard when he was finally set free in 1194, although they had been fearfully taxed in order to pay his ransom. Richard soon left England never to return to it. He established the archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, as his justiciar, under whose wise control good progress was made and the various practical problems of the government were brought nearer to a solution. The shires were allowed to name the members of the jury mentioned above, and representatives of the county were often allowed to give their advice in the matter of the assessment of the taxes. The authority of the juries was also extended to many cases which, before this, had been reserved for the king. English local independence was slowly developing.

Much of John's reign (1199–1216) has already been touched upon. His nephew, Arthur, was acknowledged in Normandy and received the support of Philip of France. Arthur was eventually taken prisoner, and, it was believed, put to death by John. The action on the part of the provinces was favorable to the invasion by Philip, and his success was so great that the territory south of the Garonne was about all that was left to the English king.

John, 1199-1216.

John had much of the ability and all of the vices of the Angevin family. He was strong, active, and ambitious. He had great political and diplomatic ability, but he was unscrupulous and dishonest to the last degree. He was utterly without all sense of honor; he broke his royal oath without the least compunction. It was his perfidy that led to the successes of the people against him. He was planning to recover his lost French possessions, when his quarrel with Innocent III. began. The monks of Canterbury had chosen one of their number archbishop but John ordered them to elect one of his favorites. Both parties appealed to Innocent, who rejected both applicants and appointed in their stead Stephen Langton. John refused to accept him. Innocent

His quarrel with the Church.

threatened him with excommunication, but John declared that he would banish the clergy from England and mutilate all the Italians he could find in his kingdom if the ban were pronounced against him. Innocent actually put England under the interdict (1208), and excommunicated John (1209). To raise the large sums which he needed, John oppressed and robbed all the people he could. Even those who were faithful to him he wronged in the most cruel way. He took their property and outraged their wives and daughters. At last Innocent resorted to the most extreme measures. He deposed John, proclaimed a crusade against him, and intrusted the task of enforcing the edict to the king of France (1212). Philip II. prepared to invade England, and John collected his army to resist him. He discovered, however, that his army was plotting against him, and to save himself he disbanded it and fled to Nottingham Castle. There was only one way out of the difficulty, and rather than lose his crown, he made peace with the Pope (1213). Therewith the danger of an invasion was at once gone. John now prepared to invade France after making an alliance with the count of Flanders and with the Emperor of Germany. Many of his barons refused to go with him on the ground that they were not required to follow the king outside of England. John could not then wait to punish them. The defeat of his allies at Bouvines disconcerted him and emboldened the barons to resist him. The charter of Henry I. was discovered and presented to the barons first at Saint Albans, and later at Saint Paul's. Stephen Langton saw that this charter could be used as a basis for the reforms which they desired. Several of the barons met at Saint Edmundsbury and made a secret agreement to demand the redress of their wrongs and the security of their liberties under the seal of a charter. In 1215 they met the king at Runnymede and almost without opposition the king signed the charter which they had drawn up. In this the king promised to observe the ancient laws and customs, to abate all wrongs, and to require only the

Magna charta.

legal feudal dues. The Church was to have her liberties restored, the barons and the people were to be subjected to no violence. The king agreed neither to pass, nor to execute, any judgment upon anyone until he had been tried by his peers. Justice was to be rendered strictly and uprightly. Twenty-five men were empowered to act against the king in any way they might think fit if he should act contrary to the terms of the charter.

John, however, had no thought of keeping his word. He appealed to the Pope at once, who absolved him from his oath.

Louis VIII. of France offered the crown.

The barons after securing the charter had disbanded and John, who had been waiting for this, was now able to overcome them one by one. London, however, remained firm. The Pope put the city under the interdict, but no attention was paid to it. At last the barons offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip II. He landed with an army on the island of Thanet, May, 1216, and John was compelled to withdraw before him. A few remained true to him, but his death put a different aspect on the whole affair (1216). Although his son, Henry III., was but nine years old, nearly all classes turned to him and deserted Louis. The next year Louis was defeated and withdrew from the country, and Henry III. was left in sole possession.

Henry III., 1216-72.

The government was put, for the present, into the hands of three regents. In 1219 the power passed to the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, a capable man who acted for the best interests of the kingdom. The charter of John with some changes was sworn to by Henry and his regents. The barons were humbled and order re-established. In 1227 Henry III. became of age, and his character was soon revealed by his conduct. Like his father he had little or no regard for his royal word. He made the unprincipled Peter des Roches his justiciar, and proceeded to press money out of his subjects by all sorts of unjust means. In 1236 he married Eleanor of Provence, and his court at once swarmed with her relatives

and favorites, to whom the king gave high positions. The barons resented this, but were powerless. The king was constantly asking for money and the barons always compelled him to take a new oath to the charter before granting him any subsidy. Henry never hesitated to take the oath to the charter, but never paid any attention to it.

The king and the Pope vied with each other in demanding money of the English people and clergy. These exactions became so burdensome that the feeling against both Pope and king was very bitter. The great Council, which was now coming to be known as a Parliament, met often, and in 1254 four knights from each shire were asked to meet with it in order to say how much money could be collected from their respective shires. Henry's son, Edmund, was given the crown of Sicily by the Pope, but in return large sums of money were promised him. Richard of Cornwall, brother of the king, was made Emperor of Germany, and he needed money to establish himself there. The country was afflicted with a bad harvest, but, in spite of this disaster, one-third of the income of the year was demanded by the king for the Pope. These successive charges brought on a revolt. The barons came armed to Oxford to meet the Parliament and to make known their demands. All foreigners were to be driven out and the government put into the hands of a committee of twenty-four, and a council of fifteen. Some reforms were brought about in this way, but the sub-tenants complained that only the great vassals were benefited by them. Prince Edward, the eldest son of the king, took up their cause and secured them some relief.

Heavy taxation.

Provisions of Oxford, 1258.

The barons soon quarrelled among themselves and the king was thereby enabled to throw off all the restrictions they had put upon him. The leader, who had the interests of the people at heart, was Simon de Montfort, the son of that de Montfort who had carried on the crusade against the Albigenses. He became the acknowledged

Simon de Montfort.

head of the people, and when the king refused to keep the provisions of Oxford, as the treaty of the year 1258 was called, Simon made war on him. The king was driven into great straits, for Simon was a skilled general. Both parties appealed to Louis IX. of France, and since his decision was agreeable to neither, hostilities were renewed. The battle of Lewes (1264) resulted in the defeat of the king's forces, and the king, prince Edward, and Richard of Cornwall were taken prisoners. Simon could now dictate terms. He and two others were to elect nine counsellors who should name the ministers of state. A Parliament was then called in which, besides the knights of the shires, two burghers from certain towns also sat. Again the barons who had been supporting Simon deserted his cause. Prince Edward escaped from prison, and many of the barons joined him. He suddenly attacked Simon and defeated his army. Simon himself was slain. The popular imagination busied itself with his name and he was soon called a saint. Miracles were said to take place at his tomb, many poems and songs were written about him, and litanies produced in his honor. Prince Edward was now so popular that the government was practically given over to him, and Henry III. paid little attention to the affairs of government during the last years of his life. He died 1272.

Commoners in the Parliament, 1265.

Edward I. (1272–1307) followed out the principles of Simon in his government. He accepted the charter and tried to keep its terms. He himself had the spirit of a legislator. He had the advice of the best men in his kingdom and, besides, never published a law without first consulting those who would be affected by it. He was successful in a war against Wales, and had his son recognized as the Prince of Wales (1284). He built strong forts to keep the Welsh in check, but also conciliated them by wise measures. Alexander III., king of Scotland, died 1285, leaving only a daughter. She was engaged to be married to the Prince of Wales, but died 1290. Three cousins of the dead queen claimed the

Edward I., 1272-1307.

throne, John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. Edward I. was appealed to to settle the case. He decided in favor of John Balliol, but required that he himself should be recognized as the overlord of Scotland. Edward interpreted his lordship to mean that in trials all appeals must be made to him. This angered the Scotch, and they made an alliance with Philip IV. of France (1295). To meet these foes Edward called what has come to be known as the "Model Parliament." It received this name because of the fact that it was attended by all his barons, high clergy, two knights from every shire, two burgesses from every town, and representatives of the cathedral chapters and the common parochial clergy. Each class voted on the amount of subsidy which it was willing to pay the king. It is not known whether they all sat in the same chamber or not. Since the various classes voted different sums, it is probable that at any rate they transacted business separately.

The Model Parliament, 1295.

Edward then invaded Scotland, took Balliol prisoner, and declared himself king of the country. The stone of Scone, on which all Scottish kings had been crowned, was carried off to Westminster. The expenses of his campaign and government were great, and the king needed more money. By dealing with each class separately he succeeded in getting many grants from them. Heavy export duties were charged on many things, especially on the wool that was exported to Flanders. The clergy refused to pay him any taxes, and Edward withdrew his protection from them. They were suffered to be robbed or maltreated by any one without any redress. This quickly brought a change, and they evaded the order of the Pope and paid what was demanded of them under the name of gifts to the king. Eventually, however, the barons resisted his taxation, and Edward was compelled to yield. In 1297 he had to agree not to collect customs duties without the consent of the Parliament.

New wars and new taxes. Edward master of Scotland.

In the meanwhile the famous William Wallace brought about

a revolt in Scotland. After six years of hard fighting Wallace was exiled, and Edward obtained complete control of the country for the second time. This led to the incorporation of Scotland with England (1305). Bruce, a grandson of the Bruce mentioned above, led another revolt (1306), which after some years was ended by the battle of Bannockburn (1314), in which the English under Edward II. were totally defeated. Scotland had successfully maintained her independence.

Bannockburn.

The reign of Edward I. was fruitful, as we have seen, in the advance in influence of the common people. The shires and towns were recognized as having certain rights quite as inviolable as those of the lords. The common people had made their entry into the field of political influence during the reign of Edward's father. Their position in Edward's council or parliament was confirmed by the meeting of the Model Parliament (1295). From this modest beginning the House of Commons was to develop until it became the real ruler of England.

The reign of Edward I.

Edward's legislation was not always so wise or so just. He yielded to the popular clamor against the Jews, and in 1290 banished them from England. For the most part, however, his laws were effective, and he had a keen eye to the interests of the royal power. He forbade all further gifts of land to the clergy, because all such lands were thereby freed from taxation. Every gift of land to the Church diminished the income of the king by so much. In order to increase and strengthen the direct connection between himself and his subjects, he forbade all further sub-infeudation. His whole policy was to establish himself as the king of the people, not simply as the overlord of the vassals. He was ambitious, not so much for himself as for his kingship. Looked at from the point of view of his own times, he was a model king, and much of the criticism that has been passed upon him is unjust, because it judges him from the point of view of a much later age.

The reign of his son, Edward II. (1307–27), was, in almost every respect, a failure. He was indifferent to the duties of a king, and allowed himself to be controlled by favorites. First, Piers Gaveston held his affections. The barons tried in various ways to control the government, and exclude the influence of Gaveston, but were unsuccessful. At length they took arms against the king, made Gaveston prisoner, and put him to death. The Despensers then got the ear of the king, and practically ruled the country. Edward was married to Isabella, the daughter of Philip IV. of France, but she proved unfaithful to him. In 1325 she went to France, and the next year returned with her paramour, Roger Mortimer, to make war on the king. Almost the whole country was angry with Edward, because of the misrule of the Despensers, and therefore joined the queen. The king was helpless, and in 1327 a parliament was held by which he was compelled to resign his crown. He was imprisoned for a few months, and then murdered. His son, Edward III. (1327–77), although only fourteen years old, succeeded to the crown, but Mortimer acted as regent for three years. At the end of that time Edward III., by leaguing himself with the regent's enemies, was able to take him and put him to death.

Edward II., 1307–27.

Edward III., 1327–77.

One of the first things to occupy the attention of the young king was the question of the French succession. His mother was the sister of the last three kings in the direct male line of the Capetian dynasty, and Edward was led for a while to think that he might have a claim on the French crown. His better judgment soon prevailed, however, and he did homage to Philip VI. for his French possessions.

3. THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

The deeper questions at issue in the Hundred Years' War were whether Scotland should remain independent, and whether the king of France should control all of France, or whether all

of Scotland and France should be subjected to the king of England. It had come to be the established purpose of England to reduce Scotland to subjection, and she already held so large a part of France as to be able to prevent the unification of that country. Scotland, on the other hand, was determined to be and remain free, and the possession of all the French soil had come to be the most important question that confronted the king of France. The struggle between England and France was sure to come, and it could end in but one of two ways: either the king of England must conquer the whole country and displace the French king, or the king of France must drive out the English, and reconquer all that territory which the topography of the country and the similarity in language and customs had marked out as a legitimate object of his ambition.

The questions at issue.

The Hundred Years' War began in Scotland. At the death of Bruce (1331) the crown of Scotland passed to his son, then only five years old. Edward Balliol laid claim to the crown, and by the help of some Englishmen succeeded in getting himself crowned. He was soon driven out, however, and appealed to Edward III. for help. Edward restored him, but compelled him to cede him all of Scotland that lay south of the Forth. The young Bruce, David by name, thereupon fled to France and besought the aid of Philip VI. Since it was Philip's keenest wish to drive the English out of France, he regarded Bruce as a most opportune ally. If he could strengthen Scotland and enable it to engage all of England's attention, he might hope to succeed in his plans.

The beginning of the war.

The English also found allies on the Continent. Philip VI. had supported the count of Flanders against the people of the county, and restored him to power over them. Their submission lasted only for a short time, and they were easily persuaded to make an alliance with the English. Robert, the count of Artois, had been deprived of

Edward's allies.

his ancestral estates, and Philip VI. refused to restore them to him. He resorted to forgeries to prove his rights, but the fraud was detected, and he had to flee for his life. Embittered by his failure, he repaired to England and appealed to Edward III. to assist him. Philip VI. finally (1336) published a proclamation in which Robert of Artois was declared to be an enemy of the state, and all were forbidden to protect or assist him in any way. Confiscation was threatened on all who should disobey in this matter. This act was aimed against Edward III., who so understood it, and on both sides preparations for war were begun. At the same time Robert of Artois prevailed on Edward III. to announce that he would renew his claim to the French crown. War was declared against France (1337), but Edward was not able to begin it till the next year. He crossed to Flanders (1338), but did nothing. The people of the Low Countries were unwilling to serve him unless he would definitely assume the title of king of France. It was not till 1340 that Edward broke with his scruples and actually called himself king of France. This step was really what might be called a war measure, for Edward had already admitted that he had no right to the French crown, and had recognized Philip VI. as the rightful ruler of the country.

Edward III. claims the French crown.

For some years acts of mutual depredation had been committed by the French and English sailors. The French navy controlled the Channel, and Edward found it necessary to collect a fleet to attack it. In 1340 a naval battle was fought (called the battle of Sluys) in which the French fleet was destroyed, and the English became master of the sea. For some years little was done on either side. Two claimants for the duchy of Brittany arose, and since one of them was championed by Philip VI., the other appealed to Edward III. There was some fighting, but no decided advantage was gained by either king. In 1346 Edward invaded Normandy, intending to cross over into Flanders. Finding it difficult to cross the

Somme, the army followed up the course of the river almost to Paris before a ford could be found. Philip VI. in the meantime prepared to take the offensive. Edward at last found a place where he could lead his army over the river, and then drew up his forces to await the attack. The battle was fought near Crécy (1346), and the English bowmen won a most decisive victory. Edward proceeded to lay siege to Calais, which surrendered to him (1347). A truce was now made between the two kings, and Edward withdrew to England, taking with him much treasure of all kinds.

Crécy, 1346.

Philip VI. died (1350), and was succeeded by his son John, surnamed the Good (1350–64). The truce was continued to 1355, when hostilities were again begun in southern France. In that year Prince Edward, known as the Black Prince, landed at Bordeaux and made an invasion into southern France, plundering and destroying as he went. The next year he made a similar tour through central France, and was everywhere successful. With an army of about 8,000 men he was withdrawing to Bordeaux when he was attacked near Poitiers by King John with an army of about 50,000 men. King John's army was almost destroyed in the battle which ensued, and he himself was taken prisoner. A truce was made for two years, and the Prince returned to England, carrying with him his royal captive.

Poitiers, 1356.

Hostilities had been kept up between Scotland and England in a very intermittent way, and without any marked success on the part of either. In 1357 Edward III. changed his policy. He put David Bruce on the throne, and sought to win the country by conciliation. In 1359 Edward again invaded France, but so great was the devastation his former invasions had caused, that he could hardly find food sufficient for his men. He met with no opposition. It is said that he was overtaken by a severe thunder-storm near Chartres, which he interpreted as an expression of God's anger with him for the great ruin he had wrought, and, in consequence, he offered

to make peace with France. This step resulted in the peace of Brétigny, by the terms of which John was to be set free for a large ransom. Edward gave up all claim to the French crown, but received Calais, Ponthieu, and the whole of the duchy of Aquitaine. The king of France surrendered all feudal claims to these territories, and Edward was recognized as their sovereign king.

Peace of Brétigny, 1360.

Edward III. sent his son, Edward, the Black Prince, to rule over Aquitaine. He was soon foolishly engaged in the affairs of Spain. Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, had by his violence and injustice made himself thoroughly hated by his subjects. Having, furthermore, incurred the wrath of the Pope, he was excommunicated by him, and his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamara, laid claim to the crown. Charles V. of France, who had succeeded John in 1364, gave Henry his support, and permitted Bertrand du Guesclin to collect all the soldiers he could and go to assist him in acquiring the kingdom of Castile. Pedro, thereupon, appealed to the Black Prince, who, because of the mere fact that a king was about to be replaced by a bastard, went to aid him. He was able to restore Pedro, but got nothing for his pains, for Pedro refused to pay him what he had promised. The Black Prince himself was taken ill and four-fifths of his army died of a pest. He was compelled, therefore, to return to Bordeaux. His work was quickly undone, for Henry invaded Castile again, drove out his half-brother Pedro, and took the crown.

The Black Prince in Spain.

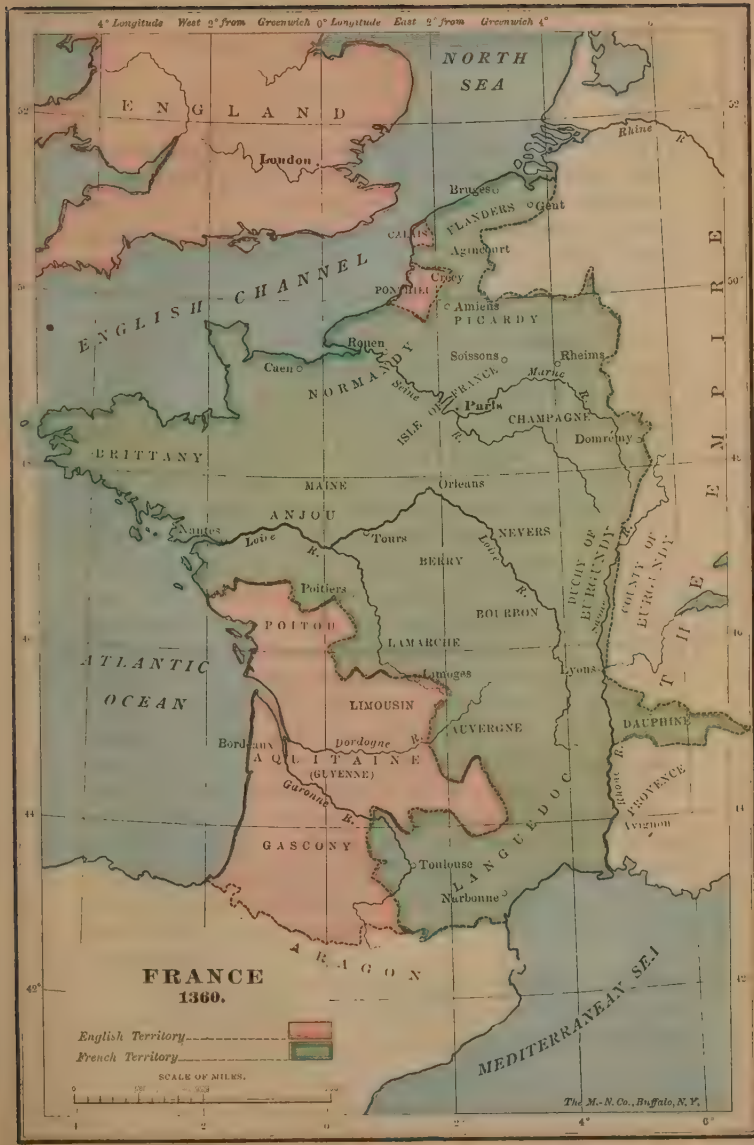
His troops demanded the pay of which they had been defrauded by Pedro, and the Black Prince, to satisfy them, levied a hearth-tax on Aquitaine. The people resisted this tax, and appealed to Charles V. to defend them against such injustice. Charles summoned the Black Prince to appear before him, claiming that he was still the feudal lord of Aquitaine, on the ground that the treaty of Brétigny was invalid, because of some irregularity. This was equivalent to a declaration of the re-

newal of the war. Edward III. again assumed the title of king of France. In 1369–70 the Black Prince made another marauding incursion, but since the French refused to engage in a pitched battle, very little was accomplished. John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, brother of the Black Prince, made a similar invasion from Calais through the central part of France, but his troops suffered so much for food and from the cold that only a handful of them reached Bordeaux. Aquitaine revolted against Edward, and submitted to Charles V. The English were compelled to make a treaty and surrender all of their possessions except Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne, and Bordeaux.

The struggle now practically ceased till the accession of Henry V. in England (1413–22). Henry V., in 1414, renewed the claim to the French crown and began the war expressly for the purpose of enforcing this claim. His father, Henry IV. (1399–1413), had seized the English crown after deposing Richard II. (1377–99). Henry V. felt, therefore, that his hold upon the English crown was somewhat uncertain. He hoped to make himself popular in England by a successful war with France. He sailed across the channel (1415), and landing at the mouth of the Seine, took Harfleur after a siege. His army in the meantime had been attacked by disease, and two-thirds of his troops had died. With about 15,000 men he did not dare begin the march upon Paris. He determined, therefore, to go to Calais. Since the bridges over the Somme were destroyed, he had to go far up the river before finding a ford. He turned toward Calais, after crossing the river, but found near Agincourt a French army of 50,000 men waiting to attack him. He secured the advantage of position, and his English archers again won a great victory over a far larger body of French. The losses of the French were enormous. Hostilities were not renewed till 1417, when Henry overran Normandy and got

Henry V., 1413–22, renews the claim to the French crown.

Agincourt, 1415.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NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
London
Bruges
Ghent
FLANDERS
Rhine R.
CALAIS
Agincourt
Crecy
PONTHIEU
Amiens
PICARDY
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Rouen
Caen
Soissons
Rheims
NORMANDY
Seine R.
Marne R.
ISLE OF FRANCE
Paris
CHAMPAGNE
Domremy
BRITTANY
MAINE
Orleans
ANJOU
Nantes
Loire R.
Tours
NEVERS
Loire R.
BERRY
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF BURGUNDY
THE EMPIRE
Poitiers
POITOU
BOURBON
LAMARCHE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Limoges
Lyons
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
DAUPHINE
Bordeaux
Dordogne R.
AQUITAINE (GUYENNE)
Garonne R.
Rhone R.
PROVENCE
Avignon
GASCONY
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Narbonne
ARAGON
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
FRANCE
1360.
English Territory
French Territory
SCALE OF MILES.
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possession of it. For several years the king of France, Charles VI. (1380–1422), had been a helpless imbecile, and the country was almost ruined by the struggles of the parties which were trying to control the government. The two opposing parties were headed by the duke of Burgundy and the count of Armagnac respectively. When it became apparent that Henry V. would conquer the whole country these two parties united. The duke of Burgundy met the heir-apparent, the Dauphin, to make his submission to him, but while kneeling before him was murdered by one of the Dauphin's followers to avenge a former crime of the duke. This made peace between the two parties impossible. The new duke of Burgundy, blinded by a desire for revenge, went over to the English, and even the queen of France deserted her son. France was temporarily lost. By the treaty of Troyes (1420) Henry V. was recognized as regent till the death of Charles VI., when he was to succeed him as king of France.

Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

Two years later Henry V. died and was succeeded by his son, Henry VI., a child only nine months old. Charles VI. died in the same year. Henry VI. was recognized in many parts of France as king, and the government of the country was put into the hands of John, duke of Bedford, brother of the late king. The Dauphin, however, claimed the crown as his hereditary right, and was known as Charles VII. (1422–61). He controlled nearly all the land south of the Loire. Bedford carried on the war against him, and hoped in a short time to reduce the whole of France. His brother, the duke of Gloucester, did the English cause great harm by putting forth an ungrounded claim to Hainault and Holland. He offended thereby the duke of Burgundy, whose friendship was half the explanation of the English success.

Henry VI., 1422–61.

Charles VII., 1422–61.

The city of Orleans was about all that remained to Charles VII. north of the Loire. In 1428 Bedford laid siege to it. If he should succeed in taking that city, Charles VII. would have

little chance of resisting him further. The city seemed to be doomed when help came from an unexpected quarter. Jeanne d'Arc, a peasant girl, seventeen years of age, believed herself to have received a commission from God to lead her king, Charles VII., to Rheims and secure his coronation. The troubled times had wrought upon her mind till she was fully possessed with this idea. She was not the only woman in France who thought herself appointed for this high work. In these times of excitement and national depression other women came forward with about the same claims. Jeanne was the only one fortunate and capable enough to get a hearing. She lived at Domremy, in the duchy of Bar. No one at first had any confidence in her, but at last, when there was no other help possible, she was taken before the young king, who determined to give her a chance to test her divine calling. She was given command of the army, but only a part of her orders were obeyed, because some of the things which she commanded were manifestly impossible. The real commanders of the army made good use of her presence to fire the enthusiasm of the troops to the highest pitch. She led the attack on the English before Orleans, and was successful in breaking up the siege of the city. Therewith the tide had turned, and everyone was wild with joy and enthusiasm. The belief in her miraculous mission made the army irresistible. The English were driven back, town after town was taken by the French, and Charles VII. was soon crowned at Rheims (1429). Jeanne longed to go home then, being tired of the life which she was leading, but so long as the English remained in possession of any French soil there was still work to do, and so she was persuaded to remain. She wished especially to take Paris. Unfortunately, however, she was taken prisoner by the Burgundians and sold to the English. She was carried to Rouen, where, after a long trial, she was condemned to death on a mixed charge of sorcery, heresy, apostacy, and other crimes, which only the Middle Age could invent. Her youth,

Jeanne d'Arc.

her simplicity, her nobleness availed nothing; she was burned at the stake May, 1431.

But even dead she was still a power in France. Her name gave an impetus and courage to her countrymen which was destined to result in driving out the English entirely. Bedford found the current in France setting stronger and stronger against the English. At his death (1435) the duke of Burgundy deserted the English cause and became the subject of Charles VII. For some years the war was continued, but at length (1454) the English had been driven out of every place in France except Calais. The Hundred Years' War was over. The final result of it was the unification of France. Both England and France had been profoundly influenced by this war, and at its close they were ready to enter upon a new period of their development.

The English driven out, 1454.

The constitutional changes in England during the period of the Hundred Years' War must be briefly noted. In 1322 Edward II. and Parliament declared that in the future all matters pertaining to the interests of the country should be settled by Parliament, in which not only the clergy and the barons, but also the common people should be represented. Edward III. was well inclined to a constitutional government. He gave up his right to exact certain feudal taxes, and relied upon securing sufficient funds for the government by parliamentary grants. In 1341 the House of Commons was separated from that of the Lords. The composition of the House of Commons was of the utmost importance. In it were to be found the knights of the shire, as well as the representatives of the towns or burgesses. Only in England were the knights associated with the commoners. In all the countries of Europe they were a part of the nobility, and refused to have any connection with the common people. This union of the two classes in England was to be the source of the greatest strength for both. Edward III., in 1360, made permanent the

Constitutional changes in England.

The House of Commons.

officials known as justices of the peace. It was their duty to preserve the peace in their county, take all criminals and even try them. They were appointed by the king from among the local landholders.

In 1376 another important event occurred. The Parliament refused to grant any money till it should receive an account of all the moneys collected and expended by the king and his counsellors. After a struggle it was victorious, and succeeded in forcing some of the council from their office. A new council was then formed and some of the former members were charged with embezzlement, tried, convicted, and punished. This is the first case of impeachment of the king's council, and was of great importance as a precedent.

Richard II. (1377–99) ruled for a while in a constitutional way. He appointed his own ministers, but when Parliament met he compelled them to resign, in order that charges might be made against them by any one who wished to do so. After it became clear that no one was dissatisfied with them he restored them to office.

The vassal relation was gradually changed. In place of vassals the great lords now surrounded themselves with men who were called retainers and wore the badge of their respective houses. With these retainers a lord could influence both the administration of justice and the elections. The abuse became so great that in 1390 the maintenance of such retainers was forbidden. It was to be more than a hundred years, however, before the prohibition could be fully enforced.

Change in the feudal relation.

Richard II., toward the end of his reign, was thought to be mad. His violence and injustice were unendurable, and led to his deposition. His cousin, the duke of Lancaster, succeeded in compelling him to resign, and then put forth his own claim to the crown on the ground that he was in the proper line of succession. Parliament gave its assent, and Lancaster became king Henry IV. The succession fell to Henry IV., how-

ever, not owing so much to the fact that the crown was hereditary as to the belief still common that it was elective. The deposition of Richard II. and the election of Henry IV. were looked upon rather as the work of the people by its Parliament. It was the victory, at Agincourt, of Henry V. that rendered the Lancastrians popular in England and made their seat tolerably secure.

The fourteenth century was marked by a movement among the people which showed itself in many ways. In 1348 a plague spread over all Europe, which resulted in the death of perhaps half of the population. Whole districts in England were almost depopulated. This, of course, made the demand for the service of free laborers much greater. The natural effect was that all workmen demanded far larger wages than they had ever before received. The English sense of the binding force of custom and tradition was thereby deeply offended, especially since at the same time the expense of farming was increased. In 1349 both Houses of Parliament met and passed a statute that the same wages should be paid as were customary before the plague, and made it a crime for anyone to demand more. The immediate effect of this measure was to increase the bitterness already existing between the classes.

Social movements.

An important sign of this opposition between the classes was the appearance of the work of Langland, called Piers the Plowman (1362). After the victories of Crécy and Poitiers and the successful invasions of France, the English returned to their homes laden with spoil. There was great increase in luxury, idleness, and vice. Langland gives a stirring picture of this condition of things, and sets over against the idle nobleman the simple, honest plowman or peasant, whose life was one long round of duties well performed.

Piers the Plowman.

All the legislation prohibiting the demand of higher wages was without avail. The work must be done, and the peasants refused to do it without an increase in pay. This led the landlords to try to reduce the free laborers to villainage again. In many cases the villain had secured his freedom by paying a

small sum of money to his landlord. Since the service had become so much more valuable, the landlords now declared that the contract into which they had entered was unfair, and they refused to accept the sum of money agreed upon in place of service. They tried, therefore, to compel the peasants to become serfs again and render the old service which had formerly been required of them. This would have solved the difficulty and the landlords would have thereby acquired a sufficient amount of labor to till their estates. The injustice of it, however, caused a revolt. Many of Wyclif's preachers espoused the cause of the peasants, and there arose besides a large number of peasants who went about inciting the people to resistance. There was an uprising all over England. The property of the nobility was attacked, their game and fish preserves destroyed, the records of the villains' dues were burnt, and even many people put to death. An army of more than 100,000, led by Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and John Ball, marched upon London, expecting to appeal to the king to support them against the nobility. They got into London and put many to death, among them the lawyers of the new inn of the Temple and the archbishop of Canterbury, who had proposed many of the obnoxious measures in Parliament. Richard II., still a mere boy, met them and promised to abolish villainage, whereupon the majority of the peasants returned home. About 30,000 of them, however, were bent on mischief, and could not be dispersed until an army attacked and scattered them. The revolt was followed by severe punishments. The leaders were put to death, as well as many who had taken part in it. All England was united against the insurgents, and the lot of the peasants became harder than ever before.

Wat Tyler's rebellion (1381).

This peasants' revolt had a bad effect on a great movement which had for its author John Wyclif. By an independent study of the Bible he had come to differ radically from the Church in many points. He attacked the authority of the Pope and the doctrine of tran-

Wyclif.

substantiation; later even the mass. At first he had attacked only the abuses in the Church, the worldly clergy, the heavy ecclesiastical taxes, the sale of indulgences and pardons, pilgrimages, the use of relics, and the worship of saints. The war with France, which was then the home of the Popes, and the papal Schism probably had a good deal to do with the development of Wyclif's doctrines. Opposition developed his ideas until he broke out into open hostility to the Church in almost everything. He based all his doctrines directly on his interpretation of the Bible. He sent out many preachers to carry his teaching to the people, and they succeeded in gaining many adherents. His sympathies were, for the most part, with the common people, and his cry for reform was taken up by them. It was due in part to his agitation that the peasants' revolt took place. The violence committed on that occasion frightened the nobility and even the common people, and Wyclif's movement thus fell into disrepute. His preachers, called the Lollards, or idle babblers, were repressed and persecuted. He himself was bitterly opposed by the clergy, but escaped personal violence. He was compelled, however, to leave Oxford and retire to his home at Lutterworth, where he spent the last years of his life in revising an earlier translation of the Bible. He was ordered to appear at Rome to defend himself, when death overtook him. Political considerations, the alliance between Henry V. and the papacy, led to the repeated persecutions of his followers, and so all of Wyclif's efforts at reform came to nothing. But the cry for the reform of the Church was never again hushed in Europe. Through one of his pupils, John Huss of Prague, his teachings were carried to Bohemia, where they also caused a great uprising.[1]

During the last years of Henry VI. the civil war began which was to be known as the Wars of the Roses. This was a struggle between the great houses of England, at first for the control of the king, and later for the possession of the crown. Henry VI.

[1] See Chapter XX.

suffered from attacks of insanity, during which the government was put into the hands of a regent. The duke of York was appointed regent under the title of Protector (1454), and the duke of Somerset, who had been the favorite of Henry VI., was thereby displaced. The next year, however, the king recovered for a short time and again assumed authority. He at once restored Somerset. The duke of York, fearing violence, took up arms and attacked his rival. In the battle of Saint Albans (1455) he was victorious, and the duke of Somerset was slain. He went to London, taking the king with him, who was soon seized with another fit of insanity, whereupon York again became Protector. After a short time the king again recovered and tried to make peace between the contending families. There could be no lasting peace, however, and in 1460, after a victory over the royal army, the duke of York laid claim to the crown on the ground that he was the heir of Edward III. through his son Lionel, who was older than John of Gaunt, from whom Henry VI. was descended. The Parliament refused to depose Henry VI., but agreed that the duke of York should succeed him at his death. The son of Henry VI., Prince Edward, was thereby excluded from the succession. The queen refused to submit to this injustice, and appealed to the Scotch for help. At the battle of Wakefield (1460) she was victorious, and York was slain. His son Edward, however, at once became the leader of the Yorkist forces. He defeated the queen's army at Mortimer's Cross, and in a second battle of Saint Albans (1461), and followed these victories up with another at Towton, in which her army was almost destroyed. The queen fled to Scotland, taking Henry VI. with her, and Edward IV. was crowned king at Westminster in June, 1461.

Wars of the Roses.

Edward's first Parliament was most pliant, and declared the three previous kings of the House of Lancaster to have been usurpers and their supporters traitors. When the queen returned with an army, she met only with defeat. Edward IV.

thereupon put to death many of the families and supporters of the Lancastrians. But his policy, and especially his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville, who was not of high birth, estranged his best helpers, and led to a revolt. In 1470 the earl of Warwick drove Edward IV. out and restored Henry VI. to the throne. Edward IV. returned the next spring, and was successful in two decisive battles, one at Barnet, the other at Tewkesbury. The leading members of the Lancastrian party were slain, and Henry VI. himself was put to death in the tower.

Warwick, the king maker.

Edward IV. now felt himself secure on the throne, and found leisure to begin a war in connection with Charles the Bold of Burgundy against Louis XI. of France. He hoped to prevent the extension of French power in the Netherlands, but was unable to do so. The death of Edward IV. put his son, Edward V., a boy of twelve years, on the throne. His second son was known as the duke of York. His brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, took possession of the two boys, and was made Protector. They were both put into the tower, and the relatives of their mother, Elizabeth Woodville, who had been exercising great influence up to this time, were either imprisoned or put to death. Fearing that if the young king were once crowned and acknowledged, his own life would be in danger, Richard, by the most shameless charges against the honor of his own mother, secured the recognition of himself as king. He was crowned as Richard III. (1483). He met with some opposition, but was able to resist it successfully. He felt, however, that he was not safe so long as the young Edward V. and his brother lived. They were accordingly put to death in the tower by Richard's orders. This crime cost him his popularity, and all the nobility of England feared him. The duke of Richmond, another descendant of Edward III., through John of Gaunt, was encouraged to invade England, and in the battle of Bosworth (1485) Richard III. was defeated and slain, and the duke of Richmond was made king under

Richard III., 1483–85.

the title of Henry VII. For nearly thirty years England had suffered terribly by these civil wars, and the people were worn out with them. They were willing to do anything or to submit to anything if only they might have peace. It was not so much that the great houses were destroyed; it was rather the horror that was everywhere felt for civil war that now opened the way for the Tudor House, of which Henry VII. was the head, to become practically absolute, and rule without regard to constitution or Parliament. The people felt that nothing could be worse than civil war. They were glad to have a strong king, because they believed that such a ruler alone was able to preserve peace and order.

Henry VII. (1485-1509) brings peace.

The Renaissance was just beginning to be felt in England at this time. Richard III. was himself one of the most prominent supporters of the new learning, and did all he could to foster it. Before he saw the way open to the throne he had been especially active in this direction. It was unfortunate both for him and for the cause of learning that the temptation was put in his way to seize the crown. But even as king he was active along the same line. He passed a law forbidding any hindrance or injury to any one who was engaged in importing or selling books in the kingdom. The patriotic Caxton had brought back from the continent a printing-press. He was not only a printer, but also an author, or, at least, a most industrious translator. Learning suddenly became with many a passion. The movement was still in its swaddling-clothes, to be sure, but the foundation was being laid for the glorious achievements of the sixteenth century.

The Renaissance in England.

The last years of Charles VII. were not so fortunate as the first. The victories which Jeanne d'Arc won for him secured him the title of the Victorious. He established a standing army and became independent of his vassals for military service. But he quarrelled with his son

A standing army in France

Louis. Louis thereupon intrigued against his father and made alliances with his father's enemies. The king also fell under the control of bad ministers, and his court was vitiated by the presence of infamous women.

Louis XI. (1461–83) was, from the point of view of the kingship, one of the most successful of all French kings, but he has won the reputation of being the most cruel, crafty, and unprincipled of men. He was a master in the arts of duplicity and deception. His settled policy looked toward the acquisition of territory and the strengthening of the royal power. Several of the great appanages were added to the royal domain during his reign, and two most important acquisitions were made on the eastern frontier. In 1477, at the death of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, his duchy was seized by Louis XI., and in 1481 he got possession of Provence by the death of the last Anjou, who declared Louis XI. his heir. In this way the eastern boundary of France was much extended. Louis XI. established provincial parliaments, thereby dividing and weakening the body that was most able to hinder the growth of the royal power. His successor, Charles VIII. (1483–98), increased his possessions by the addition of Brittany (1491). This practically completed the unification of France, although there were still several provinces which were yet to be incorporated with the royal domain. This was reserved for the sixteenth century to accomplish. The power of the king was now rapidly increasing, while that of the feudal nobility was practically broken. The king was ruler in fact as well as in name. With the whole of France in his hands the way was open for Charles VIII. to look abroad. His invasion of Italy (1494) marks the beginning of a new era in French history. The country was practically united, and her superfluous strength was now to be used in the endeavor to extend her boundaries by the conquest of peoples of a different nationality.

Louis XI., 1461–83.

The unification of France.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LESSER COUNTRIES OF EUROPE TO 1500

In this chapter it is proposed to give, in the briefest manner possible, a bird's-eye view of those parts of Europe which played no great rôle in the Middle Age, but were nevertheless engaged in the slow process of political development.

Spain.

In the northern part of Spain there were gradually formed certain principalities, such as the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, and Navarre, and the counties of Catalonia and Portugal. About 1040 Leon and Castile were united, and a hundred years later Aragon and Catalonia were made one. The county of Portugal was established about 1095. It was practically independent and in 1139 became a kingdom. About 1250 Navarre established relations with France, and for a long time had little in common with the rest of the peninsula.

When the Ommiad Khalifate came to an end (1031), five large Mohammedan kingdoms were established (Toledo, Seville, Cordova, Saragossa, and Badajoz), besides a great many little independent principalities. The struggle between these and the small Christian states on the north was constantly carried on during the Middle Age, and the Christians slowly won territory after territory from them. In 1086 the Mohammedans called on the Almoravides of northwest Africa for help. This resulted in the destruction of the Christian army, indeed, but also in the conquest of the Spanish emirs, and the establishment of the Almoravides as rulers of Mohammedan Spain. About fifty years later (1145) another sect having risen to power in Africa, the Almohades crossed the strait and in a few years de-

feated the Almoravides and united all Mohammedan Spain under themselves. Their rule also was of short duration. In the year 1212 the Christians were able to destroy their power. Before the end of the thirteenth century all of Spain was again in the hands of the Christians except the southeastern part, which formed a principality known as Granada. This remained Mohammedan until 1492, when Ferdinand and Isabella conquered it and completed the unification of Spain.

Fall of the Moors, 1492.

Castile and Aragon had meanwhile become the most powerful states and gradually absorbed all the others. Sicily and Sardinia were added to Aragon during the last years of the thirteenth century. The consolidation of the two leading Spanish states was accomplished (1474) by the marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon. The union of Spain was soon after completed and she was prepared to take her place among the leading states of Europe.

In 1095, when king Alphonso gave the county of Portugal to his son-in-law, Henry of Burgundy, it consisted of only the small territory between the Douro and Minho rivers. In 1139, after a great victory over the Moors, the count was made a king, and from that time on the struggle with the Mohammedans for territory went steadily forward. In about one hundred years the kingdom was extended to nearly its present boundaries. The Portuguese turned their attention to the sea and became the most daring sailors and explorers in the world. The Madeira and the Azore Islands were taken and added to their possessions. In the fifteenth century their voyages of discovery were directed by Prince Henry, known as "the Navigator." Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, discovered a route around the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies (1498), thereby increasing Portuguese commerce and enabling her to get possession of many islands. Another result of this discovery was to diminish the amount of trade between the east and west, which had been carried on by

Portugal.

way of the eastern Mediterranean, whose great ports now began to lose their importance. Portugal's activity on the sea was so great that she competed with the larger countries of Europe for the control of the new world which was just then being discovered and opened up.

Netherlands.

The territory now known as the Netherlands (Holland and Belgium) was slow in attaining a complete independence and a separate national existence. It was a part of the Empire of Karl the Great, and in the division of 843 (Verdun) was given to Lothar. Nearly all the territory west of the Rhine from Basel to the North Sea was called Lotharingia, and came to be divided into two parts, upper and lower. The latter comprised all the territory north of the Moselle river. It included, therefore, nearly all of modern Belgium and Holland. Following the feudal tendency Lotharingia broke up into several fiefs, most of which succeeded in rendering themselves practically free from foreign control. Among these feudal principalities were the counties of Namur, Hainault, Luxemburg, Holland, Gelderland, and others; the episcopal sees of Liège, Cambrai, and Utrecht; and the duchies of Brabant and Limburg. To the west of these lay the county of Flanders, which had been able to break away from the kingdom of France and become practically independent. The growth and power of the cities in all this territory were remarkable. Their inhabitants became rich from industry and commerce, and early took part in the communal revolt. They naturally wished to be free from Germany and France, one or the other of which had sovereign claims over all this land, and hence were the allies of England in the Hundred Years' War. Their progress in civilization was rapid, and during this period they laid the foundation of the strength which they were to develop in the sixteenth century in their tremendous struggle with Spain.

During the last years of the fourteenth century and the first of the fifteenth the French dukes of Burgundy got possession by

marriage and conquest of almost all of these little independent territories after they had seriously weakened themselves by making war on each other. By the marriage of Mary of Burgundy, the daughter of Charles the Bold, with Maximilian of Austria (1477), afterward Emperor, the Netherlands came into the possession of the House of Hapsburg. The Emperor, Charles V. (1519–55), inherited them from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, and gave them to his son, Philip II. of Spain. Against him and his misrule they revolted and carried on an heroic war for eighty years. The history of this revolt belongs, however, to another period.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

The conquests and settlements of the Norsemen have already been described. In the ninth and tenth centuries Denmark was united into one kingdom. One of the greatest of its sovereigns was Knut, whose conquest and government of England have already been recounted. The kingdom of Denmark had a period of considerable power, but this was followed by another of decadence. Sweden also became a kingdom in the ninth and tenth centuries. Christianity was thoroughly established there by about 1050. Norway was not united until about the year 1000. For some centuries the history of these countries is but a confused succession of wars and civil strife.

In 1363 Waldemar Atterdag, king of Denmark, married his daughter Margaret to King Haco VI. This Haco was the son of Magnus Smek, who had become king of both Norway and Sweden. After reigning for several years Magnus had been compelled by the nobility to surrender the crown of Sweden to his eldest son, Eric, and that of Norway to another son, the Haco VI. mentioned above. After a long civil war Haco was the only representative of his family left alive, but the Swedes refused to accept him and elected Albert of Mecklenburg as their king. In 1365 Waldemar Atterdag died, and Margaret secured the crown of Denmark for her son Olaf. Her husband, Haco VI. of Norway, died 1380, and Mar

garet took possession of that country also for Olaf. Denmark and Norway were, therefore, united under one ruler. Although Olaf was king in the two countries, his mother Margaret was the real ruler. At his death (1387) she was elected queen in Norway and regent in Denmark. Since 1380 Margaret had also assumed the title of queen of Sweden, although Albert of Mecklenburg had been chosen its king in 1365. Margaret now began a war on him to make good her claims to the crown of Sweden. For some years the struggle continued, but Margaret was in the end victorious. In 1396 she had one of her nephews, Eric, crowned king of the three countries, and in 1397, by the union of Calmar, they were firmly united. Theoretically, the union of Calmar put the three countries on the same plane. In reality, Denmark was the leading power and dominated the other two. Sweden made several attempts to revolt and gain her independence, but without success, till the appearance of Gustavus Vasa (1523). Norway, however, remained united to Denmark till 1814.

Hungary.

The victory of Emperor Otto I. over the Hungarians on the Lech (955) put an end to their invasions to the west. During the tenth century Christianity was introduced among them from Germany and Constantinople. In the year 1000 their duke, Stephen, sent to Rome to ask for the establishment of an independent Hungarian archbishopric at Gran, and also that he himself be made king. Both petitions were granted, and he became the subject of the Pope. In the time of Henry III., in consequence of a heathen reaction, the Christian king, Peter, was driven out. Henry III. restored him by force of arms and made him his vassal. The relation was little more than nominal, because the German Emperors were so taken up with their problems in the west that they had no time to attend to Hungary. Croatia was added to Hungary (1091), although afterward lost for a short time. German influence was felt all along the western frontier, and especially through the Saxon immigrants, who were invited at various times to settle

in different parts of Hungary, more particularly in the south-east districts now known as Siebenbuergen (Transylvania). The country suffered terribly under the invasion of the Mongols (from 1241 on), but the devastated countries were repeopled with Germans. The family of Stephen (the Arpad dynasty) held the throne till 1301, when it became extinct, and the crown went to an Angevin of the French family of Charles of Anjou, who had established himself as king of Sicily and Naples. After the failure of this dynasty (1437) the crown was fought over for nearly one hundred years. The country was gradually weakened by this strife, and at the same time the Turks invaded it. Solyman II. was able to destroy the Hungarian army at the battle of Mohacs (1526), and to get possession of a large part of Hungary, which he held for nearly one hundred and fifty years. The rest of the country passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs and was added to Austria, but always enjoyed a measure of independence.

Poland.

In consequence of the efforts of Otto I. to extend Christianity, and, at the same time, German influence to the east, several bishoprics (Merseburg, Zeitz, Meissen, Havelberg, Brandenburg) were established under the archbishop of Magdeburg. These were the missionaries to the Slavs. Duke Mieczislav of Poland did homage to Otto I. and received the rite of baptism. Christianity spread among the Poles. The process of Germanizing them, however, was checked by the establishment of Gnesen as an archbishopric (1000) directly under the Pope. This secured Poland an independent ecclesiastical development, and also the preservation of its nationality. Duke Boleslav I. first took the title of king. In the eleventh century Poland consisted of the territory on both sides of the river Warthe. Pomerania was conquered in the next century, and thus Poland acquired a seaboard. The Mongols in the thirteenth century ravaged almost the whole of the country. By the marriage of a Polish princess with the prince Jagello of Lithuania Poland acquired a new

dynasty and all the territory of the Dnieper and Dniester rivers. By some victories over the German Order, established since the thirteenth century on the Baltic, her boundaries were also extended on the north. Her territory at this time reached from the Baltic to the Black Sea. German influence was strong in many parts of Poland, because of the large number of German colonists who settled there. At the end of the Middle Age Poland seemed a powerful state and possessed of great possibilities. The nobility, however, was omnipotent, and the common people oppressed with too great burdens. The dynasty of Jagello died out in 1572, and the crown became elective. The quarrels that arose over the recurring royal election were to be the cause of Poland's destruction. She lost her sea-coast, and having no good natural boundaries, could not resist dismemberment.

Russia.

The settlements of the Norsemen at Novgorod and Kiev, and the dynasty established by them, have already been spoken of. These settlements were united about 900 A.D., and shortly afterward were Christianized from Constantinople. The political chaos of the next centuries was very great. The Mongols established themselves north of the Black Sea, and compelled all the principalities of Russia to pay tribute. A large part of Russia continued subject to them till the end of the fifteenth century, when Ivan III. threw off the yoke. He also reduced all the independent principalities and took the title of Czar. He built the royal palace at Moscow (the Kremlin), and laid the foundation for the growth of Russia in the next centuries.

The Greek Empire.

The Greek Empire was engaged in constant struggle with the Mohammedans. The Seldjuk Turks, as we have seen, conquered nearly all the Imperial possessions in Asia. In spite of all the efforts that were made about the time of the crusades to drive them out of Asia Minor, they kept a firm hold upon a part of it. The Osman Turks came from central Asia about the middle of the fourteenth cen-

tury and began a brilliant career of conquest. They soon won territory in Europe. From this time they encroached steadily on the territory of the Empire. All the Balkan Peninsula was conquered by them, and they extended their sway far north beyond the Danube. The fall of Constantinople (1453) marks the end of the Byzantine Empire. While Mohammedanism was being utterly driven out of Spain, it was firmly establishing itself on the Balkan Peninsula, from which vantage ground it was yet to threaten some of the Christian states of Europe.

CHAPTER XX

GERMANY, 1254–1493

I. The death of Conrad IV. (1254) marks the end of the Hohenstaufen kingship in Germany. No king succeeded in gaining general recognition for twenty years. This period (1254–73) is therefore called the *interregnum*. William of Holland (till 1256) and, later, Richard, duke of Cornwall (brother of Henry III., king of England), and Alphonse X. of Castile are proclaimed king, each by a small party, but their rule is nothing but a farce. Universal anarchy prevails. Since the only law is that which is humorously called Faustrecht (fist-law), every one must help himself as best he can. The cities rise to the occasion. In spite of the untoward conditions of the land, this period is marked by a great development in industry and commerce. The formation of the league of Rhenish cities (1254) for mutual protection against illegal exactions indicates the parallel rise of a healthy political spirit of self-help.

The interregnum.

Finally, the election of Rudolph I. (1273–91) ends the political confusion. Rudolph, count of Hapsburg, whose possessions lay in Suabia, was a prince of only secondary rank, and recommended himself to the great territorial princes precisely on this account. These princes wanted an Emperor who was not likely to slip from their control. At his election was seen the consummation of a development which had been preparing for some time. He was chosen by the great princes only, seven in number, and holders of the seven high offices (*Erzaemter*), without the intervention of the lesser nobility. These seven from now on vindicate this right

Rudolph of Hapsburg.

to themselves, and we shall soon see this, at first merely customary practice, receiving the sanction of law. Of the seven electors (*Kurfuersten*), three are spiritual and four lay princes. They are the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine.[1]

Change in the character of the monarchy. Ottokar of Bohemia.

With the accession of Rudolph the German monarchy signally changes character. Occasionally, dreamers or ambitious politicians, like Henry VII. and Charles IV., show an inclination to revert to the old idea of the world-monarchy, for the sake of which so many imperial families ruined themselves, and all but ruined their state, but from Rudolph on, the elected German kings stay well at home, on the whole, and content themselves with their German monarchy. What is more strictly called the Middle Age was at last passing away for Germany, as well as for the rest of Europe, and its high-flying idealism was replaced in the new epoch by a sober realism which looked well to material interests. Rudolph affords an immediate illustration. In spite of tempting invitations from the Pope, who was in terror from those same Angevins whom he had summoned to Naples to replace the Hohenstaufen, he shrewdly declined to enter what he called "the lion's cave." This was not cowardice, for Rudolph was a brave, simple, and effective man. He preferred to attend to nearer business first. And there was such in profusion. He had not entered upon office without opposition. Ottokar, King of Bohemia, who had created a large empire in the east of Germany, composed of German and Slav elements, tried to render himself independent of the Empire. On the Marchfeld (near Vienna) he was defeated and killed (1278) and Rudolph confiscated his possessions. Bohemia proper he returned to Ottokar's son, but Austria and

[1] The seven high offices were distributed as follows: The three spiritual princes were chancellors respectively of the three integral parts of the Empire: Germany, Italy, and Burgundy; Bohemia was cup-bearer, the count palatine was seneschal, Saxony marshal, Brandenburg chamberlain.

Styria he kept for his own house. Rudolph's hereditary possessions were very small, and this chance for making so considerable an addition to them, came very opportunely at a period when the imperial office itself put no reliable resources at the disposal of the Emperor, either in the form of an army or of money, and his authority was dependent in the last instance upon his house-wealth. The centre of gravity of the Hapsburg dominions was thus removed to Austria and Vienna, and it has remained fixed there ever since. After his personal interests had thus been provided for, Rudolph found time for Germany. He travelled extensively from point to point, hearing complaints, judging violence, and putting down anarchy. The necessity of such a peace-bringer after the chaotic interregnum may be inferred from the fact, that along the Main and Rhine alone he destroyed one hundred and forty robber strongholds.

Adolph and Albrecht.

The election of Adolph of Nassau (1292–98) as Rudolph's successor illustrated another fact of importance in connection with the changed character of the monarchy. Theoretically, the monarchy had always been elective, but the great Emperors of the Middle Age had had no difficulty in creating a certain predilection for hereditary succession, and the Saxon, Franconian, and Suabian Emperors had followed each other in hereditary order as long as there were any direct heirs left. At the death of Rudolph the weakened condition of the monarchy was emphasized by the refusal of the electors to take his successor from the Hapsburg line. Their choice fell upon Adolph of Nassau. Adolph of Nassau was another prince of the second order from whom the great dukes had nothing to fear. When he attempted to form a strong house-power, something after the fashion of Rudolph, the princes deserted him, and set up as his rival Albrecht of Austria, Rudolph's son. Having defeated Adolph at Goellheim, he becomes his successor.

Albrecht I. (1298–1308) was a politician of intelligence and

energy. He saw that the thing needed was to strengthen the central power, and for this reason he leaned upon the cities, whose enemies, like his own, were the princes. Furthermore, he tried to get new territories directly into his hands, but here he was generally unsuccessful. His threatening attitude toward the Swiss prepared their wars of liberation. The story of Albrecht's cruel agent, Gessler, and his murder by the heroic Tell, is laid in this reign, but has no support in fact. However, it was Albrecht's greed for territory that cost him his life. His nephew, John, called Parricida, murdered him as he was crossing the Reuss, for withholding from him his hereditary dominion.

Albrecht of Austria.

Henry VII., of the House of Luxemburg, succeeded him (1308–13). He was a man of talents, determined to make his office count for order and well-being. Since he, too, was a poor prince, the extinction of the male line of Ottokar of Bohemia at this moment proved a lucky windfall. Henry promptly married his son John to Elizabeth of the Bohemian line, and so secured for his family a strong house-power adjoining Austria. Then his attention was drawn to Italy by a succession of loud appeals to him. It was the period of the rise of the tyrants, and an unutterable confusion, mixed with oppression, filled the peninsula.[1] It was long since an Emperor had been seen there, but the imperial rights were still alive. A chivalrous character like Henry's could not remain deaf to appeals which were addressed to him in the name of charity and duty.[2] It was the time of the great Ghibelline poet Dante (1265–1321), and in his epic, "The Divine Comedy," and in his essay, "De Monarchia," he has left us an imperishable expression of his party's political faith and hopes.

Henry VII.

[1] "All the cities are full of tyrants, and every clown who plays at faction rises to authority."—Dante, Purg., VI., 124. See for further facts on Italy, Chapter XVII.

[2] "Come to see your Rome, which weeps, widowed and alone, and calls out day and night: 'My Cæsar, wherefore does he not attend me?'" etc. —Purg., VI., 112.

But the revival of imperialism in Italy was a dream. Henry received both the Lombard and imperial crowns, but after a few successes in the north, of no permanent character, and a signal failure before the walls of Guelph Florence, he died suddenly near Pisa (1313).

There followed a disputed election. The Luxemburg party, finding John, king of Bohemia and son of Henry VII., too young, put up Louis of Bavaria (House of Wittelsbach), while the Hapsburg party elected Frederick the Fair of Austria. A long civil war between the two contestants was concluded by the battle of Muehldorf (1322), in which the Austrian party was defeated and Frederick captured. In the pact signed by the combatants, Frederick had to acknowledge Louis as Emperor, but secured for himself the title of King of the Romans, together with the regency during the absence of the Emperor. This settlement enabled Louis to go to Italy (1326), where, in the absence of the Pope at Avignon, he received the imperial crown, against the established custom, from a layman, the syndic of the Roman commune, Sciarra Colonna, but accomplished toward the settlement of the peninsula even less than Henry VII. It was with difficulty that he persuaded any German princes to follow him, and the Italians hardly minded his presence. So his visit marks another plunge downward of imperialism, but, at the same time, shows how obstinately the dead chimera persisted in some heads. "To destroy the Empire," Louis could still write in good faith to Pope John XXII., "is to put the Church itself in confusion and to sow heresy and discord."

Louis of Bavaria.

Meanwhile he was engaged in a hot struggle with the Papacy, resident since the beginning of the century (1309) at Avignon, and dominated by French influence. John XXII., still filled with the inherited aggressive ideas, had abruptly ended a dispute with Louis concerning the appointment of a royal Vicar in Italy by

Louis's struggle with the Papacy.

declaring Louis deposed. Then he proceeded to reassert the old claims of the Papacy to the effect that the Emperor had to be confirmed by the Pope, and that during an interregnum the rights of the office devolved upon the curia. A fierce war of pamphlets ensued, in which Louis was supported by a wing of the Franciscans, which had quarrelled with the Pope on account of his anti-christian living, and by some of the best lay minds of Europe. Marsilius of Padua, especially, made a deep impression with his sweeping arraignment of the Papacy in the *Defensor Pacis* (Defender of Peace) in which he denies the Pope a right to territorial power and subjects him to the General Council of the Church. Finally, the Empire itself was moved to take official action with regard to the Pope's claims, which, if allowed, threatened its own independence, as well as that of the Emperor. The electors met at Rense (1338), and there solemnly declared that the German king was created by them, and that his confirmation by the Pope was superfluous. This was an act of national assertion which deserves to be set side by side with the similar measure of the French estates of 1302 with reference to the exorbitant claims of Boniface VIII. The nations, and even discordant Germany among them, were cutting loose from the second hampering international institution, the Church, just as they had freed themselves of the Empire a century or two before. National manners and national institutions were everywhere receiving an increasing attention.

The contest between Louis and Charles of Luxemburg.

The harmony established between Louis and the princes of the Empire by the act of Rense did not continue to the end. Driven by the necessities of his impoverished condition, he used his office, like every other Emperor of this epoch, to increase his hereditary dominion. Brandenburg and some of the provinces of the Netherlands were acquired by him. His plot to get the Tyrol involved him in a violent conflict with Charles of Bohemia, grandson of Henry VII., which ended in Charles

being put up as rival German king (1346). In the midst of the new struggle Louis died (1347), whereupon Charles reigned alone.

It was at this time that there were laid the foundations of what is now Switzerland. The history of the origin of this state takes us back to the last Hohenstaufen. During the reign of Frederick II., the two forest cantons of Uri and Schwyz had acquired letters-patent from the Emperor, by which they were freed from the sovereignty of the counts of Hapsburg, whose territory lay in that part of Germany (southern Suabia). In 1291 representatives from these two cantons met with some of Unterwalden, where the Hapsburgs still had seignorial rights, and swore to protect each other as confederates (Eidgenossen) against every attack upon their liberties. This is the beginning of the Swiss confederation. These simple, hardy peasants, neatherds, and foresters, who had preserved much of the old Teutonic vigor, and even many of the old Teutonic institutions in their isolated mountain homes, had never been assimilated to the feudal system, and now that it began to irritate them with restrictions on their freedom, they resolved to shake it off. The fact that their feudal lords, the Hapsburgs, had risen to the Empire in Rudolph and Albrecht did not frighten them from their resolution. They even ventured upon encroachments of the neighboring territory. This was more than Hapsburg pride and patience would submit to, and Leopold, brother of Frederick the Fair, who was engaged in contesting the Empire with Louis of Bavaria, invaded their territory with the flower of Austrian chivalry to visit them with condign punishment. At Morgarten (1315) the Confederates suddenly fell upon Leopold, and his proud feudal armament was annihilated by low-born bands of peasants, equipped at random with axes and pitchforks. It was a spectacle new and surprising to the world, prophetic of the passing of knighthood and many antiquated things besides. Owing to this success of the confederation new adhesions gradually poured in, until by the mid-

Origin of Switzerland.

dle of the century, Zurich and Bern having joined their lot to their neighbors, the confederation embraced the so-called eight old cantons (Orte). It was repeatedly called upon to defend itself against the Hapsburgs and their feudal allies of Suabia, but with the battle of Sempach (1386), won over another Leopold, it raised itself beyond danger from princely authority. This battle was, in its character of peasant versus baron, a repetition of Morgarten, and the touching story of Arnold of Winkelried, who is said to have made the first breach in the serried ranks of the enemy by gathering to his breast as many spears as he could grasp, truthfully illustrates the style of manhood destined in the new social order to supersede the knight.

With Charles IV. (1347–78) the Luxemburgers again received the crown, and held it with a slight intermission for ninety years. Charles is still famous among the Bohemians. He favored his hereditary kingdom as much as lay in his power, and acquired a wreath of new provinces all around it. With Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia added to Bohemia, that state acquired an unusual importance. Its capital, Prague, was variously enriched. Charles loved study, and founded there the first university of Germany (1348); he loved the arts, and drew there the best German artists of the day (Prague School of Painting). But if he proved efficient as a local ruler, he cut only a sorry figure as Emperor.[1] However, it is only fair to remember that perhaps even a Barbarossa could not have done any better as things stood. Charles completely resigned himself to the impotent position to which the course of history had reduced his office, and even gave that impotence the sanction of the law. The Golden Bull,[2] which he issued in 1356, reduced the functions of the king, the king's relations to the princes, and the princes' sovereign

Charles IV. of Luxemburg.

[1] The Emperor Maximilian used to say of him, "He was indeed Bohemia's father, but the Empire's stepfather."

[2] Called so from the golden capsule containing the imperial seal (bulla) which was attached to important documents.

rights, all of which matters had hitherto had, more or less, a loose customary character, to inflexible forms, and became the fundamental law or constitution of the Empire. It was an act gratefully received by the electors, whose newly acquired powers it duly confirmed. By its terms the electorates were definitely fixed at seven, and assigned to the princes whom we saw officiating at Rudolph's election. The electors, furthermore, got full jurisdiction in their own lands and the regalian rights (mint, taxes, etc.). The Golden Bull is a very important measure in the development of the federal character of the German constitution.

The Italian policy of Charles.

Charles's Italian policy was as little creditable to him as his German policy. In 1354 he crossed the Alps to receive the imperial crown. There were still Ghibellines willing to gather to his banner, but he thought only of turning the Empire's few remaining rights in Italy to cash, and hurried back as soon as possible. His second journey (1368) had no better issue. The Italians scoffed at his poor retinue and military weakness, and well disclosed their general attitude toward him by their treatment of him at Siena, where he—the Emperor of the world !—had the key turned on him in the palace one day, and was almost starved.

Charles in the kingdom of Burgundy. Dissolution of Burgundy.

He also made an attempt to save, at least, the name of authority in the old kingdom of Arles or Burgundy, and had himself crowned there in 1365. But it was vain for the Empire in its weakened state to hope to hold this remote province much longer. Burgundy was bound to go the way of Italy, and to split like it into independent states or be absorbed by more powerful neighbors. All through the thirteenth century it had gradually been breaking up into disconnected and more or less independent lordships, Dauphiné, Provence, Savoy, Franche Comté, etc., and, one after another, these had succumbed or were destined to succumb to the natural attraction exercised upon them by the expanding kingdom of France.

It was well for Germany that people of German stock, although unsupported by their government, had meanwhile been engaged in making good for her by conquest in the east what she was losing in the west. It will be remembered that the Teutonic Order of Knights had been founded during the crusades, about contemporaneously with the Templars and the Hospitalers, to fight the heathen and do offices of Christian charity. Chance diverted them from their original field of activity in Palestine to a more useful one in the northeast of Europe. The heathen Prussians, living along the south shore of the Baltic, had long resisted every attempt at Christianization. In 1226 the case was brought to the attention of Hermann von Salza, the grand master of the Order, and he was not slow to take it up. He acquired from Frederick II. a grant of the land to be conquered, and immediately bands of these soldier-monks, whose picturesque figures clad in white mantles adorned in front with emblematic black crosses, appeal to our imagination, streamed from all parts of Germany to the Baltic. For the rest of the century they were engaged in steady, hard fighting against the heathen Prussians, who, with a commendable stubbornness, generally preferred extermination to submission. As soon as a district was conquered by the soldier, the farmer and artisan, called in from the west, took it in occupation, and German civilization began to flourish where heathenism had dwelt before. By union with a similar local Order, the Order of the Sword, not only Prussia proper, but also Livonia and Esthonia were conquered within the next hundred years.

German expansion toward the east. The Teutonic Order.

The territory having been won, it had also to be defended. It was only natural that the neighbors, notably Poland, should regard the Order's greatness with envy. Thus the knights found before them employment and high service in plenty, and by such incentives long maintained their manly vigor. This colonization of Prussia was in progress while Louis of Bavaria and Charles IV. were daily exhibiting, as we have seen, the

increasing weakness of the monarchy. The further fortunes of the German Order, as far as the Middle Age reveals them, can be conveniently anticipated here. After two hundred years of prosperity the Order declined. The knights forgot their military cunning and were utterly defeated in 1410, at Tannenberg, by the king of Poland. That would not have meant catastrophe by itself. The Order might first have reorganized its ranks and then relit its spirit by placing itself at the head of a national movement against the threatening Slav. It did neither the one thing nor the other. It fell only into greater dissipation, and, instead of satisfying the cry of the colonists for a national parliament, stuck obstinately to the traditional arbitrary government exercised by itself. The estates (nobles and burgesses) resolved to help themselves. They made common cause with the Poles against their oppressors, and after a long war, ended finally by the Treaty of Thorn (1466), the Order was reduced to cede one-half of its dominion (West Prussia) to Poland outright, and, after having given up the second half (East Prussia), received it back again in fief from the Polish crown. The ludicrous weakness of the Empire during this period is illustrated by its absolute deafness to the continuous appeals for help addressed to it by the unfortunate defenders of this German outpost.

Charles IV. managed by bribery to secure the succession for his son Wenzel (1378–1400). Wenzel's naturally small talents were soon utterly dissipated in debaucheries. He became a confirmed drunkard, and that at a time when supreme gifts would hardly have sufficed for the situation. For his reign was marked by the outbreak of a long-expected civil war.

Wenzel.

We have already noted that the cities flourished everywhere in the thirteenth century under the stimulus of industry and commerce. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this movement reached its height. The cities were of two kinds: imperial cities (Reichsstaedte), subject to the Emperor only,

and seignorial cities (Landesstaedte), subject to the princes.[1] Both classes of cities, thanks to their continual possession of ready coin and the continual dearth of that very necessary article with Emperor and princes alike, had gradually purchased a great number of privileges, so that by this time—and it is especially true of the imperial cities — they governed themselves like so many free republics. The power was usually in the hands of a comparatively few wealthy and ancient families (Patriciate). From among these were elected the burgomaster and the assisting council (Rath), who together formed the magistracy. The increasing industrial population was divided into guilds (Zuenfte), and these, induced by the consciousness of their strength, were beginning, during the fourteenth century, to aspire to a share in the government.

The cities: their government.

The first concern of the cities was the security of their commerce, and since the central government could not procure them a general peace (Landesfrieden), it was only natural that they should band together for protection. We have heard of such a league of Rhenish cities formed as early as the *interregnum*, but this and all similar organizations of the Rhine region were easily eclipsed by the Suabian League (founded 1344), which came to embrace all the cities of southwestern and southern Germany. So formidable an organization was felt by the princes and the knights who had just been taught a lesson by the free Swiss (Sempach, 1386), to be a threat, and was soon answered by a similar confederation on their part. So the new and old society armed for a great conflict. The war broke out under Wenzel and ended in the complete discomfiture of the cities at Doeffingen (1388) at the hands of Eberhard of Wuertemberg, who led the united leagues of princes and knights. However, the consequences of the defeat were not as grievous as

The cities: their protective leagues.

[1] Compare with these two classes of cities the communes and the villes de bourgeoisie in France, Chapter XVI.

might have been expected. In spite of the prohibition put upon the cities to form leagues in the future, they were still concluded from time to time as necessity required. There was an irrepressible energy in the citizens which allowed them to live down all checks. Even the internal tumults, brought about by the rivalry between patriciate and guilds, caused no permanent disturbance of prosperity, although the domestic struggle had reached its acme during the late war and continued some time to come. Finally, the guilds almost everywhere forged their way to the front. They acquired a due representation in the council (Rath), and even in some few cases (Regensburg) excluded the patriciate from the government altogether. On the other hand, an occasional city, like Nuernberg, successfully maintained its aristocratic character in spite of democratic disturbances.

The Hanse.

The north of Germany had at the same time organized a similar league of cities, which in fame, riches, and success far outstripped its southern competitor. It called itself the Hanse. Hanse is a word of Low German origin by which was designated an alliance of German merchants resident abroad. When the expansion of industry and commerce, which marks the thirteenth century in Germany, had largely increased the number of German traders and the amount of German trade in foreign parts, and thus made home unions necessary for purposes of a protection which the weak central government could not give, the name Hanse was transferred to the league of cities which undertook that task.[1] The Hanse grew very rapidly during the fourteenth century. Its highway was the Baltic, and its end the development and monopoly of the trade of all the Baltic states. In the period of its greatest vigor (1350–1500) it included all the important coast and even inland cities of North Germany from Holland to the newly conquered territories of the German knights in

[1] The word soon invaded foreign tongues. There was a Hanse of Paris, a Hanse of London, etc.

Prussia and Livonia, and had outposts or factories in Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and England. Novgorod and London were the limits, east and west, of its activity. The Scandinavian countries were reduced to economic vassalage and their imports and exports alike were carried in vessels that floated the Hanseatic flag. When the Danish kings, who naturally chafed under this tutelage, tried in the person of Waldemar IV. to shake it off, a signal defeat (1370) was the consequence, and Denmark became also politically dependent upon the great confederation by pledging itself to accept no king without its confirmation. For the next hundred years it may be said that the Hanse held the north in fee.

The organization of the Hanse.

During its best period the Hanse numbered about eighty-five cities. These were divided into four quarters, of which the cities of Luebeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Danzig, respectively, were the centres. Luebeck, largely because of its favorable position, which made it central with reference to the cities of the league and still gave it an exit upon the Baltic, was easily the most prominent. It was recognized, too, as capital, the league directory and treasury being located there. This directory served as executive of the Hanse and was dependent upon a general parliament of Hanseatic delegates, which controlled the mint, provided for the security of the highways, voted moneys, and declared war. It also served as a strong support of the local patriciates, who here, as in the south, held the reins of government in their hands, and, it may be added, kept them in spite of the democratic aspirations. For, on the whole, democracy was not so strong in the commercial north as in the industrial south, where the numerous artisan guilds, more significant in a society of craftsmen than among traders, formed its backbone. It was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century (Reformation) that the decay of the league began. A number of causes then operated together to transfer its commerce to other parts. In the first place, England, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries grew

economically more independent. Then the discovery of America and the new passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope threw commerce into other channels. Finally, there were internal disruptions. But all that lies beyond our period.

The cities are the centres of order and civilization.

As we cast our eye in a comprehensive survey over the Germany of this epoch we are not struck by a pleasant picture. We observe the impotent national government; we are disgusted by the selfish and usurping electors, princes, and bishops, who, though averse to imperial authority, cannot preserve order within their dominions and put an end to the desolating private warfare; we note the knights, especially strong in South Germany, who, without respect for peace and law, try to replenish their exhausted pockets by highway robbery from the burghers; we observe these conditions and by them note at what a hopelessness of social disorder the feudal system had arrived. But the picture is not yet complete. There are still the cities to take into account, and these are the points of light illuminating at frequent intervals the dark chaos. With their commercial initiative, their artisan skill, their democratic spirit, their civic love of law, they represent the vigorous germs of the modern social and political system, which will be ready to supplant the old mediæval order at its expected passing. And these cities are laying the foundation of a new culture, too. It is the period of the Gothic style in architecture. The town-halls, churches, and residences of Nuernberg, Augsburg, and Strassburg date in their best elements from this period. An honorable public pride begins the celebrated cathedral piles of the Rhine and Danube valleys. The cathedral of Cologne was begun in 1248 (choir consecrated 1322), of Strassburg in 1277, and of Ulm in 1377. Sculpture adorns the market-places with fountains, and painting, after the invention of the oil-technique in Flanders, by the Van Eyck brothers, decorates the church interiors. In 1440, John Gutenberg of Mainz, first made use of movable types, which marks the beginning of the art of printing,

and the great reproductive arts of engraving and wood-cutting were, if not invented in these thriving cities, at least widely practised there and largely improved. So these German cities present, during the later Middle Age, a picture of busy activity of a high order. Æneas Sylvius, afterward Pope Pius II. (1458-64), was filled with wonder by them. He wrote: "No people in Europe has cleaner cities. Their appearance is as new as if they had been built yesterday. They pile up riches. At meals the citizens drink out of silver beakers, and there is no burgher's wife without her jewelry." Æneas Sylvius was an Italian and had Siena, Florence, and Venice, with their great wealth and culture, to serve as standards of comparison.

Wenzel proved so flagrantly incapable that he had to be deposed (1400). Rupert of the Palatinate became his successor (1400–10). Rupert was a well-intentioned man, but the national kingship was altogether too hopeless an institution to bring success or profit to any one. His gilded misery is eloquently exhibited by his testament. He ordered that his crown and jewels be sold at his death to pay the bills of the Heidelberg tradesmen!

Rupert of the Palatinate.

About this time the Vehmic Court took a marked development. The Vehmic court, or Vehme,[1] was a peculiar outgrowth of German conditions. It was a court of law, which, though it was no part of the regular judicial machinery, assumed jurisdiction over capital crimes and heresy, and acquired such power that its sentences never failed to be executed. Its origin lies in Westphalia, and it is customary to regard it as a relic of the ancient count's court (Grafengericht) of Karl the Great. Possibly it maintained itself among the free peasants of that region because it seemed to them an honorable Teutonic practice. Its essence was the acknowledged right of every freeman to be tried for capital

The Vehmic court.

[1] Origin and jurisdiction of this court are still much mooted. The word means "punishment." See the curious theory of Thudichum in his "Femgericht und Inquisition."

crime by a jury of peers who served as justices (Schoeppen). Now, owing to the general breakdown of the Empire, this court, which stood for the simple Teutonic notion that every freeman had an interest in maintaining the social order, gained a wide popularity and multiplied rapidly. As it entered into competition, however, with the local and official princes' courts, it was often reduced to hold its sessions in secret, and, as its sentences, in most cases, fell like thunder-bolts out of a clear sky, it got the reputation of an awful mysteriousness which was hardly justified. The fact that men, whom the Vehmic court had condemned, were found dead upon the streets of a city where it had no recognized existence, struck the contemporary imagination with terror. But those men were generally the thieves, robbers, and disturbers of the peace, so frequent in that anarchic day. The Vehmic court was, in a word, an effective system of self-help in a period of violence, and it was for that reason that several Emperors, notably Rupert, formally recognized it. However, it was irregular, and therefore abusive, from the first. When the regular courts would do the work of keeping down violence, as society had a right to demand of them, it would become superfluous and could be abolished. That duly occurs about the beginning of the modern period (1500).

Sigismund. Council of Constance.

The death of Rupert occasioned a disputed election. A part of the electors gave their suffrages to the Luxemburger, Sigismund, brother of Wenzel and king of Hungary; a part put up Sigismund's cousin, Jobst of Moravia; and, as the deposed Wenzel still held obstinately to his title, there was now the unusual number—unusual even for distracted Germany—of three Emperors. By a strange coincidence the Empire's spiritual counterpart, the Church, fell into a similar anarchy at the same time. A third Pope, elected by the Council of Pisa (1409) to supplant the other two and heal the Schism, which was then raging, could not obtain a general recognition, and so only in-

volved the situation further. Three Emperors matched by three Popes could not fail to draw the ridicule of the world upon the institutions for which they stood. However, the confusion of the Empire was solved first. In 1411 Jobst died and Wenzel resigned his title to his brother. Sigismund (1410–37) could now give his undivided attention to the ecclesiastical Schism. To reform the Church was an old imperial right and duty (Otto I., Henry III.). Sigismund thought the reform would be best accomplished by a General Council. A Council was proclaimed, and met accordingly at Constance (1414), and, after much debate, got its immediate business settled by deposing all the papal claimants and electing Martin V. Pope (1417).

Of more direct importance for Germany are two German events with which this Council connects its name. The first is the investiture, by the Emperor, of Frederick of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuernberg, with the electorate or mark of Brandenburg (April, 1415). Brandenburg had lost its first line of German princes (Ascanians) in 1319, and, having reverted to the Empire, was absorbed by the then Emperor, Louis of Bavaria. At his death (1347) it gradually succumbed to the encroachments of his successor, Charles IV., of the house of Luxemburg. But both lines, that of Bavaria as well as that of Luxemburg, had made a bad business of the government of Brandenburg, and the mark, representing the advance-guard of Germanism, had fallen into anarchy internally and was threatened by the Slavs without. Now (1415) it was Sigismund's property by right of inheritance, but Sigismund had variously fallen into debt to Frederick of Hohenzollern, and, finally, since insolvency was chronic with him, and hope of payment very small, he resolved on the above settlement in land. Frederick was a practical, virile man. He took firm hold in Brandenburg and soon reëstablished order. Under the Hohenzollern, with whom it continued from now on uninterruptedly,

The Hohenzollern are invested with Brandenburg.

the mark grew steadily, though at easy stages, until after some centuries it developed into the kingdom of Prussia (1701). Prussia has lately achieved the unification of Germany (1871). Sigismund did not dream that he had, in a sense, created in that Hohenzollern margrave a distant successor to himself.

The execution of John Huss.

The second event of German consequence which befell at Constance made far more rumor in the world at the time than the investiture of the Hohenzollern with Brandenburg. On July 6th John Huss was declared a heretic and burned at the stake, in spite of the Emperor's safe-conduct, under which he had ventured on the journey to attend the Council. John Huss (1369–1415) was a Bohemian Czech, and a Professor at the University of Prague. He had come under the influence of the great English heretic, Wiclif (d. 1384), and then had begun to attack the clergy in lectures and pamphlets. He condemned its worldliness, denied its right of secular possessions, and objected to the supremacy of the Pope. The Bible, according to him, ought to be the sole rule of faith. John Huss anticipated the Protestant Revolution by a hundred years. The struggle with Catholicism begun at Prague in this vigorous fashion did not, however, remain a purely religious one. Unfortunately a national and political element invaded it and deflected it from its purpose.

The Hussite wars.

Bohemia was originally inhabited by Czechs, the westernmost branch of the Slav family. German artisans and merchants, however, had long ago begun invading the country and were gradually making a peaceful conquest of it. This the native element resented. Now, when Huss, a native Czech, was burned by a flagrant breach of the imperial promise, the religious and national hatred, which had been long gathering, flamed up wildly against Sigismund, the German Emperor, and when, in 1419, Sigismund became, by the death of his brother Wenzel, lawful king of Bohemia, it burst forth into open insurrection. Urged by indignation and by patriotism the Bohemians enthusiastically adopted the

religious principles of Huss, called themselves Hussites, and under their resolute leader, Ziska, again and again defeated the armies which Sigismund led against them. The Empire's mismanaged feudal levy was no match for an infuriated people which stood shoulder to shoulder in the service of the same inspiring idea. Even Ziska's death (1424) did not give the Hussites pause; they carried the war into Germany and terribly harried Silesia and Saxony. Such heroism would have rendered the Bohemians invincible if they had only remained united. But radical counsels soon dominated many. Schemes were broached looking toward the total abolition of the priesthood and community of goods. Those who engaged in the war for definite, attainable reforms became frightened and retired. Sigismund saw where the lever had to be applied, and, at the Council of Basel, succeeded in persuading the Church to grant to the moderates a few minor points of the matters in dispute, among which concessions the most notable was the permission to laymen to partake of the cup at Holy Communion (1434). The cup had hitherto been reserved to the clergy, and the revolted Bohemian laity had declared that the distinction was odious and unwarranted. The agreement of Basel gradually quieted the country. A large sect henceforth took the communion in both forms (*sub utraque specie*). The members of the sect received the name of Utraquists. This is all the "reform" that came of the Hussite movement, for the Utraquists (called also Calixtines, from *calix*, cup) now joined Sigismund against the radicals (called Taborites, from their assembly-hill near Tabor) and soon crushed them utterly. Therewith order was restored and Sigismund could enter his kingdom to be crowned (1436).

Albrecht II.

The Luxemburg family became extinct in its male branch at Sigismund's death. Albrecht II. of Austria, who, as Sigismund's son-in-law, united the Luxemburg territory to the Austrian possessions, succeeded him also in the Empire (1438–39).

This Albrecht has justly been called the second founder of the Hapsburg dynasty, for he not only reacquired for the Hapsburgs the imperial crown, lost at the death of the first Albrecht (1308), but he also first united under the dominion of his house all the possessions which substantially have composed the Austrian monarchy down to our day. The archduchy of Austria proper, Styria, Carniola, and Tyrol, together with Bohemia and Hungary, were swayed by his sceptre. With a single insignificant exception in the eighteenth century, the German crown now falls regularly to the Hapsburgs until the end of the Empire in 1806.

The ascendency of the house of Hapsburg.

Frederick III. (1440–93), Albrecht's nephew, succeeded him. He was heavy and phlegmatic, and richly merited the misfortune which befell him both in the Empire and in his hereditary dominions. The chronicle of Speier passes this judgment on him: "He was a useless Emperor, and the nation almost forgot, during his long reign, that it had a king." As he had a strong clerical bias, he signalized his accession by undoing the reform work of the Council of Basel by means of a special Concordat concerning papal rights in Germany, which he concluded over the heads of the Council with the Pope himself (1448). In 1452 he was crowned Emperor at Rome, and figures as the last German king who found the honor worth the trouble of the journey. Hereafter the German king takes the title of *imperator electus* immediately on the act of his election at Frankfort. The longing for imperial Rome had finally bled itself to death.

Frederick III. The decay of the Empire.

Nor did the stolid Frederick have any more success than his predecessors in maintaining the general peace of the realm (Landfrieden). Cities and princes carried on their warfare at pleasure during his reign. Frederick himself contributed to the public disturbance by inviting the lawless bands of the Armagnacs from France to assist him in putting down the Swiss, whom the Hapsburgs, in spite of

Troubles of the Empire.

Sempach, had not yet given up the hope of conquering. These French robbers, who had lost their employment in France with the conclusion of the English wars, were diverted from their march upon the Swiss, and horribly harried southwestern Germany with fire and sword until expelled by a popular levy (1444). That is the miserable sum of Frederick's activity in the Empire.

His rule in his own dominions was substantially as great a failure, but it was not characterized, at least, by the same listlessness. He even had a sort of contemplative ambition [1] which helped him stand out against defeat, and, after a while, the habitual Hapsburg luck returned to him and lent an unmerited lustre to his last days. At the beginning of his reign he again lost for his house Bohemia and Hungary, only just acquired. Both of these countries made one final attempt to establish a native line of monarchs in order to preserve their independence. In Bohemia George Podiebrad (d. 1471) was elected to the throne by Utraquist influence, and brilliantly maintained himself against Frederick's machinations, while Matthias Corvinus (d. 1490), upon being elected rival king of Hungary, even invaded Frederick's German territory and occupied Vienna. At the death of Matthias without issue, Wladislaus II., of Bohemia, successor of Podiebrad, was elected also to succeed Matthias in Hungary, but at Wladislaus's death (1516) without male offspring, the united crowns of Bohemia and Hungary passed to his son-in-law, Ferdinand, great-grandson of Frederick III., and so were rewon, and this time permanently, by the house of Hapsburg (1526). With the loss of their independence the Czech and Hungarian nations fell into a decay from which they have only recovered in this century.

Troubles of Austria. Revolt of Hungary and Bohemia.

The signal and unmerited good fortune which befell Freder-

[1] His seal bore inscribed upon it the vowels A, E, I, O, U, which he read as follows: *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo* (It is Austria's destiny to govern the world).

ick's House and gave new lustre to it was the acquisition of the greater part of the states of the duke of Burgundy. During the fifteenth century a collateral branch of the House of France had gradually added to its French fief of Burgundy the whole of the Netherlands. Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1467–77), had thereby become one of the foremost rulers of Europe. His ambition looked toward the establishment of a great middle kingdom between France and Germany, independent of either. In this scheme the Swiss proved a stumbling-block. Their territory lay so opportune for his plans that he resolved to subjugate it. But the brave mountaineers beat back his invasion at Granson and Murten (1476), and finally his whole splendid chivalry went down before them at Nancy (1477). Charles himself was among the dead. Since there was only a daughter, Mary, to succeed him, Louis XI. of France immediately seized the crown fief, the duchy of Burgundy proper,[1] on the claim that it was vacant, and would have taken more had not Frederick promptly acquired Mary's hand in marriage for his son Maximilian (1477), and thus established a legal claim to the rest. So the territorial expansion of the House of Austria was not checked even under this weak king, and a similar chance of a happy matrimonial alliance gave it, a few years later, the vast possessions of Spain (1516).[2] Maximilian's son, Philip, married Joan, heir of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and their son, Charles, is the famous Emperor Charles V. (1519–56), who could dream of renewing the Empire of the west.

The House of Hapsburg acquires Burgundy and Spain.

Though the Hapsburgs figure, from the fifteenth century on, among the most powerful dynasties of Europe, the Empire in nowise profited from their strength. The decay of this institution had continued from the twelfth century on, and was des-

[1] Louis also took Artois (fief of France) and the *county* of Burgundy (fief of the Empire). But these were given back to Austria in 1493.

[2] The world regarded such manner of growth half-enviously, half-derisively, as is witnessed by Matthias Corvinus's popular lines: "Bella gerant alii; tu, felix Austria, nube! Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus."

30°
20°
Longitude West 10° from Greenwich. 0°
10°
60°
50°
40°
0°
10°
ICELAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Trondhjem
Bergen
Oslo
NORWAY
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Copenhagen
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
LOW COUNTRIES
Elbe R.
BRANDENBURG
Cologne
SAXONY
THE EMPIRE
Prague
Paris
Seine R.
(GERMANY)
BOHEMIA
Rhine R.
Vienna
Danube R.
Loire R.
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
COUNTY OF SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
SAVOY
MILAN
VENICE
Venice
Rhone R.
Genoa
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATE
Adriatic Sea
NAVARRE
ARAGON
Madrid
SPAIN
CORSICA (To Genoa)
Barcelona
Rome
NAPLES
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SARDINIA (To Spain)
Naples
CASTILE
Granada
MALLORCA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY (To Spain)
AFRICA
The M.-N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

EUROPE
about 1500.
SCALE OF MILES.
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
20° Longitude East 30' from Greenwich. 40°
50°
60°
FINLAND
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Volga R.
Kasan
Moscow
Oka R.
Smolensk
Stockholm
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER
Wilna
LITHUANIA
Kiew
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
KHANATE OF ASTRAKHAN
TARTARS
KHANATE OF KRIM (CRIMEA)
CASPIAN SEA
CIRCASSIANS
GEORGIA
BLACK SEA
WALLACHIA-MOLDAVIA
Belgrade
Danube R.
Constantinople
TURKISH EMPIRE
PERSIAN EMPIRE
Smyrna
Euphrates R.
To Venice
To Rome
CRETE OR CANDIA (To Venice)
RHODUS
CYPRUS (To Venice)
SEA
40°
50°
60°
20
30
40
5

tined to continue without interruption. One by one its cosmopolitan claims had been exploded. It was now only the national government of Germany. But even in Germany we have seen it lose its authority, and, although it tided itself over to the nineteenth century (1806), it was never again anything more than a body without a soul. Germany had lost her central government in all but name. German strength and civilization, as far as they acquired political expression at all in the modern period, sought refuge among the local governments of the princes and the cities.

Permanent decay of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXI

THE PAPACY, 1250–1450

The struggle between the papacy and the Empire had been fatal to both. The papacy, indeed, seemed to have won the victory, but it had lost much of its religious character in the eyes of the people. The college of cardinals was divided into three parties, the Italian, the French, and the German. It was almost impossible to secure an uncontested election. There were many times during the thirteenth century when there was no Pope, and the world became accustomed to the idea of getting along without one. In Rome the Pope was continually quarrelling with the citizens, and he often found it impossible to live there. He was frequently an exile. Innocent IV. spent very little time in Rome; Alexander IV. (1254–61) was never there; and Clement IV. (1265–68) lived in Perugia. Anarchy prevailed in Italy, each city being in arms against its neighbor.

Difficulties in Rome.

Gregory X. (1271–78) threatened to end the interregnum in Germany by appointing a king if the electors should not do so. Rudolph of Hapsburg was thereupon elected (1273), and he conceded all that the Pope demanded. The Pope's power, however, was not great. In 1282 the uprising of the Sicilians against the French, called the Sicilian Vespers, took place, and shortly afterward Peter III. of Aragon gained possession of Sicily in spite of all the resistance the Pope could offer. Italy was now more hopelessly divided than ever. The Spaniards held Sicily; the French, southern Italy; the Germans, parts of upper Italy; and the rest was divided among many cities and powers. Among the Ghibellines there lived on the hope

that the Emperor would come from Germany and restore unity to Italy. It seemed impossible for the idea of the Empire to die.

In 1294 Benedictus Cajetanus of Anagni was made Pope, after having compelled his predecessor to resign. He took the title of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303). His pontificate marked the highest pretensions, and, at the same time, proved the impotence of the papacy. "When Boniface mounted the throne he found much in the complexion of politics which invited a brilliant course of papal statesmanship. The Holy Land was in the power of the infidels; the Sicilian question still undecided. In Germany, instead of the powerful Rudolph of Hapsburg, ruled a less powerful king, Adolphus of Nassau; Philip IV., the Fair, king of France, and Edward I., king of England, were engaged in a desperate war. On both sides were numerous allies, namely, on the French side, the king of Scotland, on the English, Adolphus, king of Germany, and the count of Flanders. Boniface wished, after the example of Innocent III., to convert this war at once into a suit to be decided before him, and when his legates were dismissed by Philip he thought to frighten the king by forbidding him to impose extraordinary taxes on the clergy." In the famous bull, "Clericis Laicos," he forbade on pain of excommunication all laymen to collect taxes on Church lands, and all clergymen to pay them. Since the Church was very rich in lands, the income of the king would have been greatly diminished if this bull had been enforced. Philip IV. retaliated by forbidding any money to be taken out of France into Italy, thus cutting off the Pope's income. For a time Boniface yielded, and even tried to make peace with Philip. He said the bull was not to be enforced in France, and even granted Philip the tithe from the French clergy for three years. The quarrel soon broke out again. Philip received at his court two members of the Colonna family, whom Boniface had exiled from Rome, and made an alliance with Albrecht, king of Germany,

Boniface VIII., 1294-1303.

whose election Boniface refused to recognize. He seized and imprisoned the papal legate. Angered by this, Boniface sent forth one decree after another against Philip. The French clergy were summoned to Rome to meet the Pope and settle the dispute. Another bull, "Unam Sanctam," was issued, which declared that the Pope was entrusted with both the spiritual and the temporal power, and that whoever resisted him was resisting the ordinance of God. Submission in temporal matters to the Pope was declared to be necessary for salvation. Boniface next threatened to depose Philip and put him under the ban if he did not yield. Albrecht of Germany made peace with the Pope and accepted the terms of the bull, "Unam Sanctam," but Philip called another meeting of his council, preferred a large number of charges against Boniface, and called for a general council to settle the matter. Boniface then published the ban and edict of deposition, but only a month later he was besieged in Anagni by the king's ambassador, William of Nogaret, and the Colonna family. He was personally maltreated, but set free a few days later. He died, however, the next month, probably from chagrin and anger caused by the indignities which had been heaped upon him.

The Jubilee of 1300.

It was Boniface VIII. who celebrated the jubilee in 1300, an event which stirred the minds and imaginations of the people at that time most deeply. During this celebration Boniface, it is said, gave expression to his extravagant claims by seating himself on the imperial throne, "arrayed with sword and crown and sceptre, shouting aloud, 'I am Cæsar! I am Emperor!'"

His successor, Benedict II. (1303–4), was hard pressed by Philip IV., and at last retracted all the extravagant claims of Boniface so far as France was concerned. For nearly a year after his death the cardinals could not agree on a candidate, but at length the French party in the college elected the bishop of Bordeaux, who had already made a secret compact with Philip IV. He chose the name of Clement V. (1304–14). In 1309

he moved the whole Curia to Avignon. Rome was no longer safe for him. The noble families of the city were constantly engaged in street brawls, and since the German Emperors had lost their power there was no one to preserve order. He went to Avignon because that city was in France, and France was at that time the leading country of Europe. Philip IV. wished to use the papacy against other nations. There was a certain advantage in this to the Pope. He could issue his bulls against hostile powers in all security, because being surrounded by French territory no foreign power could reach him. But the papacy lost much in the estimation of the world. It was but a tool in the hands of the French king, whose powers were rapidly growing. The religious authority of the Pope suffered much, and various parts of the Church showed signs of breaking loose from it. Clement V. yielded to almost all the demands of Philip IV. He supported him in the unjust destruction of the order of Knights Templars. He was despised by the people of his time, and before he died Dante had already put him into hell.

Clement V. at Avignon.

His successor, John XXII., spent most of his time in a bitter struggle with Ludwig of Bavaria (1314–47) about the imperial crown and Italy. It is marked by the appearance of a new theory of the state, promulgated by one branch of the Franciscans. They advanced the idea that the people are sovereign. "Church" meant the whole body of Christian believers, not, as the Roman Catholic Church said, the clergy alone. Even the laymen are all viri ecclesiastici, that is, they have a part in the government of the Church. The highest authority is vested in a General Council. The papacy is not apostolic in its origin, but dates from the time of Constantine. The Pope, therefore, has no authority over kings. The state is independent of him. These Franciscans were protected by Ludwig, and assisted him in his struggle. Other writers, however, continued to develop a definite theory of the supremacy

of the Pope. "Sola potestas papæ est immediate a deo." The Pope is greater than any angel because he has the jurisdiction and care over the whole world: "Medius autem inter deum et populum Christianum est ipse papa; unde nulla lex populo Christiano est danda nisi ipsius papæ auctoritate." It would be difficult to claim higher powers.

During the residence of the Popes at Avignon the finances of the papacy were systematized and everything done to insure the collection of vast sums of money. The principal aim of the Church seemed to be to tax the world. This period of the residence of the Popes in Avignon is generally called by church historians the Babylonian Exile of the Papacy.

The Schism.

In 1378 the papal Schism began. Gregory XI. had finally, in 1377, moved the Curia back to Rome, but died the next year. Urban VI. (1378–89) was elected in Rome, but by his harsh manner he alienated those cardinals who were under the influence of the French king, and they soon after revolted from him, declared his election void, and elected Clement VII. (1378–94). Clement soon withdrew to Avignon and continued the papal line there, while Urban VI. remained in Rome. There were now two men claiming to be Pope. Germany, England, Denmark, Sweden, and Poland declared for Urban; while France, Naples, Savoy, Scotland, Lorraine, Castile, and Aragon were true to Clement VII. For about thirty years there were two lines of Popes, and the religious world did not know which one to obey. The Schism also gave rise to the severest criticism of the papacy, and gave such men as Wiclif and Huss a good opportunity to set forth doctrines at variance with those of the Church.

The Conciliar Idea.

Since neither Pope would yield, and it seemed impossible to end the Schism in any other way, the idea of calling a universal council was broached. It was declared that in the early days of the Church a council had been the highest authority. This position had been usurped

by the Popes. Now let the council be called, and since it is competent to do so, let it say who is the right Pope. After long discussion of all this the cardinals called a council to meet at Pisa (1409). This council deposed the two Popes, and elected Alexander V., but as the deposed Popes refused to acknowledge the authority of the council, there were now three Popes and the Schism was made worse. Although Alexander V. had promised not to dismiss the council until the papacy had been reformed, and especially its finances regulated, he soon prorogued it on the ground that not sufficient preparations had been made to proceed with the reform.

From this theory of the power of the council over the Pope this period has been called the conciliar epoch. It produced two more councils, that of Constance and that of Basel. In 1414 another meeting was called at Constance, and the question of the Schism was again taken up. Among other things which came before the council was the heresy of Huss. He was summoned to Constance, and although he had received a safe conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, he was tried for heresy, condemned, and burned at the stake (1415). Every cardinal again took an oath that, if elected, he would reform the Church before dismissing the council. In 1417 Martin V. was elected, after the three other Popes had been deposed, but he destroyed all hopes of reform by adjourning the council and declaring that whoever appealed to a general council would be guilty of heresy.

Constance, 1414.

The idea of a reform was still strong in the minds of many, and the belief that a general council could reform the Church led to the calling of a third council at Basel (1431). The Pope, however, was too shrewd and strong for the reform party, and he succeeded in blocking all their attempts to reform the Church. Some action was taken, indeed, but the Pope was able to prevent its being enforced. The failure of this council showed that no reform could come by way of legislation, and it seemed that the papacy

Basel, 1431

with all its burdens must be endured. From the time of Eugene IV. (1431–47) a new period may be said to have begun for the papacy. The conciliar idea lost all its power, although the people still called for a general council. Even Luther, nearly a hundred years later, thought at first that the Church might be reformed by means of a general council. The Popes gave up all thought of a reform, and the papacy became a political principality. The Popes of the succeeding period are often called heathen. An account of this secularized papacy is given in the chapter on the Renaissance.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE MIDDLE AGE

The factors of mediæval civilization.

The civilization of the period, which has been treated in this volume under the traditional title of the Middle Age, presents on the whole a well-defined unity. For the leading political movement of the epoch, the amalgamation of Roman and Teutonic customs and institutions, and the evolution of the great modern European states, directed the movement of civilization. The Roman civilization had, in the fifth century, reached a decay almost equivalent to obliteration. The conquering Germans had no ready-made civilization of their own to offer in its stead. They were unlettered barbarians and brought with them just their dowry of barbarian song and music,[1] with which they celebrated war and warrior virtues. Their great contribution to Europe lay in the new vigor and fresh blood which they put into the dead body of Roman society, saving and regenerating it. Besides, they brought a quality without which all this rough energy would have been only destructive and worse than useless, a quality of receptivity, by which they were drawn into the play of civilizing forces and gradually became enlightened with the Roman culture which was waiting for them.[2]

[1] Tacitus, in his Germania (Chaps. II., III.), bears witness to it.

[2] In likening the Germans to other Barbarians, *e.g.*, the Indians, as has frequently been done, it would appear that this quality of receptivity, which makes all the difference, has not been sufficiently taken account of. With due allowance to the more unfavorable conditions of our aborigines in that they were conquered and not conquerors, they have all along conspicuously

It is this process of the enlightenment of the Teutonic element on the one hand, and the moral bracing of the Latin element on the other, Teuton and Latin action and interaction, which goes on under essentially permanent conditions throughout the Middle Age and gives that period its intellectual profile. These essentially permanent conditions are furnished by the continued direction and predominance of the Church. The Church was the only institution which in the general wreck of things during the German invasion showed any power of resistance. It had been Romanized indeed, and was not untouched by the general Roman rottenness, but the inner fire which had been breathed into it by the apostles and the martyrs was far from having spent itself. The Church bravely faced the Barbarians at every point, and having by its enthusiasm and attractiveness successively brought all the German tribes within its pale, it secured their devotion by the teaching that salvation was impossible except through its mediation. And it enjoyed another source of power. It could honorably claim not only the spiritual, but also the intellectual guidance of the world. For although the Roman civilization had gone to wreck, the Roman Church, which survived it, held in solution, as it were, all its essential elements. Through it the Roman traditions of the Empire were kept alive. It preserved the Latin language and the Latin literature. It maintained the memory of the Roman law. So the Church became the agent which transmitted to the barbarian Germans such remnants of the Roman culture as in the fifth century it still disposed of. In this double leadership of priest and of

Unity of mediæval civilization secured by the predominance of the Church.

lacked this power of getting enlightened, and that it is a notable quality the difference in the results fully witnesses. It cannot be admitted, on the whole, that there is a clear case for those who hold that there is in original barbarism just one mould or type of man, and that the later differentiations are alone due to the varied conditions of environment. The potency of these conditions cannot be denied for a moment, but we are forced to admit that in the barbaric state itself there was a difference between the Red Man and the German.

teacher lies the explanation of the unbounded respect which the clergy enjoyed in the Middle Age.

Character of Church leadership.

And in what direction did the Church, by virtue of its character and ideals, push the society which was under its intellectual dominion? The thin veneering of Christianity which the Germans received during their migrations did not immediately affect their barbarian nature. They became barbarian Christians, whereas they had been barbarian pagans before. But they soon began to turn resolutely away from their past. By being Christianized and settled in the sites of an ancient but vanishing culture, they were set the task of saving what was left and continuing it. The task was clearly beyond their strength. But the Church undertook it in their name, and straightway and vigorously began to subject them to an educational forcing process. Necessarily much of the old was too hurriedly and carelessly sloughed off, while the new had not yet secured a firm hold. There followed an unfortunate period of confusion and relaxation. As always, the vices and follies of the higher civilization exercised a paramount and invincible attraction. The first fruit of the care of the Church was a brutalization which was horrible and complete. One need only present to one's mind the difference between the Germans of Tacitus and the Franks of Gregory of Tours to realize it. The Merovingian court was rife with a foulness of rape, murder, and incest, which seeks its parallel. In this condition of things the first concern of the Church was to devise a check upon the fierce exuberance of license. Savagery had to be domesticated to order by self-restraint. The most effective means seemed to be to keep ablaze the new Christian zeal, large in converts, anyway, and to draw off an increasing portion of the barbarian energy upon religious practices and ceremonies. In the low condition of society, which was necessarily reflected, too, in the lowered standards of the Church, recruited from that society, these practices often degenerated into repulsive superstitions. No matter, they an-

swered their purpose for the time being ; a stigma was attached to crime by an appeal to religious fear. Churches and monasteries carried the influence of this kind of Christianity to the farthest corners of Europe. Multiplied donations gave it a material basis. At the same time the clergy eagerly put themselves forward at every point. They represented the sum of the activity and intelligence of the period. They not only filled the offices of instruction and of state by their monopoly of learning, but they also served as a kind of police by inculcating the rules of social order, and even took the van in industry and commerce by winning new soil for cultivation, by planting cities and erecting buildings.

Revolt bound to come in the course of time.

Plainly this multifold leadership would come to an end some time. The taught would succeed in learning their lesson, and, after the manner of grown-up children, long for independence. In a more quiet and regular order of things it was found that the layman with his undivided attention upon his occupation was a more effective member of workaday society than the monk. The clergy's omnipresence gradually became superfluous and annoying. Since it ought to have recognized that it owed its authority only to the intellectual minority of the lay society in which it was placed, it should have resigned that authority, at least gradually, when society began to announce itself of age. But it would not. It resolved to resist and sought support in its sacred office. Its temporary direction of all the interests of life, and its authority over men was declared the outflow of the divine will. Revolt was punished by anathema. So the Church hoped to maintain control over the expansion, which it had itself nursed to life, by an unwarranted restriction just when the expansion was going to bear flower. Of course that would sooner or later prove vain. When humanity had developed its new interests—industry, commerce, arts—it could no longer be confined in a cowl. Repeatedly in the Middle Age there are periods when society makes an effort to burst

through, or at least, enlarge its ecclesiastical strait-jacket. Such periods are conveniently called a Renaissance, or rebirth, because they offer the symptoms of a revival of the larger classical conceptions of human activity. The ninth and twelfth centuries are distinctly characterized by such movements; in fact, in some form or other they turn up at odd corners of Europe throughout the Middle Age. Especially after the first confusion of the resettlement is overcome, there is always some bolder spirit who, gently or fiercely, consciously or unconsciously, expresses the longing for a freer and more comprehensive intellectual life. The human mind is never at absolute zero.

But the narrow ecclesiastical conceptions were too deeply embedded in the mediæval minds to give way at the first onset. On the one hand, the mere dead-weight of tradition was difficult to budge; and, on the other, it was long before patience gave out and it became apparent that the Church could not put itself in harmony with the wants of the new society. So since there was no freedom with the Church, its bondage had to be broken to secure the future. Herein lies the immense significance of the fifteenth-century Renaissance and the Reformation.

The policy of Karl the Great.

Every sketch of the history of mediæval civilization must begin with Karl the Great. He first succeeded in establishing an ordered society out of German and Roman elements. He first adopted a settled educational policy. Its gist was that the Roman and German worlds were to be harmonized with as little loss as possible of what was original in either. He himself zealously cultivated the German speech, worked at a German grammar, and ordered a collection of German songs. But he also gave due weight to the superiority of Roman culture. He spoke Latin very much like his mother-tongue, and late in life even attempted Greek, but without success. Though he took some pains to learn to write, he never succeeded. More important than the acquisition of his own modest store of learning was his desire to make

knowledge accessible to others. The clergy were by training and office the agents best fitted for this purpose. It was his plan that they should associate the teaching function with their religious duties throughout the land. To help him in the establishment of his system he collected around him the best men of the day, regardless of race. Alcuin, the Anglo-Saxon, was drawn from England ; Paulus Diaconus, the Lombard, from Italy ; his own Franks furnished Angilbert and Einhard. They formed with others a literary coterie at his court in Aachen, or Ingelheim, which he formally organized into an academy and delighted to frequent as an equal. After he had, like a practical man, thus utilized them for his own improvement, he put them to work at wider tasks. Alcuin became what we would call now minister of public instruction. A sort of general educational system was devised, by which schools were established in connection with monasteries and cathedral churches. Of course that secured their clerical-Roman character. Except in the case of the sons of the high aristocracy, the boys had to bow to the severity of the monastic rule from the first. They were practically interred behind the walls, and were required to assume the monastic garb and perform the set devotions of the monastery. Latin was the language of the school-room and the play-ground.[1]

The mediæval school programme.

And what was the curriculum the mediæval boy was put through ? It was the ancient school programme, such as it had filtered through the last corrupted centuries of Rome, and had finally, in the sixth century, become fixed by Cassiodorus, the prime minister of Theodoric. Cassiodorus commanded a deep respect long after his death, because there played about him the last ray of the dying classicism. Alcuin had only to advocate his system to give

[1] Such use of a foreign language essentially changed its character, and Latin steadily decayed through the Middle Age until it reached the ludicrous, perverted, and clumsy form of the "monk Latin" which the Humanists held up to scorn.

it a new vogue. It consisted of the trivium and quadrivium, two groups of studies, including, the first, grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, and arithmetic; the second, music, geometry, and astronomy. Theology was liberally thrown in at all stages. These studies were dubbed the seven free arts and contain the programme which was in force in the schools of Europe to the very end of the Middle Age.

The literature of the early Middle Age.

If we ask after the literature of the time, it is all Latin till the twelfth century. That fact alone discloses the whole falseness of the artificially imposed culture. And, furthermore, literature, strictly speaking, literature of an imaginative order, there is none whatever during this same period. That appears and can appear only when the peoples take to composing in the only tongues they can handle successfully, the national idioms. For the present the European nations are dependent upon Latin, and their productions are more correctly classed not as literature but as writings. These are pre-eminently of two kinds: annals, biographies, and the like, which may be comprehended under the title of histories; and controversial writings about the doctrines of the Church.

The historical writings.

The authors of the annals were almost without exception monks. From their quiet retreat they looked out upon the world with more or less intelligence and noted its happenings. As they were rarely participants of the events they described, their chief source was hearsay. They wrote for their amusement or to relieve the tedium of their solitude, and their ingenuousness is humorously brought out by the fact that most of them consider themselves obliged to begin with the year one. A dry-bones narrative set in strict chronological order is the usual historical "method." Through the absence of intelligent personal investigation the chronicles are rarely trustworthy. Still, though they are poor literature and unsafe history, they have, like every actual historical witness, an indefinable charm, for it is by them

that we touch most directly the mind of that distant, formative period of European history and are enabled to measure its contents.[1] The names of some of the more important writers may find a place here. Gregory, Bishop of Tours (538–94), wrote a history which is our chief source for the Merovingian Franks. Paulus Diaconus (d. 787) holds the same position in regard to the Lombards. Einhard (d. 844) has left us a serious and ambitious little sketch of the life of his friend, Karl the Great, and a writer known as the monk of St. Gall has diligently recorded all the legends which were current about the great Frank king a generation after his death. Roswitha (tenth century), a nun of Gandersheim, made the laudable effort to cultivate creative literature, and has left some Christian dramas modelled after Terence. Frodoard (ninth century) wrote a history of the Church of Rheims and the annals of his time. Both works are very valuable for the study of the origins of France. In England Beda (673–735) (the Venerable Bede, as later ages called him) figures among the best-known writers by virtue of his admirable "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," in which he narrates the conversion of his people to Christianity. At the end of this purely Latin period stands the vigorous life of Barbarossa, by Otto of Freising (d. 1158), undoubtedly the best biography which the Middle Age affords.

The controversial writings.

As for the doctrinal and controversial writings they are less distinctly literature than the histories. Their value lies in the evidence they furnish of the intellectual movement of the times. The doctrines of the Catholic Church had not all taken fixed form as yet. Transubstantiation and predestination especially were, in the ninth century, variously defined. Even if we have no interest in the subtleties which the contestants advanced about the points at issue, it

[1] The chief writers have now been made more accessible by translation into German and French. Consult the series: Geschichtschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit, Leipzig, Dyksche Verlag; or, Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France, par M. Guizot.

can readily be seen that it was of importance for the cause of freedom that the discussion should be allowed to remain open as long as possible. Doctrinal disunity, however, was what the Church would not stand, and it always managed, in these and in subsequent cases, to have its own definition speedily adopted by threatening the obstinate with anathema. That explains why the tenth and eleventh centuries, although following a century of violent doctrinal disturbance, are peculiarly bare of any intellectual stir.

Looking at these literary witnesses as a whole, and noting more especially the evident decline of the second branch in the tenth century, we shall agree that the faint Renaissance of the time of Karl the Great was wholly personal and died away soon after him, leaving the world to find the dead level of the intellectual forms under which its meagre mental life hides itself for some three or four hundred years.

Scholasticism.

This intellectual system of the Middle Age, which receives its character in the eleventh century and then continues to hold sway at the schools until well toward the Reformation, is called scholasticism. Scholasticism engaged to explain to the reason the dicta of faith. Its method was such rules of Aristotle's logic as had been preserved and interpreted by the Arabs, and by them communicated to the west. The syllogism enjoyed particular respect as a tool of reason. There is no use to which the schoolmen did not attempt to turn it, although it is, by its character, serviceable not as a means for acquiring knowledge, but only for arranging it. It was preferably applied to the articles of faith, for scholasticism was nothing if not a theological science. Certain fundamentals of faith granted, a first story was raised upon them by an unimpeachable "therefore" sequent upon two "whereases," and then another story followed, and still another, until the towering edifice of doctrine was roofed and crowned. Of course that is not science in the real sense at all, and scholasticism, in consequence, never had anything but a

disciplinary value for the mind. It stood guard over the articles of faith and hypnotized the reason by a show of syllogistic plausibilities. As the movement emanated from the Church, it found its best support there. It lived and died the Church's ally. That is the reason why it accomplished little or nothing for lay society and the cause of freedom, and why its merit is restricted to having kept up certain traditions of learning which a new time could make more of.

The mediæval philosophy: nominalism and realism.

However, scholasticism is not void of interesting chapters. There were moments when it seemed to aspire to a wider use and to reach out toward some very fruitful philosophical conceptions. The end of the eleventh century is marked by the origin of the dispute between realism and nominalism. The rising schools of northern France, and particularly Paris, were just forming a new centre of study and light. Here one Roscellinus, a canon of Compiègne, for the first time systematically expounded the difference between classes and the individuals making up the classes. The individuals, he said, are the only realities, whereas the classes are but names or labels by which we sort our knowledge. So, *e.g.*, the words man, horse, etc., are like so many blank forms or pigeon-holes where we preserve all the facts which individual men and horses convey to us. Nobody ever saw *the* horse, but only particular horses, and if one should by chance never meet a horse, one could not possibly have a general conception about it. Therefore, the term horse is not a reality, but only a name. Roscellinus and his followers received the designation of nominalists (from *nomen*, name). Opposed to them were the orthodox, who called themselves realists. Anselm of Canterbury, an Italian by birth, who had been trained in the schools of northern France, championed their views against Roscellinus. Man, horse, etc., said he and his school, have a real existence in the realm of the universal Mind, and individual men and horses are shaped to correspond with them. *Universalia ante rem*

was their position, just as *Universalia post rem* characterizes that of their adversaries.

It is difficult to appreciate the agitation which centred about this dispute without understanding that there was very much more contained in it than is apparent upon the surface. Nominalism laid an increasing stress upon the witness of the senses and the point of view of the ordinary intelligence, and it was felt instinctively that this was a threat to a faith which did not claim to tally with sense-experience. And what was to become of Mother Church as a universal Idea, if it were only a name, and the reality were to be found in the individual church members, often vicious and unworthy, who composed it? Plainly here was matter that threatened society's very foundation.

Importance of the controversy.

This became as clear as daylight in the case of Abelard. Peter Abelard was born, 1079, near Nantes, and early passed under the influence of Roscellinus. When he came to Paris he won an almost immediate success. Nothing illustrates the beginning eagerness of intellectual curiosity better. There was, as yet, nothing like a University in our sense anywhere in the world, only Paris had developed a keener interest in matters of learning, and thither fared the young men of all lands who wished for something beyond the mere trivium and quadrivium they could get at home. Roscellinus, Abelard, and their colleagues, collected these students about them, very much as private tutors do among us, without any special warrant from any university organization. Wherever they went the students went with them. The teacher was the university. Abelard, owing to his acute powers of reasoning, promptly overcame all his opponents. Upon his arrival at Paris he acquired an unbounded popularity. One Fulcus, writing to him retrospectively, says: "Rome sent her sons to be taught by you. No distance, no road hard to travel or perilous with robbers, hindered the scholars from hastening to you. The English students

Abelard.

were not frightened by the tempestuous waves of the sea between. The remote Britons, the Gascons, the Spaniards, the Teutons, and the Suevi . . . thirsted to be taught by you." Contemporary witnesses speak of thousands who sat at his feet.

His revolutionary teaching.

Now the secret of this success was the revolutionary appeal in the new master's teaching. Reason was assigned by Abelard definite rights, and faith was expected to square its claims with them.[1] He was not a heretic by any means, he accepted the doctrines of the Church in full, but the searching investigation he put them under was a challenge to their sacredness and inviolability. His method was a development of the old dialectics. He made, for example, a compilation of contradictory statements from the Church fathers, called Sic et Non, and taught his pupils to draw upon it for support, when maintaining one or the other side in any doctrinal discussion. It did not escape his contemporaries that this love of argumentative practice, which went so far as to bolster up a good case for religious dissent, threatened the unquestioning submission, which had hitherto been the rule with scholasticism. And the event justified the assumption. Abelard's pride in his reasoning powers became inordinate, and he took it upon himself to defend, and by rule of logic to establish, the most manifest absurdities, merely to set his brilliancy in relief. One feels that a man who made so much of reason needed only a slight impulsion to become entirely detached from the Church. Abelard was saved from this step by the power of tradition and the custom of obedience. He was repeatedly brought to trial, and though he defended himself, he was condemned, and ended by recanting every proposition which had been impugned.

His chief opponent and the leader in his persecution was the celebrated Bernhard of Clairvaux (d. 1153). It is most inter-

[1] This position of his he stated in the words, Nihil credendum nisi prius intellectum.

esting to note this opposition and its larger meaning. If Abelard appears as a type of the intellectual Christian who allows man's faculties their scope, and maintains that faith must not interfere with their claims, but must accord with them, Bernhard represents the mystical or ascetic type which seeks no conformation whatever from the reason, but gets its sanctions from the convictions of the believing soul. The two types have been opposed to each other from the origin of Christianity to our own day, and both have their indisputable value for life. In the Middle Age especially, the ascetic influence was very strong, and blossomed into some of the most beautiful lives and works which history reveals. Bernhard himself may serve as an example; better known, perhaps, are the later mystics of the Rhine country, such as Eckhart (d. 1329), Tauler (d. 1361), and Thomas à Kempis (d. 1471). The *De Imitatione Christi* of à Kempis has remained to our day one of the noblest supports of the contemplative life. And the mystical currents were never localized in one country or another, but reached as far as the bounds of the Christian faith. Quite on a level with the northern à Kempis is the southern St. Francis of Assisi, who not only preached, but, like Christ, practised, a broad and kindly humanity, full of comfort for the poor and oppressed. The very birds and flowers were to him brothers and sisters. "Brother fire," he mildly implored the flame which was racking him. The world for him dissolved into spirit, and God spoke to him out of the storm and caressed him in the sunshine. The presence and continuance of this movement, like a steady undercurrent beneath the more palpable ebb and flow of scholasticism, was of incredible importance to the Middle Age. It was a continued protest against the hollow formalism and intellectual quibbling of the schools, and kept open that broadest way to faith and Christianity which leads by the heart. And another service must be set down to the credit of mysticism. It protested not only against an intellectualized faith, but,

St. Bernhard and the mystical school.

directed by its sense for what is essential in the problems of life, fell away from the ludicrous studies of the schoolmen, and so prepared the demand for the more solid learning which is one of the conquests of the Renaissance.

In Bernhard's time asceticism, like scholasticism, was enjoying a revival. The two movements soon clashed in an age when it was not customary for one conviction to be tolerant of another. When Bernhard, who enjoyed an immense reputation and controlled even the papacy itself, opposed Abelard, he had no trouble in crushing him. The great schoolman was condemned as a heretic at the Council of Sens (1140) and, after some show of resistance, he conformed to its command to recant. To Bernhard's honor, be it said that he struck chiefly at the presumptuous pride of intellect which his opponent paraded in his writings. Probably Bernhard did not know or care about their deeper intellectual import. The blow fell none the less heavily upon Abelard's party, for Abelard's name was inextricably bound up with nominalism and intellectual freedom, and with his defeat these larger causes, too, were undone, or, at least, delayed. Realism, *i.e.*, the system which concerned itself only with affirmation and maintained the closest possible connection with the Church, won the day and reigned supreme for over a hundred years. But was it likely that intellectual progress had been permanently obstructed? Would not somebody rise to put Abelard's case again? At the beginning of the fourteenth century nominalism revived with William of Occam. If it never regained its old importance, it was because many things had meanwhile changed. The world as against the Church had made steady advances, and men were engaged in opposing its authority along more effective lines than pure dialectics.

Conflict between Abelard and Bernhard.

The cause of intellectual freedom delayed.

Abelard's philosophy bore certain consequences for his life which merit a passing word. By them is exhibited how freedom in matters of thought and freedom in matters of conduct

have always been bound together. The man who had found a new and rational basis for existence was bold enough to defy the ascetic prejudices of his day and to demand his share in the general human heritage of love and joy. He fell in love with Heloïse, the niece of a friendly canon of Notre Dame of Paris, and, though he wore the clerk's habit, he secretly married her. But the union was discovered and the lovers were separated under particularly revolting circumstances. If the conditions of the time are mainly responsible for the tragical outcome of this love-match, to which the succeeding generations have always reverted with tenderness, Abelard himself, who succumbed when the moment of trial came, does not escape blame. It is the same Abelard who engaged in the theological conflict with Bernhard, the man who boldly favored an innovation and then failed to sustain it. In thought and in life we see in him a figure typical of transition periods. He looked forward and backward and was unable to turn his face resolutely in one direction.

Abelard's life.

The schools of Paris, which had long enjoyed a great prestige, and then had acquired, as seen, an unparalleled popularity under Abelard, began, about the time of his death, to assume a compacter organization. It is the period of the foundation of the university. That word has with us a peculiar connotation which it is necessary to forget if we would understand the institution in its origin. We have already seen the establishment of monastic and cathedral schools in the age of Karl the Great. The general education which these afforded with their trivium and quadrivium was not likely to satisfy every one and forever, and soon we hear of teachers who have set up in connection with the larger schools and are prepared to meet the demand for a higher education. Paris becomes their centre, and in Paris the cathedral school of Notre Dame takes the lead. Perhaps because the clerical connection was oppressive, the teachers soon emancipated themselves from this cathedral school, and

Birth of the University of Paris.

simply upon such warrant as was offered by the *licentia docendi* (teacher's certificate) of the chancellor of Notre Dame, advertised private instruction much like a modern tutor, for smaller or larger classes and at a certain rate of payment. These professors located at first around the Seine Island (Île de la Cité) where lies Notre Dame, and later on moved a little southward to the left bank of the river, where they formed with their students a quarter for themselves, the *Quartier Latin*. The name still attaches to that region, and it has remained to this day the brain of the busy capital of France.

Undoubtedly the union of a number of men for the pursuit of intellectual interests constitutes the essence of a university, and in this essential sense the university of Paris existed all through the twelfth century; but for a long while there was no formal organization, nor is the year in which such an organization took place exactly known. The word university, designating an association of teachers and students, occurs for the first time in 1207. That may, therefore, be taken for the official birth-year. The choice of the expression "universitas" for the new foundation greatly helps our understanding of its early character. Universitas in the Middle Age was a very general term applied to any kind of association. The workmen of a guild formed a universitas, the citizens of a commune did the same. In an age where everything ran toward cliques and guilds, where such groups were the real social and political units, the workers in education naturally followed the common trend, for consolidation brought them influence and protection. Thus the university of Paris, on assuming a concrete form, was accorded a charter of privileges and even granted limited jurisdiction over its members.

Its organization.

For a long time the university rested on this plane. It had no buildings, no officers, no receipts, in a word, none of the attributes of the material existence which with us are so self-evident. But with increasing numbers sub-organizations sprang up along the lines of the various interests. The students

divided themselves by nationality and by pursuit into nations and faculties. These became the real centres of the University life. A student's national and faculty affiliations determined his official status. The faculties after some wavering were fixed at four: Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy (Arts).[1]

The student life.

The student's life in those days was rough and wild. The age was untamed, and the ample exemptions secured by the charter of the University from the application of the common penal laws, were a constant temptation to violence. Town-and-gown quarrels, and fights between the different nations and faculties were the order of the day. One chancellor complains: "The student of philosophy spends the night armed in the streets, breaks the doors of houses, fills the tribunals with the rumor of his escapades. All day the city bawds come to depose against him, that they have been struck, or have had their garments torn in pieces, or their hair cut." Besides this class of student-bullies, there was another class of poor students which lived in the most abject misery. It was to help this kind and check the other that pious people were first moved to found dormitories or colleges where students could live cheaply and under guidance. The Sorbonne[2] endowed (about 1250) by Robert Sorbon, chaplain of the saintly king Louis IX., was the most famous of these foundations at Paris.

The spread of the universities.

Although the University of Paris was by far the most renowned of mediæval universities, its claim to priority can be reasonably disputed. Bologna is pleased to date its origin from 1088, and a few years ago solemnly celebrated its eighth centenary. Famous as it was, it never entered into competition with Paris. Nor was there need, for it cultivated a specialty—Roman law—which was

[1] The Universities of Germany and England still preserve many of the mediæval peculiarities in organization and life. The "hazing" and "rushes" of our older American colleges are at least indirectly derived from practices of these early days.

[2] The name of the college was afterward applied to the whole Theological Faculty, and now attaches in a very loose way to the Academy of Paris.

expressly excluded from Paris by an edict of Pope Honorius III., of 1219. Paris cultivated theology, and it was the weight of this pre-eminent science which secured Paris the first place among universities in the Middle Age. Honorius probably felt that the devotion to theology might suffer if it were associated with an unholy and pagan profession like the Roman law. Other universities which followed these became distinguished in like manner for the cultivation of specialties. Thus Salerno,[1] in the kingdom of Naples, and Montpellier (1300), in France, were celebrated for medicine. Orleans (1300), nearer Paris, cultivated the Roman law, which Paris banished. In England, Oxford and Cambridge are about contemporary with Paris, though corporate life with both comes a little later. Of the two, Oxford was by far the more famous, and occasionally even rivalled Paris as a seat of theological learning. Spain could boast of many universities. Valencia (1221) and Salamanca (1243) are the oldest. The universities of Germany are all much later and differ materially from the above institutions in that they are called into being by a deliberate act. In the year 1348 Charles IV. founded the university of Prague. Vienna (1365) and Heidelberg (1386) follow. In each case the university of Paris was made to serve as model. The next century becomes a sort of golden age of German universities, and many new foundations are added to the list (Cologne, 1388; Leipzig, 1409; Rostock, 1419, etc.).

University studies.

The curriculum of the universities was very narrow. Little was attempted beyond the specialty of theology or law or medicine in the way of general culture courses. One has only to recall what a large part of the modern course of studies (*e.g.*, most of the sciences, history, languages, literatures), is of recent creation to realize this limitation. The chief resource of general culture remained the

[1] It is not known when Salerno was founded. The practice of medicine there was probably due to Arab influence and very old. The Arabs certainly were excellent physicians, and Salerno was favorably located to benefit from them.

trivium and quadrivium of the monastery schools, which were rehearsed in a way more suitable to the advanced student. Side by side with them, however, figured the most elementary courses, and this fact accounts for the presence at the mediæval University of hordes of mere children.

The educational method in vogue at the Universities was a sort of memorizing of authorities, and nothing was further from the minds of mediæval students than original investigation.[1] So the law student was taught to swear by the Pandects, the student of medicine learned anatomy and physiology, not by demonstration, but from the chance scraps of the old Greek scientists, who were elevated into infallible authorities, and the students of philosophy worked in the same spirit over the metaphysics of Aristotle. Aristotle was the name of names. It was pronounced by the men of the age like an incantation, and his physics and metaphysics, transmitted to Europe in a corrupted form by the Arabs, were held to be the sources of pure wisdom. But it was his logic to which his popularity was pre-eminently due, for this supplied the rules for the favorite study of dialectics. The study of dialectics was the readiest means at the disposition of the Middle Age for testing the knowledge with which scholasticism dealt. Hence the engrossing fervor with which it was pursued. We have already witnessed it in the case of Abelard. In the century after Abelard the rigid scholasticism which had its roots in realism[2] reached its height through the impulse given by the two new orders of begging friars (Franciscans and Dominicans), and Albert the Great (d. 1280) and Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274), German and Italian

Worship of authorities.

Scholasticism at its height.

[1] It is characteristic that in the only cases where vigorous research and experiment were employed, they were directed upon two subjects which are not legitimate sciences at all—astrology and alchemy. The one study was to reveal the secret of the individual human life by consultation of the stars, and the other occupied itself chiefly with finding the philosopher's stone and making gold of baser metals.

[2] It must not be forgotten that there were occasional protests against the

Dominicans respectively, succeeded in giving Catholic Christianity its final dialectic form. Even at this day Thomas Aquinas's *Summa totius theologiæ* is regarded as the best bulwark of Catholic doctrine.

It was worth our while to follow the history of the mediæval university, because up to a certain point it was the most promising hearth of intellectual culture. But gradually it began to lose in relative importance for the cause of civilization owing to the rise of rival influences. The future of civilization depended, as has been repeatedly stated, upon the emancipation of the laity. Now for a time it looked as if the university would greatly aid this cause, but unfortunately the clergy retained, by its persecutions of such men as Abelard and Bacon, the sovereign position which it held traditionally in education, and intellect and reason were systematically pressed into the service of theology and drawn off from other fields. The movement of the Middle Age, which, although it marks the very height of the power of religion and the clergy, contributed more than any other one thing to the development of lay society, was the crusades. The crusades occasioned a tremendous increase of commerce and industry, and therefore of municipal life. The burgher class laid the foundations of its wealth in this period, and entered upon the schooling by which it was enabled to secure the future leadership of civilization. By developing the cities, the crusades planted the seeds of modern society.

Effects of crusades on intellectual history of Europe.

But as the direct product of the old feudal society, in fact, its greatest triumph, the crusades stand primarily for the blossoming season of the mediæval ideals. Since they were an ex-

hollowness of the scholastic system. The most famous came from Roger Bacon, an English Franciscan, who died about 1292, after a long imprisonment. Perhaps there is no more astounding case in history of a man in advance of his age. He poured a withering scorn over the methods of his day in his various works (Opus Maior, Opus Minor), and first struck the key-note of modern science—experiment and observation.

tensive movement of men, goods, and ideas, from the west to the east and back again, they brought with them a stir which annihilated the old moral and mental lethargy. Knighthood was roused by them out of its brutalizing routine of war and drink and pillage. The crusades supplied it with new ideals; they turned the fierce, lawless fighters and plunderers into a noble chivalry. The old castles, meant by their towers and moats to serve only as places of arms, were converted into so many pleasant courts, where gentle ladies resided, and the arts of peace and the delights of innocent society were zealously pursued. It was no longer the custom to go clad in steel on all occasions, but the silks and brocades of the Orient and the furs of the north came into fashion, and with them a livelier pleasure in the good things of the earth for their own sake. Chivalry developed its own amusements, such as hawking, hunting, and, above all, jousting. Looking only at this last point, what a refinement were the jousts upon the old desolating brawls! And the presence at the tournaments of the ladies, who sat enthroned as dispensers of honor, shed a gracious influence which was as new as it was civilizing. Further, chivalry championed a novel set of ideals and developed an elaborate etiquette of services. It is on this side that it has most profoundly struck the imagination of all succeeding generations.

Growth of chivalry.

Chivalry was, in the conception of the time, an order of merit. Its members were called knights. Knighthood was not conferred as a recognition of birth, but as a reward of service. A noble was not necessarily a knight. He must first prove the quality of his manhood, then, and not till then, he could be struck knight, in solemn ceremony, by his feudal lord. The elaborateness and sacredness of this function, entailing a twenty-four hours' fast, confession, and communion, and culminating, finally, in the arming of the candidate by knights or ladies, emphasized the deep meaning which was attached to the institution.

The character and ideals of chivalry.

And what were the ideals to which this new-made knight pledged himself? Necessarily they had a feudal-religious character. The service of Christ by purity of life and readiness of sword, especially against the heathen who held His tomb, figured in the first place. To this ideal of religious sacrifice was added unswerving devotion to king or liege and to the one chosen lady.[1] Even if this fine idealism was not always or generally realized, as we have ample material to suspect, what did it matter? Its mere struggle to exist meant the earnest combat with the old unmitigated barbarism which had become traditional in the warrior class, and the progress and, at least, half-victory of civilizing powers.

Chivalry develops the native languages and literatures.

This is proved by another feature of this society, a feature by which it pleads its case with us at this hour. It developed a speech and a literature. Since there were so many new ideas seething within the minds of men, the more gifted souls were naturally stimulated to utterance. They burst into song, and as their song came from the heart, it was expressed in the idiom in which the singer's most intimate thoughts spontaneously clothed themselves. This is the period of the tri-

[1] Tennyson states the mission of Arthur's knights in the following impressive words:

> "To reverence the King as if he were
> Their conscience, and their conscience as their King,
> To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
> To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
> To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
> To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
> To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
> And worship her by years of noble deeds,
> Until they won her."
>
> —*Idylls of the King.*

Or to take Chaucer's estimate of what constitutes true knighthood:

> "A knight there was, and that a worthy man
> That fro the time that he firste began
> To riden out, he loved chevalrie,
> Truthe and honour, freedom and curtesie.
> Ful worthy was he in his lordes werre (war)
> And therto had he ridden, no man ferre (further)
> As wel in Cristendom as in Hethenesse."
>
> —*The Knight's Tale.*

umphant ushering in of the French, Italian, English, and German languages and literatures. The frozen and corrupt Latin was good enough for the stereotyped service of the Church and the loud-sounding dialectic exercises of the Universities, but the living spirit of chivalry found that it needed a material that was more responsive and more plastic to its touch. That the knight found in his mother tongue.

The literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries belongs to the second or middle stage in the progressive development of the modern languages. All the oldest monuments of the period of the Carolingians, and before, rest upon the first stage, and are classed, respectively, as Old French, Old German, and Old English (Anglo-Saxon). In the succeeding centuries the tongues suffered, in a natural evolution, certain material changes of vocalization, declension, syntax, etc. The stage at which they re-emerge, therefore, in literature, marks a progression, and as this stage corresponds with the flowering time of chivalry, the literature of that and the succeeding periods as late as 1450, is classed as Middle French, Middle German, and Middle English (1100–1450, about). After 1450 the Modern French, Modern German, and Modern English may be regarded as created, to all intents and purposes, as they are used to-day.

Stages in the development of the European languages.

The literature of chivalry, when examined as to content, does not turn out to be a grand literature. It mirrors an expansive society, it is true, but a society which was moved by comparatively few ideas. We miss in it the full range of modern poetry. Mediæval poetry struck only the few rich notes which expressed the dominant emotions of chivalry about war, romantic love, and divine worship. The mediæval man was not poetically moved by any human relation which lay outside of these three interests.

Character of mediæval literature.

The travelling minstrels (jongleurs, joculatores) greatly contributed to the development of the literature of chivalry.

Its material.

They were the hereditary keepers of the material which the new poets undertook to shape. For generations they had passed it on from mouth to mouth. This poetic material consisted of the deeds (gestes) of the ancestral heroes, which, resting in the first instance upon a basis of fact, were elaborated imaginatively in successive transmissions, and finally bore very little resemblance to the original event.

The mediæval epics group themselves in cycles around some great historic or mythical name. The most important are: the Celtic tales of King Arthur and the Round Table, the French tales of Charlemagne and his Paladins, the Spanish legend of the Holy Grail, and the German national stories of the old tribal kings, Siegfried, Dietrich, etc.

The home of this chivalrous poetry was France. Here knightly society enjoyed its most brilliant development, and

The literature of France.

the French productions of the trouvères of the north and the troubadours of the south became the models which were imitated everywhere else. This leadership of France should be carefully noted. We have already observed it in the purely intellectual life as represented by the University of Paris, and we shall witness it again when we treat of the development of architecture.[1] The epic productions

The epic.

of France were very numerous, but by far the greater part of them is lost. Christian of Troyes (d. 1195) is the most famous name. Although a north Frenchman by birth, he sought and acquired the Provençal sweetness of the troubadours. His chief works are Lancelot, Erec, and Percival (the Tale of the Grail), and such was their popular-

[1] This supremacy of France was generally accepted in the Middle Age, and, characteristically enough for the period, given a peculiar theoretic expression. See Bryce, page 98, note. "The three powers which ruled human life," says one writer, "the Popedom, the Empire, and Learning, have been severally intrusted to the three foremost nations of Europe: Italian, German, French."

ity that their imitations in all countries and tongues became legion.

Besides epic poetry, lyric poetry was also cultivated. Here southern France distinguished herself; in fact lyric poetry was as distinctly her field as epic poetry was that of the north. The reason is to be found in the differences of the two societies. While the north Frenchman loved adventures and arms, because these suited his temper and environment, the south Frenchman, or Provençal, possessed of greater wealth and nursed in the traditions of an older civilization, preferred the delights of society. The troubadours of the south, therefore, became the singers, preferably of love, the trouvères of war, and each poured his feeling into a characteristic form. The division between north and south was further emphasized by the cultivation on the part of each of these two sections of France of a separate tongue, the *langue d'oc* of the south and the *langue d'oil* of the north, and this difference, added to the other diversities already indicated, might have led, in the course of time, to the development of two nationalities on French soil, if the Albigensian wars (from 1209 on) had not made a sudden end of southern civilization and imposed the law of north France and the literary use of the *langue d'oil* throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Lyric poetry of France.

The literature of Germany is, after that of France, the most abundant. Here, too, we meet with epic and lyric productions. The poets are largely dependent upon France for their material, which they remodel freely to suit the German character. The most celebrated epic poets are Wolfram von Eschenbach (d. about 1220) and Gottfried von Strassburg (d. about 1220). The chief work of the former is Parzifal, which belongs by subject-matter to the cycle of the Holy Grail, and of the latter, Tristan and Isolde, which belongs to the cycle of Arthur and the Round Table. It is noteworthy that Gottfried was no knight but a burgher, which fact may serve to mark the beginning of literary interest among the

German literature.

citizen class. In addition to this class of romances, the subject-matter of which was borrowed, there was a style of epic wholly indigenous to Germany, original alike in matter and in form. It dealt with the old national history as it had been handed down through a long chain of generations, and its chief monuments are the Nibelungenlied and the Gudrun. In consequence of their age these epic poems present a strange mixture. They contain reminiscences of every period of German history from pagan times down to the moment of their final elaboration. Early mythological elements (the nixies of the Danube, Brunhilda, etc.) blend with the legends of the conquests (Gunther, Siegfried, Hagen), and the composite story is presented in the courtly costume of the thirteenth century. The Nibelungen is the epic of the Rhine and the inland. It tells of the ruin and destruction visited upon the successive possessors of a great treasure on account of a curse attached to it by its creators, the mysterious Nibelungs. Siegfried, his wife Kriemhild, the whole royal race of the Burgundians perish in mutual feuds caused by the envy and greed which the treasure sows abroad. The Gudrun, on the other hand, is the epic of the north and of the sea. It is the story of the sufferings of the maiden Gudrun, patiently and nobly borne through temptations and hardships to preserve the troth plighted to her absent lover. Germans regard these two epics as their Iliad and Odyssey.

The national epic: Nibelungenlied and Gudrun.

Lyric poetry was cultivated in Germany by the minnesingers, who correspond to the troubadours of southern France. Their themes are the three services of the lady, the liege, and God, and their soulfulness of expression secures them an audience to this day. Walther von der Vogelweide (d. about 1230) is the pre-eminent name. He excels in melody and independence of thought and feeling.

Lyric poetry of Germany.

Owing to the effects of the Norman conquest, England did not take a prominent part in the literary movement of this time, and moreover, most of the contributions she made are

cast in the dominant foreign language, the French. However, Geoffrey Chaucer (1340–1400), the great father of English poetry, was not born too late to give his noble works, "The Canterbury Tales," "Troilus and Cressida," "The Romance of the Rose," the best flavor of the mediæval epic. It is curious that in Chaucer's time the continental poetry of chivalry, as also the society from which it sprung, had already run its course and vanished.

Literature of England.

One of the most impressive witnesses of the civilization of the Middle Age is its architecture. At the very time that Emperors and kings were marching a conquering society against the Mohammedans, and chivalry east and west burst into spirited song, the art of building took a new and brilliant start. It was not the first bloom of architecture in the north, but it was the first which was thoroughly original and expressive. It is usually given the name Gothic, and the style which the Gothic supplanted is usually called Romanesque.

Mediæval Architecture.

The Romanesque style had its origin in the half-forgotten principles of Roman architecture. From the Carolingian period on society became more ordered, and could again venture to undertake larger public structures. The Romanesque style may be said to have prevailed from about 800 to 1150. This period was not calculated, from its low state of culture, to produce architectural geniuses or even skilful craftsmen. However, the prevailing Christian enthusiasm demanded that the task of glorifying God in worthy temples be undertaken. Luckily there was a church-form which the builders could use as a model—the Christian Basilica. This was the very simple and impressive style of temple of the Roman Christians, derived, as its name suggests, from the old Roman Basilica, a secular building, which served in the imperial days as a court of justice and a business exchange. The Christian Basilica consisted of a long central nave, which ended in a semicircular apse, and was flanked by an aisle to

Romanesque Architecture.

the right and to the left. These general features furnished the ground-plan of the Romanesque cathedrals, but modifications and additions were freely introduced in accordance with the understanding and the taste of the time. The Romanesque style never emerged from a certain barbarian rudeness, both of outline and of detail, but, at the same time, its structures were generally marked by a certain ponderous grandeur without, and by a variety of impressive perspective within. Its chief German monuments are along the Rhine, at Speier, Worms, and Mainz. In France the churches of the south, owing to the greater proximity and more enduring influence of Rome, are superior to those of the north, while such a splendid church as that at Peterborough exhibits what England made of this style.

The most striking and easily recognizable feature of the Romanesque architecture is the round arch. But it also developed its own style of pillar, capital, window, portal, etc., and was individual down to the last detail of construction. Unfortunately it had not yet worked itself out to its purest form when it was succeeded by the Gothic style. The Gothic style rests upon principles which have their roots altogether in the Middle Age. The highest religious aspirations of that epoch found expression in it. The best structures in this style are exquisitely lofty and airy, every line seeming to strive upward and no effect of massiveness being suffered to contradict the prevailing sense of vertical movement. The individual features of the Gothic style are innumerable. The most common are the flying buttress and the pointed arch. Other characteristics are the rows of tall windows, the elaborate portals, the ribbed vaults, and a graceful system of ornamentation.

Characterization of the Romanesque and Gothic styles.

The name Gothic is misleading as to the origin of the style. It is a name of late invention, having been attached to mediæval architecture as a slur, when the prevalence of the Renaissance style had insured the victory of classicism, and men looked with disgust upon everything the Middle Age had done. The

Gothic is a French art, and was developed in the very heart of France, the country round Paris (Île de France). It was the prevailing style from the beginning of the twelfth century until well into the fifteenth century, when it began to fade before the advance of the Renaissance (approximately 1125–1500). From the Île de France the new art of building rapidly spread over the whole country. The French, who originated the art, also gave it its most harmonious and graceful forms. Among a large number of remarkable productions we note the Cathedral of Paris, called Notre Dame (foundation-stone laid 1163, front finished 1214); the Cathedral of Chartres (completed 1260); the Cathedral of Rheims (begun 1211, finished 1241); and the Cathedral of Amiens (1257).

Gothic a French art.

From France the style made the circuit of the mediæval world. England and Germany especially took it up with enthusiasm, and in each case gave it a characteristic national development. The English churches are longer, narrower, and lower than their continental rivals, but unerring in the justness of their proportions. The German architects sought height and vastness of space, and by their eagerness in the pursuit of these effects, very often sacrificed beauty to size. The principal examples of Gothic in England are the Cathedral of Salisbury (1220–58), Westminster Abbey (1245–69), Ely Cathedral, Lichfield Cathedral, etc. (all of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Germany has one pre-eminent example of the Gothic style in the Cathedral of Cologne (1270–1322). It is one of the largest and most imposing structures ever planned by man,[1] but delicate lovers of Gothic are likely to prefer the more refined proportions of the best French or English churches. Other celebrated examples of German Gothic are the Cathedrals of Strassburg, Ulm, and Vienna.

German and English Gothic.

[1] The following are the areas in square feet of some of the largest buildings in the world: St. Peter's, 227,000; Milan Cathedral, 108,277; Cologne, 91,000; Notre Dame of Paris, 64,108; Salisbury, 55,853.

Of course, the Gothic architecture was not confined to cathedrals and churches. The style was adapted to secular uses, to council-halls, markets, and palaces as well, and some of the most successful Gothic effects are obtained in such buildings. The bloom of architecture, moreover, was beneficial in developing the cognate arts such as panel-painting, glass-painting, sculpture, wood-carving, etc., all of which the Gothic builder drew upon to decorate and heighten his creation. The sculptor was called upon to form saints for the porches, the wood-carver to carve choir-stalls for the clergy, and the painter to color and design windows for aisle and choir. Each artist was expected to fit his work into the plan and spirit of the whole. The result was the development, under the guidance of architecture, of a distinctly Gothic style in all the subordinated art-branches. A Gothic cathedral became a sort of museum, but retained, at the same time, a fine artistic unity which can hardly be appreciated in these days of eclectic art-culture.

Architecture fosters painting and sculpture.

Although the beginnings of Gothic art fall in the period of the crusades and belong to feudal society, the art reached its culmination in a period subsequent to the crusades and in a class of society which was inherently opposed to feudalism, namely, the burgher class. It lay in the nature of the case that only strong and rich corporations could undertake the huge enterprises which the mediæval cathedrals represent. Throughout the range of mediæval civilization such substantial bodies of men were to be found only in the cities. The great Gothic buildings are therefore the work of the middle class, and they form the first contribution of that factor of society to higher culture. We touch in these achievements a social revolution which deserves a further word.

The cathedrals the work of the middle class.

We have seen that the state of civilization in the Europe newly ordered under Karl the Great exhibited the clear predominance of the clergy. The clergy was the sole source of

culture in the ninth century. The outburst, in the age of the crusades, of a new literature cultivated by the nobility, meant the participation in the cause of civilization of, at least, the upper stratum of lay society. The cathedral-building of the cities in the thirteenth century attested the reaching-out of civilizing and artistic forces to still wider circles. Henceforth society was to be neither clerical nor aristocratic, but the citizen order would become the bearer of civilization. This momentous change was inaugurated about 1300, and is the root of modern as distinguished from mediæval culture. But for about two hundred years after 1300 there was a period of hesitation and delay. The prominence of the cities was secured, but their growth was a gradual one, and especially in matters of thought they found it hard to break with the traditional authority of the Church or boldly to invade untried fields of culture. They exhibited no lack of courage, but, for the present, they applied it preferably to the necessary enterprises by which they laid the foundations of their material well-being. It is therefore in the province of industry and commerce that we must seek the chief significance of the cities during the later Gothic period.

The cities become the centres of civilization about 1300.

The cities were unwelcome anomalies in feudal society and maintained themselves only by constant fighting. Each city was therefore under the law of arms, and had to attend first of all to the business of defence. It was surrounded by walls and moats, and its bristling towers defied aggression. The burghers themselves composed the army. In consequence of this sharp demarcation between city and country, the life within the walls became more concentrated and acquired a peculiar character and unity. The mediæval man acknowledged no higher allegiance than that to his city. A hardly subordinate place in his affection was held by his guild. All society was grouped by its occupations into guilds. They formed the centres around which the social and industrial life of the city gathered. They even got the political power into

Character of city life.

their hands. Their activity became all-determining for the welfare of the city. Were they establishing flourishing industries? Were they conquering new markets? Were they fighting for the security or monopoly of the trade routes? If the answer was in the affirmative, the material prosperity of the city was secured. And were they making contributions to the cathedral fund? Were they patronizing painters and goldsmiths and commissioning them to adorn the church of their saint? Were they taking pleasure in music and song? Then the new culture had found a home in the city. Such were the pursuits of the mediæval town, material and mental interests blended in the lives of the citizens, and slowly the old barbarity was sloughed off as the generations came and went.

If we examine the witnesses of this progress of the burgher-class in art and literature we are struck with their mediocre character. First-rate productions there are none, if we except the great cathedrals, which, although generally embellished and completed in this period, properly belong to an earlier time. Everything tells us that this is the era of a matter-of-fact bourgeoisie, and that its efforts are directed upon the development of its peculiar virtues of thrift, and industry, and steadiness. The literature, like the life, is honest and healthy, but not brilliant. In France its best utterance is the fabliaux, merry and usually very spicy little tales, which are intended primarily to amuse, but are charged, too, with a good deal of sly satire against various social abuses, especially such as stand under the patronage of bad wives and corrupt priests. In Germany the meistersinger carry on the traditions of the minnesang. The meistersinger are the masters of the guilds, heavy and rather dull individuals, who are distinguished by solid bourgeois virtues, but lack range and subtlety of feeling, and work too doggedly under set rules to produce anything that can claim a place in real literature.

The literature of the middle class after 1300.

The fabliaux.

The meistersinger.

A mental recreation, very interesting and generally indulged in, was the miracle plays and the mysteries. They form the germ of the modern drama. Laymen appeared as actors, and the clergy had no scruples to offer the church itself for a theatre. The story of the Passion, miracles of Christ and the apostles, and other biblical subjects were presented, sometimes in tableaux, sometimes in elaborate dialogues, and preferably with strong scenic effects in which horned and hideous devils were sure of a prominent place. In addition there were presented so-called moralities in which the actors were the personified virtues and vices. These latter plays were more of the comical order, but strove, as their name informs us, to interlard the witticisms by appropriate lessons of conduct. The popularity of this form of amusement all over Europe was immense, and regular companies had to be formed to satisfy the demand. Thus the Confrèrie de la Passion received letters-patent from Charles VI., in 1402, by which it was privileged to perform in the hospital of the Trinity. In England these dramatizations are especially numerous and issue, at the end of a long line, in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.

The miracle plays.

So during the whole late mediæval period mankind seemed to be storing its energies for some new outburst. Germs were profusely scattered, the world was being cast, politically and materially, in a new frame. The strong monarchy which was forming in France, Spain, and England, the new system of production and exchange, which we associate with the more general use of money, the increasing material prosperity, all rested upon the city as foundation, and their future depended upon its ever-widening conquest and influence. It remained to be seen if the new class could fill the new form which life was taking with a high and humane spirit. When the long period of hesitation and preparation was over, the cities gave their unequivocal answer in the Renaissance and the Reformation.

Modern life develops with the city.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance, in its broadest signification, is the name given the new civilization, which gradually displaced, in the minds of men, the mediæval conceptions of the state, of society, of art, and of philosophy. It was a revolution in the realm of thought, comparable to that which occurred when the antique world fell before Christianity. And curiously enough one of its chief features, the feature which has subsequently lent its name to the whole movement, is the rebirth or Renaissance of that Roman-Greek world which Christianity destroyed. The Renaissance began to marshal its forces in the fourteenth century, and is, essentially, a conquest by the mind of man of provinces which the Middle Age either avoided from fear or ignored from indifference.

The Renaissance, a new civilization.

It is occasionally represented as the first gleam of light which shot across Europe in the thousand years succeeding the passing of Rome. Nothing is more erroneous. The Middle Age had, as has been shown in the previous chapter, a high civilization of its own. Only it was clerical and feudal, and, from principle, severely self-limited. The Renaissance is secular, and freely and ambitiously expansive, like antiquity. It succeeds, but does not attempt to uproot, the world of mediæval thought, and ends, like all legitimate historical agents, in actually adopting the better possessions of its predecessor. The Renaissance gave us back the lost classicism, but it did not cast off mediæval Christianity, and therefore rests, as well as modern civilization down to our day,

Succeeds the mediæval civilization.

upon the fusion and mutual modification of these two worlds of ideas.

The benefits of the old civilization.

It will prove profitable to recall to our minds the elements of the civilization which the Renaissance succeeded. Adequate gratitude is rarely rendered the mediæval culture, though its effects have been permanent and far-reaching. Its religion accustomed us to self-restraint and bequeathed us enduring laws of conduct. Through its best social product, chivalry, it founded the modern languages and gathered the first flowers of modern literature. Its highest expression, the Gothic cathedrals, have never been rivalled in their way. The best creations of the period, whether of art or literature, all bear the mark of a strenuous idealism, which, although it no longer absorbs, as formerly, the aspiration of mankind, still exercises a vigorous intermittent influence which we could not afford to miss.

Symptoms of the coming Renaissance.

On the other hand, the mediæval civilization bound the forces of human society to the service of the Church, and the Church, consciously and persistently, limited their scope. Then came the period when lay society began to strike out for itself (1250). It developed industry and commerce, and laid the foundation of a new wealth. The growth of the cities followed. In measure as they developed, the old distribution of power in society became disturbed. Slowly the balance declared against the dominant mediæval orders of the clergy and nobility. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the revolt of the communes throughout Europe. Naturally, too, the progress of the middle class lent an increasing weight to the freer kind of culture which that class represented. Thus an intellectual revolution was soon associated with the economic and political one. Doubt began to assail the scholastic structure of belief. There were signs that men would soon accredit personal experience, and not merely obey the dictates of a blind authority (case of Abelard, Albigenses, Wyclif, Huss); and hand in hand with this spirit of

individualism went the study of nature, which is the foundation of the sciences and the mother of inventions (inventions of gunpowder, printing, etc.). Presently a clear ray of antiquity fell upon the world. It bore witness of an unexplored realm of beauty and increasingly larger numbers longed and labored for its resurrection (Humanists). All these tendencies, indicative of a new life in society, mark the origin of the Renaissance. We propose to follow them here in their leading developments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The Renaissance begins in Italy. The reason for this.

The home of the Renaissance is Italy. In Italy it was produced and reached its highest development. From Italy it made the round of Europe. Nor is the fact at all surprising, for no other country presented so large a number of favorable conditions in which such a movement could take place. The feudal system had never struck deep roots into Italian soil, and was early and easily abolished. The cities destroyed it here as everywhere. Then finding themselves free from feudal interference they took up the problems of self-government. A previous chapter has shown how their political history is marked by endless experimentation. But these very changes, grievous though they proved for the power of the state and the domestic peace of existence, produced an unwonted mental activity in very broad circles. A parallel is found in the contentious Greek cities, which likewise won in civilization what they lost in stability.

Influence of Rome.

However, the greatest advantage which Italy enjoyed over the other European countries, was its nearness to the Roman civilization. In Italy that civilization had, on the one hand, been strongest, and the barbarian onset, on the other hand, had been weakest. The memories of the ancient culture were, therefore, more potent on the peninsula than elsewhere. Even the practice of the arts, in some form or other, was never entirely intermitted. "The Middle Age," says Macaulay, "was for Italy only the night of an

arctic summer." Wherever the Italians looked they were reminded of a great past, and that past was their own. There was hardly a city which did not have its ruins of a temple or a theatre. And above all, there, still, was Rome. That Rome was an object of reverence to Europe and the goal of so many pilgrims was doubtless an honor addressed to its ecclesiastical character; but in many confused and subtle ways, secular Rome, the seat of the Empire, the great mother city, came in for its share of the general awe. In the minds of the Romans themselves the old traditions enjoyed an uninterrupted existence. That is the real interest attaching to the entirely fantastic attempts made in the Middle Age by Crescentius, Arnold of Brescia, and Rienzi at a revival of the greatness of the city. And the glamour which held the Romans charmed the other Italian cities. All were eager to derive their origin from Rome. The Florentines, for example, had no certain knowledge about the beginnings of their city, but at the time of Dante it was held as firmly as any article of faith, that Florence was a direct offspring of the Roman mother. Thus the great name of Rome perpetually hovered over Italy and defied oblivion.

The Church also contributed to maintain the memory of the mother city by cultivating the Latin language. Nor had the development of the Italian language carried it so far beyond the mother tongue that the nature of the connection was not perfectly evident to all. As the Italian could feel that he was racially the descendant of the Roman, so he could almost look upon the Roman literature as the first bloom of his tongue. Among all the European nations, Italy was conspicuously the heir of Rome and most fitted to relight the extinguished embers of Roman civilization.

The Latin language easily accessible to the Italians.

When the awakened intelligence of man began to direct itself upon the materials of antiquity, the Renaissance may be said to have been fairly initiated. The exact date, of course,

cannot be determined. We must remember that the materials of antiquity were as little forgotten in the Middle Age as Rome itself. However low the interest in them ran, it did not run dry. The Benedictine monks never abandoned the traditions of learning which dignified their order. Their zeal as copyists was impartially divided between the sacred and the pagan authors, and such literary monuments as have come down to our day, we owe to them. Virgil was read widely and eagerly throughout the Middle Age, and the general respect felt for him was embodied in the superstition that he was a great magician. But the interest in learning which exhibits itself in these facts was restricted to a very small circle, and was neither intelligent nor vigorous. The Renaissance dates from the time when the interest became healthy and general. That occurred about the time of Petrarch. Petrarch is the first prominent apostle of classicism, or—as he has been called in virtue of this fact—the first modern man.

The Revival of Learning dates from Petrarch.

It is this fact which distinguishes his services from those of his great countryman and predecessor, Dante Alighieri. Dante (1265–1321) and Petrarch (1304–74), together with Boccaccio (1313–75), are now chiefly famed as the great pioneers and permanent luminaries of Italian literature. Of the three Dante easily ranks first. His "Divine Comedy" has placed him among the half-dozen world-poets, whose works belong to every nation. And yet, though he gloriously inaugurated Italian literature, he is not a modern man. He stands completely within the circle of mediæval conceptions. The great defender[1] of the theory of the Universal Empire, believed also in its counterpart, the Universal Church, and his thought naturally sought the current syllogistic form and bowed to the worship of authorities characteristic of the Middle Age. Petrarch, on the other hand, credited personality and experience. His attitude toward the

Dante and Petrarch. The modernism of Petrarch.

[1] Dante defended the Empire in his work De Monarchia.

mediæval inheritance of thought and institutions foreshadows that of the rationalist, who does not blindly believe but examines and criticises. Thus unhampered he was enabled to make two great discoveries: the world of the emotions within and the world of the senses without. No man before Petrarch was so passionately introspective as he, and no man before him took so direct a pleasure in the good things of the earth, its fields and flowers. With him the old impulse to regard nature and all her glorious phenomena as manifestations of the Evil One lost its zest. Perhaps he was the first man in centuries who climbed a mountain for the mere delight of the journey. In 1335 he made the arduous ascent of Mount Ventoux (France). The event deserves to be set down as a milestone in intellectual history. The qualities of the man and his creed of life distinctly mark him as a new type. It is perfectly true that similar qualities had already appeared in Dante and others, but with Petrarch they first exhibit a vigorous life. For all these reasons he is modern, while Dante is mediæval.

Petrarch, the first humanist.

If any further witness of the essential difference in the mental attitude of the two men is required, none can prove more satisfactory than that furnished by a comparison of their education. Dante is the product of the trivium and quadrivium of the schools; Petrarch is largely self-taught, he first having drunk freely of the spring of antiquity which his incantations again drew from the rock where it had been sealed up long ago.[1] Petrarch's immense fame in his own day, completely eclipsing that of Dante, is due to this activity of his in behalf of the classical ideal of man. He thereby headed and directed one of the main currents of contemporary thought. The modern age knows him chiefly as the lover of Laura and the

[1] He narrates in his *epistolæ seniles* that he could not, when a boy, tear himself away from the classical authors. Once his father, in a rage over such loss of time, pounced upon his books and threw them into the fire. Only when he saw his son standing there as if transfixed, did he take pity, and snatch a half-charred Virgil and Cicero from the flames. These Petrarch treasured ever afterward.

graceful singer of immortal sonnets. If we would know the *historical* Petrarch we must modify the conception of him, arising from these associations, most materially. It is significant that he himself placed his Italian poems so low that he was, at one time, tempted to consign them to the flames. He preferred to rest his reputation upon his works in Latin, which pretended to be a vehicle of classical style and thought, and his age so distinctly saw in these contributions a unique service, that it raised a unanimous chorus of praise about them and with him neglected his verse in the vernacular. The crisis of a great change had come upon the world, and for the moment it desired a guide and helper rather than an entertainer. That is the way in which we must explain why the contemporaries so emphatically placed Petrarch the humanist before Petrarch the poet.

His life and works.

Petrarch (1304–74) was born at Arezzo, in the upper valley of the Arno. His father was a Florentine notary who had been banished together with Dante (1302). Need soon took the family to Avignon, where the father found employment at the papal court. Petrarch was destined for the law. He studied at Montpellier and Bologna, but his natural bent threw him upon literature. As literature did not then afford a means of livelihood, he made a compromise. He became a priest, received from the Pope a small benefice without duties, and devoted himself to his chosen labors. The classics, especially Cicero and Virgil, became his passion. He was perhaps the first person of the whole mediæval period who fully responded to the formal beauties of these authors. The Latin in vogue shocked his ears. In innumerable works he furnished an example of a purer style. His writings were of varied character. The more important are: "Letters in Prose and Verse" (he stood in correspondence with almost every noted man of his day), a book on Solitude ("de Vita Solitaria"), a biography of celebrated men ("de Vitis Virorum Illustrium"), a sort of autobiography ("de Contemptu Mundi"), etc. His great Italian work, alone read to-day, while

the Latin writings are forgotten, is the *Canzoniere* (song-book). It consists of sonnets and *Canzoni* (songs) addressed to his lady-love, Laura. He met Laura at Avignon in 1327, and during her lifetime (she died 1348 in the great plague), and till his own end, he made her the object of an idealizing devotion, which has won her a foremost place in the calendar of lovers. And yet the earthly relations of this pair were very slight. Laura was already married when Petrarch met her, and the respected mother of several children. There is no reason to suppose that she ever felt anything for him but a distant cordiality. On such slight groundwork of fact he constructed his poetical ideal of her. It stood in no intimate connection with reality, but, being a dreamer, he knew how to make it suffice for his own higher life.

Petrarch was a famous traveller in his day. His reputation won him admirers on all hands. Doors sprang open of themselves at his approach. Popes and crowned heads vied for the honor of his entertainment. **Petrarch's fame.** The Emperor Charles IV. repeatedly invited him to Bohemia. King Robert of Naples was proud to lend him his royal mantle on the occasion of his poetic coronation on the capitol at Rome. The Visconti and the Carraresi coddled him in turn. His journeys were triumphal processions. Nothing shows better the indelible impression he and his message made upon his age than this universality of favor.[1]

Boccaccio (1313–75), who was nine years younger than Petrarch, was of illegitimate birth. His mother was French, his father a Florentine merchant. Born at Paris,[2] he received his education in Italy, and then turned, by irresistible bent, to literature. Like Dante he did not enter the Church; the time had at length come when tal- **Boccaccio—his life and works.**

[1] Only one other literary man ever enjoyed the same popularity—Voltaire. Voltaire's opportunity was furnished him by a similar crisis of the world's thought.

[2] Florence and Certaldo (near Florence) also claim the honor of being his birthplace.

ented men no longer thought it absolutely necessary to don the clerk's habit. Learning was beginning to find a home outside the Church. Boccaccio became the friend of Petrarch and shared with him most of his tastes and interests. Like him, he was an enthusiast of antiquity, and tirelessly collected and copied manuscripts. Like him he was a Latin author, and scarcely less celebrated, but his works[1] in this tongue, like those of his friend, are now only read by scholars. Boccaccio, too, is a modern man. The movement toward reality, toward the claims of nature and the senses, found in him a powerful ally. His famous Italian work, the "Decameron," is as free from restraint and as naïvely sensuous as if Christianity had not intervened between it and Greek mythology. The work consists of one hundred amusing stories, recounted by a merry company of friends to while away the tedium of a forced retreat in the hills of Florence during the pest of 1348. The imagination displayed in this work, its humor and grace, have always held the world captive,[2] but its excesses are very often more than modern manners and modern print will support. The utter license, which it exhibits as pervading all classes of society, is astonishing. The humorous and satirical writer throws his dart at every class, in turn, but the rebuke directed at the clergy has a particular edge and relish. The ignorant monk, the sensual priest, are the standing butts of the tales. How long would the respect for the Church stand in a country where the "Decameron" was read with gusto? The Inquisition of the sixteenth century recognized the danger of the book, and put it upon the Index,[3] not for its immorality, be it understood, but for its anti-clericalism. Finally, whatever is said about it, in praise or in blame, this one imperishable honor

[1] The worthiest are a handbook on mythology (de Genealogia Deorum), and a series of women's biographies (de Claris Mulieribus).

[2] These tales furnished Shakespeare with several plots: for example, All's Well that Ends Well and Cymbeline. Chaucer, Lessing, Molière, Keats, have drawn upon them.

[3] A list of books which Catholics are forbidden to read.

remains: as the "Divine Comedy" founds Italian poetry, so the "Decameron" founds Italian prose.

The gospel spread by Petrarch and Boccaccio acquired a large vogue after their death. It became the fountain-head from which flowed two mighty currents, the one making for antiquity, the other for the new ideal of man, who expands without and within and aspires to a better knowledge of nature and of himself. Naturally the movements often intersect and blend. To follow antiquity was to follow the means of intellectual increase and of a more intimate self-knowledge. That is the important corollary of the often pedantical classical activity of the next generation.[1] These generations threw themselves with an immense fervor upon the resuscitation and purification of Latin, upon the discovery of manuscripts, upon their annotation and multiplication. So general and so great was the favor extended to the Latin language and literature, that it occasioned the neglect of the derivative Italian tongue, which had just made so auspicious an entrance upon the world. In the feeling of the age it was only a vulgar idiom after all, and an unworthy vehicle for thought which again aspired to the name of classic. Rarely did any writer of the fourteenth or fifteenth century venture to follow the footsteps of Dante or Boccaccio. The dearth of Italian literature, till toward the end of the Renaissance, is one of the surprising and conspicuous features of the period. Ariosto (d. 1533) and Tasso (d. 1595) appeared just in time to save the honor of the movement on this side. However, the names of Francesco Sacchetti, of Florence

Popularity of classicism. Consequent delay of Italian literature.

[1] Browning has splendidly caught the spirit and the full meaning of the labors of these scholars in occasional poems. See A Grammarian's Funeral and The Bishop Orders his Tomb.

> "Yea, this in him was the peculiar grace . . .
> That before living he'd learn how to live."
>
> "No end to learning.
> . . . . . .
> This man decided not to live but know."

(d. 1400), who wrote novelettes in the spirit of Boccaccio, and of the Florentine Villani, a family of historians of the fourteenth century, who wrote a notable chronicle of their native city, hold a place in Italian letters.

Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio were all of Florentine extraction. Florence therefore became the centre of the humanistic movement. The leading representatives of that movement were either natives of the vigorous Arno city, or connected with it by interest and adoption. The name of Florence is the gateway by which one passes into the realm of humanism, as it is also the leading gateway to Renaissance art.

Florence, the heart of humanism.

To enumerate and specify the particular service of each one of the numberless scholars of the next century is impossible. Mention must be limited to the leaders. Coluccio Salutato (d. 1406) became chancellor of the Republic of Florence. He made an end of the barbarous Latin which flourished as official language in that office and set up his documents in a style which soon became the model for public instruments in all Italy. Luigi Marsiglio (d. 1394), a pupil of Petrarch, established a sort of free academy in the convent of Santo Spirito. Lionardo Bruni (d. 1444) was one of the first who turned his energies upon Greek. But it is Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) in whom we touch the best-known scholar of the day.

Representative names.

We may linger over Poggio Bracciolini a moment, to consider the type of the later humanist. The seed sown by Petrarch had borne fruit. Of course it was not what Petrarch had expected. If he could have been confronted with the humanism of the fifteenth century he would have given it a very qualified approval. We are struck in Poggio, first of all, with the old passion for antiquity. He hunted for manuscripts untiringly and with success, in Germany, France, and even England; he improved his Latin style till Petrarch appeared rustic compared

The later humanists. Poggio Bracciolini.

with him. On this side, then, there is only improvement. But on the side of life and morality there is a disproportionately great decay. The movement toward freedom had resulted in breaking all bonds of restraint. Ties of family, church, and service, began to count for nothing. The later humanist is absolutely unscrupulous, and combines therewith an unbounded vanity and a vulgar depravity which wallows in all excesses. Let us look at Poggio's life for evidence. Although in the service of the Pope, he was indifferent to the Church and hated the clergy. He ridiculed the priesthood fiercely in his "Dialogue against Hypocrisy" and in his "Facetiæ." Although these attacks are not without wit, they are obscene beyond description. Yet the "Facetiæ" became a favorite book in that day. It goes without saying that Poggio had nothing left of that dread of the empire of the senses, which even Petrarch had not entirely dismissed, and that he lived a life of easy self-indulgence.

Another eminent representative of these later humanists, who united in himself all their worst vices, was Francesco Filelfo (d. 1481). His vanity led him into bitter pen-feuds with Poggio and almost every other scholar of the day, and he did not stop short of the lowest vituperation. His conceit encouraged him to think himself the equal of Cicero and Virgil.[1] **Filelfo.**

An important side of these humanists' work was their activity as teachers. Almost all occupied a chair at the University of Florence at some time or other. Occasionally we find them at Siena, Venice, Bologna, etc., called by the magistracy itself, for a period, for the purpose of giving public instruction. As the classical propaganda spread, the other cities began to be no less zealous than Florence about antiquity, and chairs devoted to some humanistic branch were founded very generally. However, comparatively few **The new curriculum.**

[1] "Quod si Virgilius superat me carminis ullis
Laudibus, orator illo ego sum melior," etc.

humanists made teaching a regular profession. So much greater is the honor which those acquired, who overthrew the antiquated formalism of the schools, with its theology and syllogisms, and invented the fresher classical curriculum, with its appeal to the spirit. Guarino of Verona (d. 1460), and Vittorino da Feltre (d. 1446), deserve especial mention among these masters. They trained some of the best men of the day, and their names were always uttered by their former pupils with respect. It is pleasant to learn that they, at least, did not share the vulgar vices of the majority of the humanists. Humanism to them was a civilizing force, which enriched and matured.

Laurentius Valla and the birth of historical criticism.

The most important of all the scholars of the fifteenth century remains yet to be named. It is Laurentius Valla (1406–57), and the honor of being called the first scholar of his time belongs to him by virtue of an exceptional service which he rendered the cause of learning. He was as good a Latinist as any man of his day, and his "Elegancies of the Latin Language" (Elegantiæ Linguæ Latinæ) were long regarded as a superlative guide in rhetoric; but these, and even greater achievements along the same line, would not suffice to keep his memory green with us. We remember him because he is the founder of historical criticism. He dared first to investigate with real acumen a number of the current traditions which were passing for history, and he flinched neither before Church nor dogma. He ventured to correct the Latin Bible; he cast doubt upon the origin of the Apostles' Creed; best of all, he exposed the famous fraud, known as the Donation of Constantine, upon which the Popes had based their claim to the possession of the west. It illuminates the tolerance of the age to recall that he was, for a time, secretary to Pope Nicholas V. Niccolo Machiavelli (d. 1527), the famous political theorist and historian, is a child of Valla's spirit.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the old Latin authors had been found and the exts restored, very much as we have

them to-day. However, even before this magnificent service was completed, much of the energy of investigation had been already diverted upon the neighboring field of Greek antiquity. Intellectual relations between Greece and the west had been for centuries as good as non existent. But as the love and knowledge of Rome grew, the eyes of students were naturally turned toward Rome's great teacher. It had even been so with Petrarch. The touching trait is narrated of him that he possessed and cherished deeply a copy of Homer, which he could not read. Petrarch's successors were carried farther. They gave their serious attention to the Greek language, and some ventured to journey to Greece to search for manuscripts. Then occasional Greeks, with a turn for travel, were induced to settle in Italy as teachers. The Council of Florence (1439), which met to consider the questions of the union of the eastern and western Churches, increased the intercourse between the Latin and Greek scholars. That was, perhaps, in view of the fact that the Council dissolved without doing anything, its one benefit. Some Greeks proved their good-will by remaining in Italy. Pletho and Bessarion were the most famous. The former became the expositor of Plato, while the latter, also a Platonist, having turned Catholic, was nominated cardinal, and became a great patron of letters. The widening conquests of the Turks in the Orient brought the Greeks west in increasing numbers, and the Fall of Constantinople (1453) decided all who had means and courage for the journey. Italy was the haven of most of the exiles, and there they arrived, in weary, starved swarms, often without a farthing, and with nothing to recommend them but some saved manuscript.

The Greek Revival.

It was Pletho [1] (his real name was Giorgios Gemistos) who introduced Plato to the west, and immediately won for him a great number of disciples. Therewith, the empire of Aristotle,

[1] This name was adopted by Giorgios because of its similarity to that of his revered master, Plato.

which had stood so securely throughout the Middle Age, was shaken. Neither the one nor the other philosopher was well understood at first, but the controversy about them marks a new interest and beginning in the theoretic study of life. The enthusiasm for Platonism led to a very picturesque experiment at Florence in the institution of a Platonic Academy. It was founded by Cosimo de' Medici, and flourished till the death of Lorenzo. Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) and Picus of Mirandola (1463–94), together with the poet Politian (d. 1494), were its brightest lights. It comes at the end of the humanistic movement, and marks a fitting close of the era. The new philosophy, the noblest which antiquity had to offer, won a strong hold on these men. It does their seriousness honor that they did not see in the new knowledge a warrant to break with the past. To love Plato did not mean with them to reject Christ. Picus is of them all the most interesting figure. He was of noble birth and lived in easy circumstances, but in spite of his social advantages, turned to philosophy. He was considered a prodigy of learning, and succeeded in harmonizing the wisdom of all ages under the aspect of Christianity.

Neo-Platonism.

The Platonic Academy.

The Renaissance was a movement largely confined to the upper classes. But there it was general, affecting kings, tyrants, condottieri, and republican magistrates alike. All who had power or who wished to arrive at power through popularity, competed for the service of the humanists and artists. Books and buildings have been called the great passions of the Renaissance. So they were, but not the only passions. We find also collectors of tapestries, jewels, silks, silver, everything beautiful, indeed, which the earth affords and man elaborates.

The diversity of pursuits in the Renaissance.

The fact that we meet with an endless diversity of political conditions, with tyrants at some places and republics at others, diminished the love of art and letters in no respect. Politics and state-systems apparently sustained no connection with cult-

ure. In consequence, we meet with an astonishing number of ardent patrons of genius among men of all political and moral shades. Of course they were not all equally important. Florence never lost the prestige and position which she took from the first. Her art patrons, and those of Rome, stand in the front rank. The prominent men of Milan, Venice, Naples, Ferrara, Rimini, and the other cities followed the lead of Florence as their means permitted.

The patrons.

The leading family of Florence could not but serve the leading interests of the city. The Medici are splendid patrons, the patrons *par excellence*. Not unjustly has the whole age of Florentine production been named from them. Cosimo (d. 1464), and his grandson Lorenzo (d. 1492), favored every form of art and literature. Poggio, Ficino, Pletho, to mention only a few of the humanists, experienced their benefactions. Cosimo was, moreover, a great builder. The architects Michelozzo and Brunellesco were in his employ. Donatello, the sculptor, was his friend. These are only the most important among the artists whom he favored. A dozen others—painters, carvers, and goldsmiths—enjoyed his encouragement. Lorenzo was even more lavish, for his appreciation of art and letters was keener than his grandfather's. Other Florentine families lagged not far behind the Medici. The Strozzi, the Pitti, the Rucellai have forever associated their name with the art-bloom of the city. The signoria (magistracy) and the great trade guilds would not be outdone. The former decorated its meeting-place (Palazzo Vecchio), the latter built and embellished places of worship (Or San Michele, the Baptistery, etc.).

The Medici.

Other Florentine patrons.

At Rome the Popes are the liberal promoters of humanism and art. Almost all elected between the end of the Great Schism (1417) and the Sack of Rome (1527) share the passions of the day, and may therefore be grouped as the Renaissance Popes. Nicholas V. (1447–55) was the first to give unreserved expression to his enthusiasm. He

The Popes as patrons.

virtually regarded the patronage of art as the most important function of the sacred office.[1] The Popes had only lately returned to Rome, and the city was half in ruins from desertion and neglect. Nicholas had magnificent ideas about rebuilding it. The Vatican, St. Peter's, and the Basilicas were to be all splendidly renewed. However, he did not live long enough to complete much of his programme. Along other lines his patronage brought larger returns. He is the founder of the Vatican Library, which has the most valuable collection of manuscripts in the world. His largesses to the humanists were immense. He kept a whole army of copyists. Pius II. (Æneas Piccolomini, 1458–64) was long known as a leading humanist before he was elected to the papacy. He wrote histories and travels. The Popes who succeeded him cared less and less for their religious functions, and, though they were usually immoral and uneducated, followed with eagerness the path laid out by Nicholas. Julius II. (1503–13) and Leo X. (1513–21), who was a son of Lorenzo de' Medici, are best known. With their names we associate the building of St. Peter's, the embellishment of the Vatican, and the frescoes of Michel Angelo and Raffaele.

Nicholas V.

A half hundred other patrons could be mentioned at divers places. At Naples, Alphonso the Magnanimous (d. 1458) afforded a home, especially for the humanists. He was so infatuated a searcher after manuscripts that he granted Cosimo de' Medici a favorable peace once, on Cosimo's presentation to him of a copy of Livy. At Milan, both the Visconti and the Sforza erected buildings (the Duomo, the Certosa of Pavia) and protected scholars. The rich merchants of Venice were behind-hand in awakening to their possibilities, but once aroused they were more lavish than the rest of their countrymen, as the splendid palaces and paintings of

The patrons generally.

[1] A contemporary writes: "He used to say (before he was Pope) that if he ever had means he would spend his all on books and buildings." (See Burckhardt, The Culture of the Renaissance, p. 213.)

the City of the Lagoons prove to this day. Aldus Manutius made it a centre of literary culture by establishing there his celebrated printing-house (1488). It was not the first in Italy, but rapidly became the most celebrated. Aldine editions are still highly prized. Finally, no list of patrons can omit the Gonzaghi of Mantua, the Montefeltri of Urbino, and the Estensi of Ferrara (patrons of Ariosto and Tasso).

It is difficult to value justly the immense intellectual movement which has been sketched in the foregoing pages. Several causes have conspired to make us forget it. In the first place, the original literary creations of the humanists were, generally speaking, unimportant. Their neo-Latin literature, has, therefore, long fallen into merited oblivion. But, fortunately for their memory, their real work lay elsewhere. It lay in the discovery and restitution of antiquity, and in the re-establishment of man in the fields of knowledge. These scholars, by word and by example, brought man face to face with nature, and so forced him to study at the sources of life in order to *know*. This is their great service, and it is not lessened by the consideration that their critical contributions were impure and subject to correction. Such insufficiency lay in the nature of the case and does not alter the fact that our prouder structure of knowledge and science rests upon foundations built by these forgotten hands.

Summary of the work of the humanists.

Still another circumstance impairs the world's full appreciation of the intellectual side of the Renaissance. It is completely overshadowed by the artistic movement. The great artists have this advantage over the great scholars that their work stands forever, while that of the scholars is perpetually destroyed and rebuilt. The art of the Renaissance shines with a splendor undimmed by time. It represents the contribution of the Renaissance to the cause of Beauty, and very generally appeals to the world now as the best expression of the period. While it is right to acknowledge the justice of this verdict, it ought not

The best expressions of the Renaissance is its art.

to be forgotten, however, that the other cause, that of Science, was served as devotedly and with as great an energy.

Not all the art of Italy is Renaissance art. The Renaissance, we have seen, begins with Petrarch and his disciples, but there was an art in Italy before Petrarch. It does not lie within our task to treat of it at length. Two broad divisions are usually noted: the Romanesque period (800–1250) and the Gothic period (1250–1400).

Italian Art before the Renaissance.

Art practice had almost died out in Italy after the invasions. The old structures, baths, theatres, arches of triumph, etc., were allowed to decay, and gradually were converted into the fortresses of robber-barons, provided they were not still more unfortunate and did not suffer utter destruction because of the vast amount of convenient building material they afforded. Mosaics, the cutting and carving of jewels, gold and silver smithwork, the miniature arts, in a word, were alone kept up with any success. But as more settled conditions succeeded, the old affection for things beautiful began to return. Desire fixed first, and naturally, upon finer churches. The eleventh century saw the construction of the cathedral of Pisa, which became the point of departure for a new style. It is characterized by round arches, colonnades of pillars, and other Roman reminiscences. Many cities of Tuscany and the North, moved by the same religious enthusiasm, followed the example of Pisa. The Tuscan-Romanesque thus created had something of a vogue, but before it had been allowed to evolve itself completely it was supplanted by the Gothic. The Gothic with its pointed arch was a foreign importation and never struck firm roots in the peninsula.[1] It was plain that the future of art in Italy lay in a return to the national tradition. The return was accomplished by the Renaissance.

Romanesque and Gothic architecture.

[1] Some fine monuments, however, remain of this Italian Gothic, *e.g.*, the cathedrals of Florence, Milan, Siena, and Orvieto.

Sculpture and painting began to be practised more vigorously about the same time that architecture took a new start. Two names sum up the pre-Renaissance activity in these art-branches, Niccolo Pisano and Giotto. **Early sculpture and painting.** Niccolo Pisano[1] (d. 1278) is the first great sculptor of Italy, as Giotto[2] (d. 1337) is the first great painter. They placed their respective arts upon a new footing, but their successors, instead of developing, squandered their inheritance. In sculpture and painting, too, as in architecture, the Renaissance created a wholly new basis and became a new starting-point for the artistic development of Italy.

It will prove convenient to consider the Renaissance art in its several phases. The early Renaissance extends from about 1420 to 1500; the Renaissance proper from 1500 to 1530; after that, reaching to the end of the century, comes the late Renaissance, which is distinguished by a rapid decay. Our concern is with the first and second periods. **Three periods of Renaissance art.**

The artistic revival is properly the offspring of humanism. The first great apostle of antiquity, the Petrarch among the artists, was the Florentine Fillippo Brunellesco (1379–1446). He was an architect, and that it was one of his art, and not a sculptor or painter, who reintroduced the classical forms need cause no surprise. Architecture has always gone in advance of the other arts, preparing the way for them. It erects the monuments, sculpture and painting ornament them. And then architecture found her way back to antiquity more readily than the sister arts. The painting of antiquity was destroyed, the sculpture buried, but the architecture was visible and tangible in a large number of beautiful ruins. In the year 1403 Brunellesco set out for Rome **Architecture. Brunellesco.**

[1] Niccolo was a Pisan. He breaks sharply with the old grotesque forms and returns to a study of nature and antiquity. His best work is the pulpit of Siena.

[2] Born in Florence. He arrives at the highest pictorial expression of mediæval Christianity. But his idealism does not disdain the study of form and nature. His most noted frescoes are at Assisi, Padua, and Florence.

with the avowed purpose of studying Roman antiquity. His protracted residence in the Eternal City, during which he occupied himself with a profound study of the ancient buildings, marks an epoch. The historian Vasari [1] unfolds a delightful picture of his activity at Rome; how he spent his time measuring vaults and drawing bits of cornice, and how his one ambition was to bring to honor again the forgotten architecture.[2] Upon his return to Florence he applied his new knowledge with wonderful success. He got the commission to raise the cupola over the cathedral of Florence, a magnificent undertaking which had defied the efforts of all others. The cupola of the cathedral of Florence is the first in point of time of all great cupolas, and has been eclipsed only by Saint Peter's. Secondly, in the churches of San Lorenzo and Santo Spirito he made an end of the Gothic style in Italy, returning again to the form of the old Basilica. The simple grace of rows of Ionian or Corinthian columns spanned by artistically decorated round arches won its old ascendency over the Italian mind, and once for all displaced the sombre intensity of the pointed-arch architecture in central Italy. Thirdly, in his Pitti Palace, he raised a residence which for originality and massive grandeur remains unequalled.

Brunellesco's activity proved highly fruitful. The new style met with a triumphal reception everywhere. Leo Battista Alberti (d. 1472), of Florence, erected the Palazzo Rucellai in his native city, and the Church of San Francesco at Rimini. He was the first of those universal geniuses of whom the Renaissance was to produce such con-

Alberti.

[1] Vasari's Lives of the Painters is the most agreeable, if not always the most correct, authority on Italian artists.

[2] The degree of decay and neglect to which the Roman antiquities had sunk when Brunellesco undertook his researches is well illustrated by a story of Vasari's. The Romans, stolidly careless of the classical remains, could not imagine what B. and his friend Donatello were pottering around the fields of rubbish for if not in search of hidden gold. So they called them the treasure-seekers.

spicuous examples, notably Lionardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo. Bramante, a Lombard architect (d. 1514), made the next great step in advance. His work lay in the direction of a greater purity of expression. The classical forms were more completely mastered by him, and with avoidance of mere hollow imitation were cleverly adapted to modern uses. His going to Rome upon the call of the Pope perhaps contributed most toward making that city the centre of the second and most complete period of Renaissance art. Only fragments, however, of Bramante's works remain. He was the first architect of Saint Peter's, but unfortunately his plan was greatly modified after his death. Michel Angelo Buonarroti (d. 1564) in his capacity of architect marks no step in advance over Bramante. His most famous achievement, in the art of building, is the cupola of Saint Peter's. Michel Angelo lived to see the decay of the Renaissance forms to the atrocities of the *barocco*,[1] and even may himself be said to have contributed to it with his designs for the façade of S. Lorenzo and with the new Sacristy of the same church. The last great name of Lombardy is that of Palladio (d. 1580). He erected palaces and churches, chiefly in Venice and Vicenza. With him the spirit of mere imitation of antiquity threatens to gain a complete ascendency, the foot-rule drives the imagination from the field, and therewith is rung the death-knell of the period of originality.

Bramante.

Michel Angelo.

Palladio.

In Venice the Renaissance architecture belongs for the most part to the later style. It brilliantly embodies the wealth and transcribes the luxurious character of the people, and though it is often splendid, even to the point of floridness, it seems in some way only justly keyed to the temper of the unique city which once "held the imperial east in fee." Sansovino (d. 1570) is the most important

Architecture of Venice.

[1] This name was given the later architecture of the Renaissance because of its ludicrous extravagance.

name in the building annals of Venice; the Library, which has been called the most splendid secular building of Italy, is his chief work.

Characteristic of Renaissance architecture.

An unexampled building activity, extending from Brunellesco to Michel Angelo, fairly covered Italy with structures of the new style. We noted its beginnings and its decline; it has, like all such movements, a gradual rise (early Renaissance), a culmination (full Renaissance), and a setting (late Renaissance), which three periods we may respectively represent by the names of Brunellesco, Bramante, and Palladio (although perhaps Michel Angelo, the contemporary of Palladio, exercised a wider influence). These three names tell the story, too, of the influence of the classical ideals. Brunellesco used the new knowledge judiciously, giving full weight to tradition, while maintaining his own personality, and taking wise account of the changed uses of modern structures. He never forgot that the Christian architect was not expected to rear baths, triumphal arches, and open theatres, but churches and residences, and he attempted to find a style which would represent the marriage of classical principles to modern requirements. He was a genius, and as happens with such far outleaped his immediate followers. While he was definite in expression and resolute in aim, they bungled and experimented, allowed their imagination too free a range, and ended by producing monuments, which if they are elaborate and attractive, are frequently marred by grotesqueness. Then came Bramante with his self-restraint and order; he found the most acceptable solution of the problem of adaptation which Brunellesco had first expounded, for although the Roman-Greek ideal of beauty was by him thoroughly absorbed, the modern personality was not sacrificed. But the world is so constituted that it cannot pause long at perfection. Even before Palladio it fell into a blind classical imitation, and from the time of Michel Angelo into a love of violent effects which destroyed repose and simplicity.

One feature of early Renaissance architecture merits a further word, especially on account of its consequences for the other arts. It is the strong love of decoration displayed throughout the fifteenth century. The age had all the boisterous qualities of youth; above all, it was graced with a lively imagination, and revelled in gay colors, in sculptured friezes, in fancy woodwork, and in every kind of heightening in the power of the sister arts. Architecture thus proved a mighty force in the development of the kindred branches. But the architect did not only give employment to the sculptor by leaving him niches to fill, or to the painter by creating walls for him, not only to the artists did he lend encouragement, but also to the artisans, and one of the rarest pleasures of the connoisseur of Renaissance art is derived from the uniform delicacy of the smallest art details, *e.g.*, the stone-carved altars, or the tarsia (inlaid work) of the choir seats, or the designs of cup and jewel-case and crozier.

Architecture stimulates the other arts.

Four sculptors almost contemporaneously carry the new spirit into their art: Jacopo della Quercia, Lorenzo Ghiberti, Donatello, and Luca della Robbia, of whom the first was a Sienese, the others Florentines. Though they all exhibit the new influence, their styles are very different. Jacopo della Quercia (1374–1438) created his master-work in the sculptures of the portal of S. Petronio, at Bologna. They show a delight in the problem of form and a mastery over the nude which comes with a start in a man who was born into a world governed by Gothic traditions and who himself never altogether shook them off. The Fonte Gaja (Gay Fountain) at Siena, now almost in ruins, and the celebrated statue of the girl Ilaria, sleeping in repose upon her tomb in the Cathedral of Lucca, could never have been done but for an under-current of the old Gothic feeling, and even in type of face and drapery there is shown the persistence in the full-grown man of the boyhood influence. He was a

Sculpture.

Quercia.

restless genius, always in motion, who worked unevenly and rarely finished what he undertook. So he left no school.

Quercia was perhaps only once in his life brought into close contact with his Florentine contemporaries. It was on the occasion (1401) of the competition for the bronze gates of the Baptistery of St. John. The Florentines proved themselves superior to him, and upon the voluntary withdrawal from the competition of Brunellesco (who, disgusted with his own work, resolved to forsake sculpture for architecture) the prize was awarded to Lorenzo Ghiberti. Ghiberti (1378–1455) was brought up, like so many of his brother artists, to the profession of goldsmith, and showed the good and the bad effects of this apprenticeship to the end of his days. While his narrative is fluent and his execution delicate, he never could reach the grandeur that is proper to the larger scale of work which the sculptor employs. That is conspicuously proved by his only mediocre statues for the church of Or San Michele (St. John the Baptist, St. Matthew, St. Stephen). So his fame rests rightly on the two bronze doors of the Baptistery (he received the order for the second in 1425, on having completed the first to general satisfaction), for the small dimensions of the compartments required just the kind of talent of exposition and finish which he possessed. Michel Angelo pronounced the later door[1] to be worthy to serve as the gate to Paradise.

Ghiberti.

Donato di Betto Bardi, known for his loving qualities by the diminutive Donatello (1386–1466), was an infinitely more robust artist, and came just in the nick of time to preserve the influence of Ghiberti from drawing all effort off in the direction of prettiness and grace. He planted himself firmly on reality. Nature was the alpha and omega of his creed, and held such ascendency over him that

Donatello.

1 Ghiberti has been liberally blamed for at least one feature of this same gate of Paradise. He introduced the picturesque treatment of the bas-relief landscape background, deep perspectives), and so weaned it from that principle of simplicity which is its sinew and marrow.

although he was deeply stirred by antiquity, to which he was introduced through the influence of his friend Brunellesco, the classical ideal was well held in abeyance. However, he, among Renaissance artists, made the first complete study of the nude (David, in the Museum of Florence). That statue marks an epoch. Donatello's work ought properly, on account of its importance, to be considered by stages of development, but we cannot do more than name a few representative productions. His most ambitious work is the bronze equestrian statue of Gattamelata, at Padua.[1] Horse and man are admirably studied. The St. George, at Florence, is one of the most popular statues in the world. It belongs to Donatello's earlier period and in its attitude and expression of concentrated energy, alert for service, mediæval chivalry may be said to have made its last self-revelation.

A class of work which admirably suited Donatello's affectionate temperament was his childhood studies. The boy Jesus and the boy John he presented at every stage of growth, giving us in a series of busts and statues a number of delightful transcripts of the little urchins who met his gaze in the Florentine streets. In his rendering of children he stands, perhaps, unsurpassed among the sculptors of all times. Luca della Robbia in his own day alone equalled him.

Luca della Robbia's (1400–82) greatest work is the organ-loft, which he created in competition with Donatello, for the cathedral of Florence. Around the balustrade run, in bas-relief, the famous choirs and bands of children. Every charming attitude of childhood Luca's art has immortalized in his singing and dancing girls and boys.

Luca della Robbia.

Perhaps Luca's name, however, is more frequently pronounced in connection with the so-called Robbia-ware (blue and white glazed terra-cotta) which he first brought into vogue.[2] The cheapness of the material made it possible for every church, no matter what its size, to have its altar-piece or door-lunette from

[1] The glory Donatello achieved by this work is further heightened by the fact that it was the first grand equestrian statue since antiquity.

[2] Whether Luca invented it is a question which has not yet been decided.

the Robbia workshop. The making of the white madonna looking down out of a blue sky, while the child hung about her neck, and angel heads peeked through opening rifts around, developed into a regular industry. Luca's nephew, Andrea, and, later, Andrea's five sons, contributed their help; so the amount of Robbia-ware still at this day in Tuscany is legion. It goes without saying that such industrial multiplication was not purchased without loss. With Andrea and his sons the quality of the work took an immense and ever-increasing drop, and it is perhaps a piece of good fortune that, when these latter died, they allowed the secret of the glaze to perish with them.

Robbia-ware.

From the middle of the fifteenth century on, sculpture loses its popularity. The best talent is draughted off to painting. Between Donatello and his immediate successors yawns a great chasm. Desiderio da Settignano (d. 1454), and Mino da Fiesole (d. 1484), are valiant workers in their way, but sculpture takes no step in advance with them and even threatens to forget its higher purposes altogether by becoming merely ornamental. The remaining great sculptors of the Renaissance appear in consequence rather as occasional phenomena than products of a natural and irresistible evolution. They are Verocchio and Michel Angelo, both Florentines.

Andrea del Verocchio (1435–88), like so many of his Florentine fellow-artists, Ghiberti, for example, began life as a goldsmith, and achieved great renown in this branch. Unfortunately all of his pieces except one are lost. Though he took up painting, he cannot be ranked with the masters of this art. His epoch-making activity lay all in the province of sculpture. Most meritorious are his David (Florence Museum), an exquisite boy just shooting into manhood, his Doubting Thomas (Florence, Or San Michele), and his equestrian statue of the condottiere, Colleoni,[1] at

Verocchio.

[1] The question has been raised in our day how far Verocchio is responsible for this work. There can be no doubt that a part of the honor belongs to a Venetian, Alessandro Leopardi.

Venice. It is generally judged that this is the finest large bronze of the whole Renaissance period, and that the war spirit animating rider and horse, welding them into one, has never been caught in so convincing a manner.

With Michel Angelo (1475–1564), sculpture entered its last stage. It is known that this Titanic man practised all the arts, was, as has been well said, from sheer inability to do his wonderful many-sidedness justice, four souls in one, that is, was eminent and creative as architect, as sculptor, as painter, and as poet, but his own unhesitating preference always ran to the calling which seems nearest to the primordial activity of nature, when she calls form out of the void—sculpture. It is highly appropriate that we are allowed to think first of all of marble when we think of him.

Michel Angelo.

He was apprenticed, when a lad, to the painter Ghirlandajo, but did not remain with him long. Lorenzo de' Medici soon interested himself in the promising boy, took him into his palace, giving him a seat at his own table, and then set him to studying the antiques he had collected in the garden of S. Marco. In 1496 the young sculptor journeyed to Rome, and his life after that may be said to have been passed between the capital of the Popes and his native city, which two places accordingly possess almost all his works. He lived only for his art, and like men of such consuming inner energy soon became lonely and unsocial. Therefore the outward events of his life are not peculiarly striking.[1]

[1] The man was cast in so strange a form that he is different from the race even in the most usual things. It is supposed that he never fell in love. He met the celebrated Vittoria Colonna at Rome, when he was sixty years old, and between them sprang up an ideal friendship; perhaps it was love, his first love. The sonnets do not throw a full light on the relationship. In the one called Tornami al tempo, supposed to refer to V. C., he implores Love to leave him alone now that his hair is white. I quote from Symonds's admirable translation:

"Yet Love! Suppose it true that thou dost thrive
Only on bitter honey-dews of tears,
Small profit hast thou of a weak old man.
My soul that toward the other shore doth strive,
Wards off thy darts with shafts of holier fears;
And fire feeds ill on brands no breath can fan."

In the literal sense of the word it is true that he was his own master, borrowing from none. No trace of what he learned from Ghirlandajo or any other can be found in his works, therefore of Florentine sculpture, admirable as it was, he cannot be said to be the logical culmination. He is undoubtedly a Florentine by his art, but occupies a unique position among Florentines. There is some connection between his work and that of the virile Donatello, but of the sentiment and delicacy of his immediate predecessors, Mino or Benedetto da Majano, he has absolutely nothing. His best early works are the Drunken Bacchus (Florence), the Pietà (Rome), the colossal David (Florence), and a number of Madonnas in relief. For some these are Michel Angelo's most enjoyable creations. Their form and sentiment is still attractive and intelligible, still bears a rendering into human terms. In all of them the *terribilità*, of which his contemporaries spoke with such awe, and which is his true manner, is either absent or only forming. In the works of his ripe years, the Medicæan tombs at Florence, the Moses at Rome, and the Slaves at Paris (not to mention the Sistine frescoes in this connection), it speaks with a full voice. Instead of repose "in the eventual element of calm," which is the art-ideal of the Greeks, Michel Angelo fills his figures with an overflowing feeling of some vast pain or fate. Expression is everything to him, and mere beauty, the Greek beauty of pure form, never had a message which he caught.

His training.

His early works.

His style.

Michel Angelo's unique genius captured Italy by storm. The next generation thought only of imitating him or else the antique models from which it was supposed he drew his strength. In either case the artist sacrificed his personality. Sculpture lost its genial qualities and entered upon a rapid decline.

The decline of sculpture.

The Renaissance found its most complete expression, after all, not in sculpture, but in painting, and that though sculpt-

ure received far greater aid from antiquity and was first upon the ground. Marble and bronze had proved the best media for the clear, intellectual ideals of the Greek mind, and while they could still be made to speak eloquently under the gifted touch of a great artist, they could not remain the most suitable material for the rendering of an altogether changed mental content. For the mind of the Renaissance, in spite of its classical predilections, had worked a Christian tradition of a thousand years into its very fibre, and inevitably sought to mirror itself, with all its qualities and prepossessions, in its artistic creations. Even the skill of Donatello and Ghiberti and Michel Angelo did not serve to reproduce a period of Greek sculpture, but only—what does not, *ipso facto*, make it less—a period of Christian sculpture. The important point to see is that the two periods are perfectly distinct. A glance at the history of Christian sculpture will render the distinction patent. At first sculpture develops in dependence upon religion, then it seeks a wider range, joining new friendships with other forces of human life, but never quite forgetting its old companion, until, finally, in the sixteenth century, especially after Michel Angelo, it strikes off wholly into pagan ways with fauns and Bacchuses and the rest of the mythological furnishings. For this last unnatural experiment it was doomed to die, but even of this stage, and surely of all the others, it is true that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the ideal pursued is different from that which filled the Greeks. These sought only the repose which they associated with perfection. The Italians strove for expression and emotion. That was their Christian heritage, and because this was the ruling element in the art-ideal of the age, and because marble is not so suitable for the rendering of the subtleties of that ideal as light and color, painting was bound to push sculpture aside in the favor of the contemporaries and to surpass it in the completeness of its portraiture of the Italian mind.

Painting the highest art of the Renaissance.

Painting, which we call then the Renaissance art *par ex-*

cellence. Began very modestly under the protection of the Church. Altar-pieces exhibited the Madonna or some saint, to the gaze of the faithful, and chapel walls recalled the Passion of Christ. With the advancing Renaissance, however, the vision of the painter widens. Like the sculptor, he is drawn to the study of nature. Realism becomes his artistic creed. Masaccio (1402–29), a Florentine, is the first great revolutionary,[1] comparable in his services to Donatello and Brunellesco.

Development of painting.

Painting, which had begun in the service of the Church, does not dissolve that connection with the Renaissance. Only from the time of the discovery of its new powers it began to offer more than the Church demanded. Mere figures of holy men and women to serve as reminders of the perfect life, was all that the Church had originally expected of its hand-maid. In the fifteenth century the painters voluntarily offer additions and embellishments in accordance with their new perceptions. They put the figures into an appropriate environment of street or field. They take delight in realistic adjuncts, such as playing children, animals, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with the religious theme, but undoubtedly render the scene, say of the worship of the Magi or the building of the tower of Babel, more evident. Presently the biblical figures lost their stole and their aureole and took on the sturdy humanity of the contemporary burghers. Hand in hand with these innovations went an astonishing development of proficiency in drawing. In these ways painting gradually lost much of its original intensity but immensely increased its subject-matter. In a word, it sacrificed its religious function and frankly launched out upon life.[2]

The painting of the Renaissance.

[1] It is well to recall in this connection that there had been a bloom of painting in Tuscany in the previous century which is associated with the name and school of Giotto. But it spent itself before 1400, and was, moreover, essentially mediæval. Masaccio marks a fresh start, and along a different path.

[2] Luckily, too, great technical advances were made at this period, without

Masaccio, it has been said, was the inaugurator of this epoch. Almost all there remains of this great genius are his frescoes in the Brancacci chapel at Florence. They treat of scenes from the life of the Apostles Peter and John. The Tribute Money, representing Christ surrounded by the Apostles, is in the reality of its figures and in its unity one of the most powerful compositions in existence. The succeeding generations down to Raffaele and Michel Angelo studied and profited from the Brancacci Chapel.

Masaccio.

Fra Filippo Lippi (1406–69) took his clue from Masaccio. But he sacrifices the dignity of his master and strives especially for the pretty rendering of accessories, the smiles of children or a household still-life. The old religious severity vanishes completely with him, and an innocent pleasure in all phases of existence glows in all his works. (Chief works: frescoes[1] in Prato, altar-pieces and coronation of the Virgin in Florence.)

Fra Filippo Lippi.

Benozzo Gozzoli (1420–98) works in the same vein and even more naïvely. His fresco cycles at S. Gimignano, Florence, and Pisa, treating of the life of Saint Augustine, the coming of the Magi, and events from the Old Testament, respectively, are worthy to form a children's story-book of these sacred scenes. But one must not, in consequence, look to him for any grown-up seriousness.

Benozzo Gozzoli.

Benozzo was the pupil of a man who had little enough in

which the above departure could not have been realized. The discovery of the laws of perspective (Brunellesco) is of prime importance. Contributions to the treatment of light and color were made continually throughout the fifteenth century. Anatomy, completely neglected before, became a regular study.

[1] It should be observed that most of the Florentine monuments are painted in fresco, a process greatly favored then, especially by Tuscan artists, but now almost out of use, by which the composition was thrown directly upon the freshly spread plaster of the wall. Painting on canvas did not become popular till toward the end of the fifteenth century, when, owing to the invaluable discovery of the oil technique in Flanders, it began to exhibit its possibilities.

common with him or any of his contemporaries—Fra Angelico. Fra Angelico (1387–1455) a Dominican monk, displays a thorough mediæval current of feeling, which by some accident found its way into the Renaissance. He cared little or nothing for that proficiency in form and execution for which his contemporaries strove almost exclusively, but worked in the old Christian spirit for which art was not an end in itself, but a symbol. What is possible to that interpretation he gives, a Christian aspiration as warm and ennobling as that of Giotto. The monastery of S. Marco at Florence, where he lovingly filled the cells of his brother monks with Christian hopes and records, remains his unique monument.

Fra Angelico.

The last great Florentine painters of the fifteenth century are Sandro Botticelli (1447–1510), Filippino Lippi (1457–1504), son of Fra Filippo, and Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449–1494). The two latter carry on the purely realistic movement, but Ghirlandajo is by far the nobler in his art. His cycle of frescoes in the choir of S. Maria Novella (Florence), representing scenes from the lives of John and Mary, is one of the most notable monumental labors of the century. In Botticelli there still sounds a note of the old idealism, and his great charm lies in the peculiar blending of it with the realistic tendency of the day. He is a sad painter (see his numerous Madonnas), and he ended sadly, hesitating between art and religion in the fear that they were mutually exclusive. He tried a curious experiment of translating the stories of ancient mythology into form and color which remains a witness of the strong influence of the humanists upon the painters. (Spring and Birth of Venus in Florence.)

Botticelli, Lippi, Ghirlandajo.

A great number of schools of painting arose in the fifteenth century, both south and north of the Apennines, which can hardly be named here. In Tuscany, the school of Siena is important. Somehow it chose to avoid the current of the promising new impulses starting from Florence and worked away with less and less success in its

Other schools. Siena.

graceful but bare mediæval style. In mountainous Umbria there sprouted, sometimes in remote villages, a large number of healthy germs fostered by influences from Siena and Florence. The most important names are those of Piero della Francesca (d. 1492), who was a great experimentalist and procured many new effects in perspective and light, and Pietro Perugino (d. 1524), who, if inferior in execution, reached an expression of devotion which captured the masses and won him a wide popularity in his own day. One reason why he is remembered with us is that he was the master of Raffaele.

Umbria.

Piero della Francesca.

Pietro Perugino.

The numerous schools to the north of the Apennines developed in greater independence of Florence. At Padua, Squarcione, a classical enthusiast, gave an impetus to a circle of friends for the study of antiquity, by his rich collections made in years of travel in Italy and Greece. To the sense of form thus gained by classical studies was wedded the realism which seemed to lie in the Italian air in this period. Andrea Mantegna (1430–1506) is the great name of the north. The frescoes in the Church of the Eremitani at Padua brilliantly exhibit the technical powers and the deep seriousness of this virile genius. The labors of Squarcione bore fruit at many other places, notably at Ferrara and Bologna.

The schools of the north: Padua.

Mantegna.

It is curious to reflect that that city, which in its later development reached a point of excellence in the province of painting, which makes it the rival and possibly the superior of Florence, should have entered so late upon the paths of the Renaissance. But the insularity of Venice, geographically and intellectually, was such in its early days, that it took a long while before a continental movement leaped across the lagoons. When, however, the art of painting had once taken root there, it progressed rapidly and soon acquired a perfectly national mode of expression. There must

School of Venice.

have been something about the rich atmosphere of the sea-city and its vivacious inhabitants which was congenial to its development. The first great name is that of the Bellini, the father, Jacopo (d. 1404), and his two sons, Gentile and Giovanni. Little of Jacopo's work has come down to us, but it is clear that it was he who introduced the continental influences, since there is record of his relations with Umbrian and Florentine masters, and, more especially, with Mantegna, who married his daughter. The two sons Gentile (d. 1507) and Giovanni (d. 1516) began in the manner of Mantegna, but soon developed a style which is thoroughly their own. Giovanni is the more famous. The path he travels is pursued by the whole Venetian school after him. Its feature is the development of color. Broadly stated the Venetians are the only Italians who fully apprehended the possibilities of color. They are the colorists, the Florentines the draughtsmen. Giovanni is admired besides for his beautiful airy backgrounds (they are the germ of landscape painting) and his rich tone and deep poetical feeling. His enthroned Madonnas, surrounded usually by groups of venerable and strongly individualized saints, are possibly the noblest devotional pictures of the whole period.

The Bellini.

The feature of the Venetian school is color.

A talented crop of successors sprang up around the Bellini. Vittore Carpaccio (d. 1519) is the most individual of them. He combines deep conviction with a delightful naïveté and has told the world the story of St. Ursula (at the Academy) and of St. George and St. Jerome (at the church of the Schiavoni) with the reverence of the Bellini and the vivacity of Gozzoli.

Carpaccio.

The masters thus far enumerated are essentially of the fifteenth century, of the early Renaissance. The full Renaissance which follows, covers a very short period (1500–30, about), but is graced by the greatest names of the period, and in them presents the legitimate culmination of the different schools we have indicated. How

The full Renaissance, 1500-30.

the preceding generations had toiled to develop the art of painting out of the next to nothing they had started with! Now at length the technical conquests had been completed, the instruments rendered finely adequate for every task, and, at the same time, the task had, by successive acts of liberation from old trammels, expanded to the imaginative rendering of every province of existence. The time was ripe, says Burckhardt, the fulfilment which comes as the reward of labor was at hand.

Three cities figure pre-eminently in this highest stage. They are Florence and Venice, which having plunged deepest into all the problems of the early Renaissance, now achieved a merited perfection, and Rome, which produced nothing out of its own strength whatever, but had the good fortune, through the liberal patronage of art-loving Popes, to draw some of the best talent of Italy within its walls. Thus Raffaele and Michel Angelo, in his capacity of painter, are considered the centres of the Roman school, although the one was an Umbrian and the other a Florentine. Lionardo da Vinci, a Florentine, and Titian, a Venetian, may conclude our list of supreme and representative names.

The three great centres.

Lionardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was one of those universal geniuses in the production of whom the Renaissance was so prodigal. But perhaps he excelled them all in the many-sidedness of his talents. Celebrated first of all as a painter, he was besides proficient, sometimes even to the degree to rank him with the innovators and discoverers, as an architect, sculptor, musician, engineer, and physicist. And as if nature had been pleased to make in him an ideal man, these powers were joined to a human form of herculean strength and divine mould. And yet few creations of this man's genius have come down to us. Time and fortune have been particularly severe with him, and many works of his that once shone in splendor are now destroyed or marred. But at the same time it must be acknowledged that he was never eagerly productive. He had so much intellectual curiosity

Lionardo da Vinci.

about the principle behind appearance, he was so conscientiously set upon dismissing nothing which was not perfect from his workshop, that he spent (one dare not say wasted) whole months in following some curious speculation or studying some elaborate effect.[1]

Causes of his unproductiveness.

Lionardo was an illegitimate child. He was put to study with Verrocchio. Still a young man he was drawn to the brilliant court of Milan. Later we find him in the employ of Cæsar Borgia, whom he served as engineer, then at Rome and at various places, and, finally in France, where he died, nobly provided for by that truly royal monarch, Francis I.

His life.

The Louvre at Paris has the best of his easel pictures—the Mona Lisa (or La Gioconda) and a Holy Family; more than one critic has ventured to assign to the former the first place in its class as "the portrait of portraits." His Last Supper at Milan has been more often reproduced than any other composition of the Renaissance. Of Lionardo's school at Milan, Luini (d. 1533) is the most famous name. At Florence many artists took their clue from him, notably Fra Bartolommeo (d. 1517) whose paintings are especially celebrated for their architectonic beauties, and, indirectly, Andrea del Sarto[2] (d. 1531), who might have rivalled Raffaelle but that he wanted Raffaelle's soul.

His works.

His followers.

That Michel Angelo became a painter is owing to an accident. He was in the employ of the Pope and the Pope commanded him to paint. He was assigned the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the walls of which were already covered with the works of Umbrian and Florentine masters, and though he prayed that he be allowed to con-

Michel Angelo as painter.

[1] It is said that he kept the portrait of Mona Lisa four years in his studio and then declared that it was unfinished.

[2] His countrymen called him, in compliment to his powers, *senz-errori* (without error). That is a complete characterization; because he was technically perfect, he was humanly defective.

tinue the sculptures for the tomb of the Pope, Julius II. was obdurate. The labor lasted from 1508 to 1512, and for its magnitude alone is an almost incredible production. Around the border runs a wreath of twelve sibyls and prophets. The long space in the middle is divided into rectangular compartments and filled with representations (nine in number) from the Old Testament (Acts of Creation, the Fall, etc.). The lunettes over the windows are adorned with Old Testament family groups, and the numerous spaces between the architectural framework are filled with a whole world of decorative figures. The contemporaries immediately accorded this monumental achievement that enthusiastic tribute of praise which no succeeding generation has refused. The beings which Michel Angelo transcribed upon the Sistine ceiling are without a model. They are, in the boldest sense of the word, the titanic children of his titanic mind. All that was ungovernable and superhuman in this mysterious soul is recorded there. Later (1534–41) he painted upon the back wall of the chapel the Last Judgment. Christ is enthroned above. The graves have opened and the saved are floating up to heaven on one side, while on the other, the servants of Lucifer are reaching for their prey. It is a vast composition, perhaps too vast, and is therefore more successful in its details than in its general effect.

The Sistine Chapel.

The Last Judgment.

Raffaelle (1485–1520) probably represents to the majority of our generation the essence of the Renaissance. Undoubtedly he was its most mellow product. If Lionardo was more magical in his effects, and Michel Angelo more titanic, Raffaelle was more eminently human by his fuller comprehension of the range of human feelings. Living closely in contact with mankind he was enabled to create a world of men and women among whom we move with ease and delight. Raffaelle was born at Urbino, in Umbria. His father, himself a painter of some renown, died before the son was ready to receive instruction. At about the age of fifteen

Raffaelle.

the boy was bound as apprentice to Perugino at Perugia. In 1504 he removed to Florence, and thence he passed in 1508, upon the call of the Pope, to Rome, where he resided till he died. These stages in his life are interesting. Each contributed an important element to his completion. From Perugino he took what was serious and honest in the religion of the Umbrian school, in Florence he came under the influence of the realistic movement with its accumulated experiences of a hundred years, and at Rome the grandeur of the city lent his work its monumental character. Every healthy art-impulse which he encountered was welcomed and assimilated to his nature.[1] Nothing undid him, nothing destroyed the splendid harmony of his faculties, which gives him his inimitable joyousness and freedom.

His life.

His development.

Raffaelle was an astonishingly fertile artist. The works by which he is best known are the various Madonnas and the Vatican frescoes.

His best-known works.

His Madonna-ideal differs greatly from that of his predecessors. He does not give us the handmaiden of the Lord, spirit-crushed with present or expected burdens, but typical women rather, who have no necessary connection with the thread of Christian story. Two kinds of madonnas prevail; the one is the human mother, the other the heavenly queen. Very excellent representatives of the two classes are the Madonnas of the Chair (Florence) and the Sistine Madonna (Dresden). The former shows us a Roman woman such as Raffaelle must have encountered often in his daily walks. There is no attempt made to spiritualize her; she is the happy and goodly human mother of the round child which she holds in her lap. The conception is enforced even to the local Roman costume

His Madonnas.

Two ideals.

[1] Fra Bartolommeo, Lionardo, Michel Angelo, and even Donatello, all had some lesson for him, as can still be traced, but he sacrificed his independence to none.

in which the Madonna is presented. The Sistine Madonna, on the other hand, is the expression of another ideal. She has nothing of the earth, she is the Lady of Heaven, and as she floats along upon clouds, with the Son of God upon her arm, she bids the troubles of earth cease and mankind fall upon its knees and worship.

The frescoes of the Vatican, the residence of the Popes, rank with those of Michel Angelo in the Sistine Chapel as the most splendid monuments of the Renaissance. They represent a colossal labor, the walls and ceilings of four large rooms being covered with allegorical and historical scenes. The most celebrated allegories are the Dispute and the School of Athens. In the former Raffaelle gave his conception of the nature and ends of theology, and in the latter of the nature and ends of philosophy. The world has never ceased expressing its admiration at the way in which these pure abstractions have been rendered into living and pictorial images. The best of the historical scenes is the expulsion of the Syrian general Heliodorus from the temple at Jerusalem. The composition is masterly. Three stages of the story are brought before our eyes within the same frame, the danger of the Church, the punishment of the robber, and the triumph, but a single glance suffices to harmonize these elements into a whole of incomparable impressiveness.

Frescoes of the Vatican.

Titian (1477–1576) is the most representative name of the Venetian school. Perhaps no painter has carried the art of portraiture to so great a perfection. Besides, he produced a great number of biblical scenes and Holy Families, all alike distinguished by the rare Venetian color-harmony, but lacking perhaps in spiritual seriousness. Titian was a mundane artist, but a very noble one. The School of Venice preserved itself longest from the late Renaissance infection, and such capable artists as Tintoretto (1519–94) and Veronese (1528–86) continued their far-shining labors well into the modern era.

Titian and the later Venetians.

It was worth our while to study the movement of the Italian Renaissance so much in detail, because, as has already been made clear, the thought-content of the Middle Age was destroyed during its gradual development and a new thought-content grew up in its place. The new aims and ideals form the foundation of our modern period. To Italy belongs the honor of having supported the better part of the labor of this intellectual revolution. Primarily, of course, she struggled for herself, but by the nature of her connection with Europe, her efforts turned to the benefit of the civilized world as well. That during the progress of the evolution she gave expression to her new ambitions in the creation of a noble and enduring art, is, from the point of view of the philosophy of history, only incidental to the central fact, the widening of civilization. From Italy the movement of liberation spread across the Alps, and we have in the sixteenth century, in all the northern countries, in France, Germany, and England, a French, German, and English Renaissance, all of which, although exhibiting national modifications in each case, unmistakably proclaimed their derivation from the south. Even the German Reformation, with which Modern History begins, is only the liberating movement of the Renaissance as it manifested itself under the altered conditions of the north.

Importance of the Italian Renaissance.

It lays the foundation of the modern era.

So the Italian Renaissance tolled the death-knell of the old order. We have largely confined our attention to its intellectual and æsthetic aspects. But it is interesting to follow out the consequences of the mental revolution for the dependent and ramified departments of human labor. We have already mentioned how the beginnings of the Renaissance were accompanied by an expansion of commerce and industry. This movement continued uninterruptedly, new resources being gradually developed and new territories being constantly drawn into the circle of international

The Renaissance not only an intellectual and artistic movement.

Expansion of Industry and commerce.

intercourse. There followed as a natural consequence the Age of Discoveries, culminating in the discovery of America (1492), by which the contemporary widening of the mental horizon was supplemented by a fortunate widening of the physical world. A large number of practical inventions, made about the same time, contributed their share to the overthrow of mediæval conditions. Gunpowder (invented during the fourteenth, but not used generally until the fifteenth century) put an end to the military superiority of the mounted nobility, while printing, which began to multiply books during the fifteenth century, destroyed the monopoly of learning hitherto maintained by the universities. By these changes mankind had put itself, practically and theoretically, upon a different basis and was prepared to enter upon a new stage of its existence.

Age of discoveries.

Inventions.

Gunpowder.

Printing.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

I.

EMPERORS AND POPES

NOTE 1.—The table of Emperors is complete from Karl the Great on ; the table of Popes contains only the more important names.

NOTE 2.—The names in italics are those of German kings who never made any claim to the imperial title. Those marked with an * were never actually crowned at Rome. Charles V. was crowned by the Pope, but at Bologna, not at Rome.

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
314	Sylvester I. (d. 336).		
		Constantine (the Great), alone.	323
		Julian the Apostate.	361
		Theodosius I.	379
		Arcadius (in the East), Honorius (in the West).	395
		Theodosius II. (E.).	408
		Valentinian III. (W.).	424
440	Leo I. (the Great). (d. 461).		
		Romulus Augustulus (W.).	475
		(Western line ends with Romulus Augustulus, 476.)	"
		[*Till* 800, *there are Emperors only at Constantinople.*]	
		Anastasius I.	491
		Justin I.	518
		Justinian.	527
		Justin II.	565
590	Gregory I. (the Great), d. 604.		
715	Gregory II.		

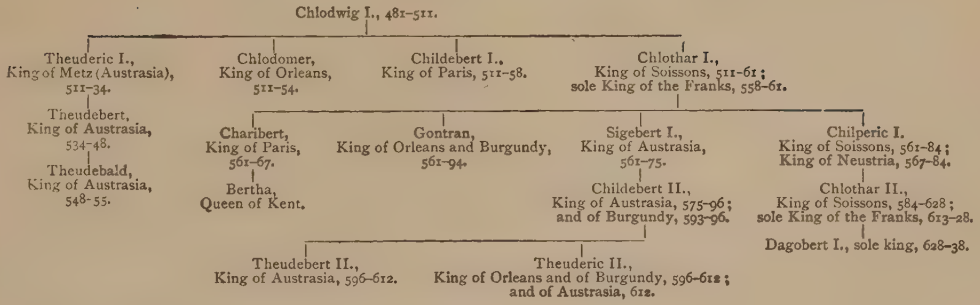
Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
		Leo III. (the Isaurian).	718
731	Gregory III.		
741	Zacharias.		
752	Stephen II.		
752	Stephen III.		
772	Hadrian I.		
		Constantine VI.	780
		(Deposition of Constantine VI. by Irene, 797.)	
		[The table gives henceforth only the Emperors of the new Western line.]	
795	Leo III.		
		Karl the Great.	800
		Ludwig I.	814
816	Stephen IV. (d. 817).		
		Lothar I.	840
		Ludwig II. (in Italy).	855
872	John VIII. (d. 882).		
		Charles II. (the Bald).	875
		Charles III. (the Fat).	881
885	Stephen V.		
891	Formosus.	Guido (in Italy).	891
		Lambert (in Italy).	894
896	Boniface VI.		
896	Stephen VI. (d. 897).	Arnulf.	896
		Ludwig the Child.	899
		Louis III. of Provence (in Italy).	901
		Conrad I.	911
		Berengar (in Italy).	915
		Henry I. (the Fowler).	918
955	John XII.		
		Otto I., King, 936; Emperor, 962.	962
963	Leo VIII. (d. 965).		
		Otto II.	973
		Otto III.	983
		Henry II. (the Holy).	1002
		Conrad II. (the Salic).	1024
		Henry III. (the Black).	1039
		Henry IV.	1056
1057	Stephen IX.		
1058	Benedict X.		
1059	Nicholas II.		
1061	Alexander II.		
1073	Gregory VII. (Hildebrand).		
		(Rudolph of Suabia, rival.)	1077
1080	(Clement, Anti-pope.)		
		(Hermann of Luxemburg, rival.)	1081

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1086	Victor III.		
1087	Urban II.		
		(Conrad of Franconia, rival.)	1093
1099	Paschal II.		
		Henry V.	1106
1118	Gelasius II.		
1119	Calixtus II. (d. 1124).		
		Lothar II.	1125
		*Conrad III.	1138
		Frederick I. (Barbarossa).	1152
1154	Hadrian IV.		
1159	Alexander III. (d. 1181).		
1159	(Victor Anti-pope).		
		Henry VI.	1190
		*Philip of Suabia, Otto IV. (rivals).	1197
1198	Innocent III.		
		Otto IV., alone.	1208
		Frederick II.	1212
1216	Honorius III.		
1227	Gregory IX.		
1241	Celestine IV.		
1243	Innocent IV. (d. 1254).		
		(Henry Raspe, rival.)	1246
		(William of Holland, rival.)	1246
		*Conrad IV.	1250
		Interregnum.	1254
		*Richard of Cornwall and *Alfonso of Castile, rivals.	1257
1271	Gregory X. (d. 1276).		
		*Rudolf I. of Hapsburg.	1273
1277	Nicholas III. (d. 1281).		
		*Adolph of Nassau.	1292
1294	Boniface VIII.		
		*Albrecht I. of Hapsburg.	1298
1303	Benedict XI.		
1305	Clement V. (who removes Papacy to Avignon).		
		Henry VII. of Luxemburg.	1308
		Louis IV. of Bavaria.	1314
		(Frederick of Austria, rival.)	
1316	John XXII. (d. 1334).		
		Charles IV. of Luxemburg.	1347
		(Günther of Schwarzburg, rival.)	
1352	Innocent VI.		

Year of Accession.	Popes.	Emperors.	Year of Accession.
A.D.			A.D.
1362	Urban V.		
1370	Gregory XI. (who brings Papacy back to Rome).		
1378	Urban VI. (Clement VI., Anti-pope.) [*Here begins the Great Schism.*]	*Wenzel of Luxemburg.	1378
		*Rupert of the Palatinate.	1400
		Sigismund of Luxemburg.	1410
1417	Martin V. [*Great Schism healed.*]		
1431	Eugene IV.		
		*Albrecht II. of Hapsburg.	1438
		Frederick III. of Hapsburg.	1440
1447	Nicholas V.		
1455	Calixtus IV.		
1458	Pius II. (Æneas Piccolomini).		
1464	Paul II.		
1471	Sixtus IV.		
1484	Innocent VIII.		
1492	Alexander VI. (Borgia), d. 1503.		
		*Maximilian I. of Hapsburg.	1493
		Charles V. of Hapsburg.	1519

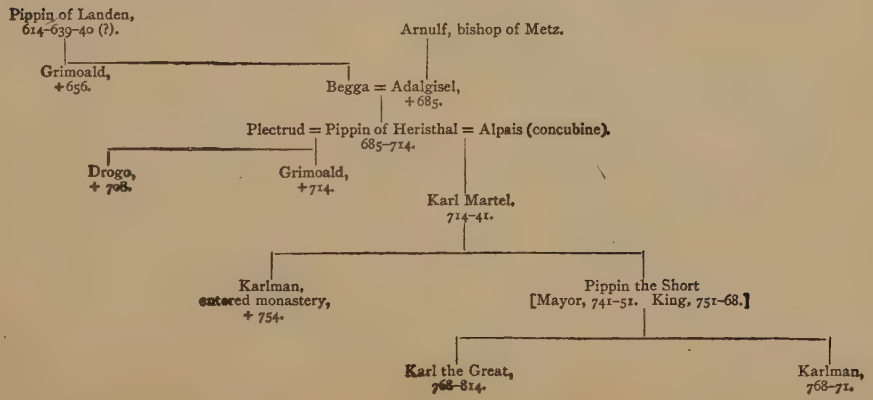
This table has been compiled from Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, with the kind permission of the publishers, The Macmillan Company.

II.—THE MEROVINGIAN KINGS TO DAGOBERT I.

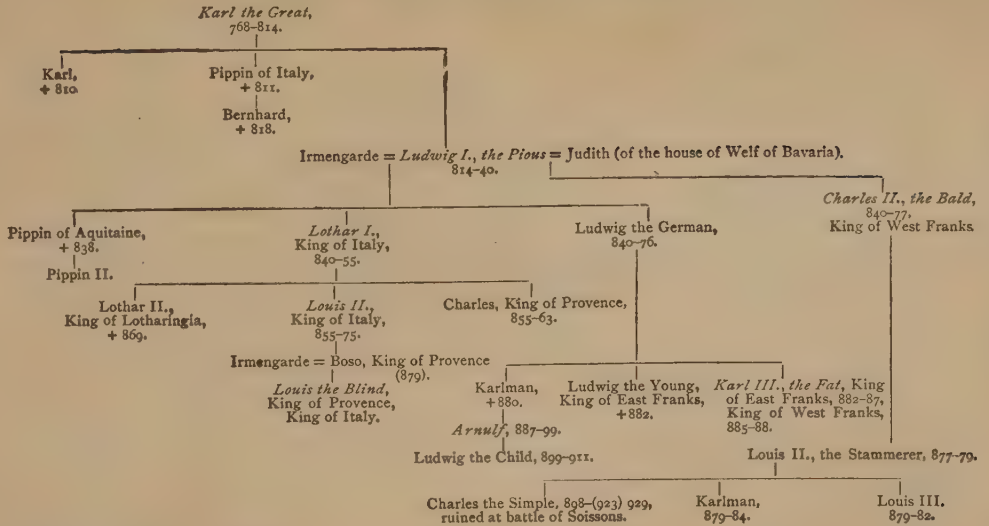

Chlodwig I., 481–511.
Theuderic I., King of Metz (Austrasia), 511–34.
Chlodomer, King of Orleans, 511–54.
Childebert I., King of Paris, 511–58.
Chlothar I., King of Soissons, 511–61; sole King of the Franks, 558–61.
Theudebert, King of Austrasia, 534–48.
Theudebald, King of Austrasia, 548–55.
Charibert, King of Paris, 561–67.
Bertha, Queen of Kent.
Gontran, King of Orleans and Burgundy, 561–94.
Sigebert I., King of Austrasia, 561–75.
Childebert II., King of Austrasia, 575–96; and of Burgundy, 593–96.
Chilperic I. King of Soissons, 561–84; King of Neustria, 567–84.
Chlothar II., King of Soissons, 584–628; sole King of the Franks, 613–28.
Dagobert I., sole king, 628–38.
Theudebert II., King of Austrasia, 596–612.
Theuderic II., King of Orleans and of Burgundy, 596–612; and of Austrasia, 612.

NOTE.—After Dagobert come the Donothing Kings (rois fainéants).

III.—THE DUKES OF AUSTRASIA (ANCESTORS OF KARL THE GREAT).

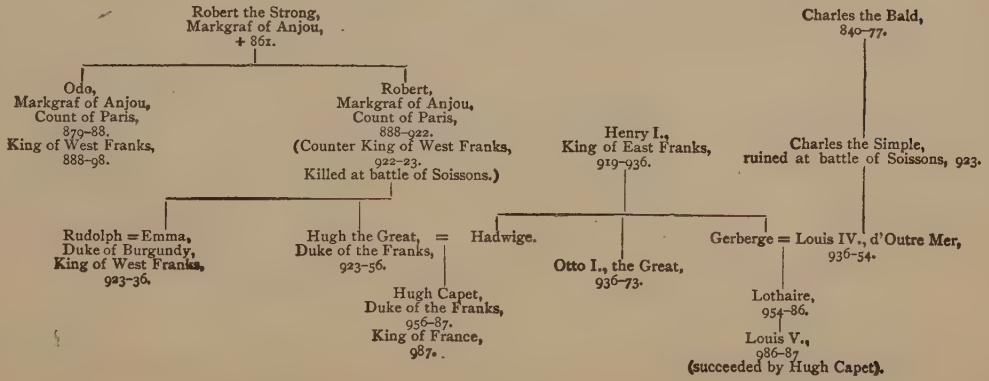


IV.—THE CAROLINGIAN HOUSE (THE KARLINGS).

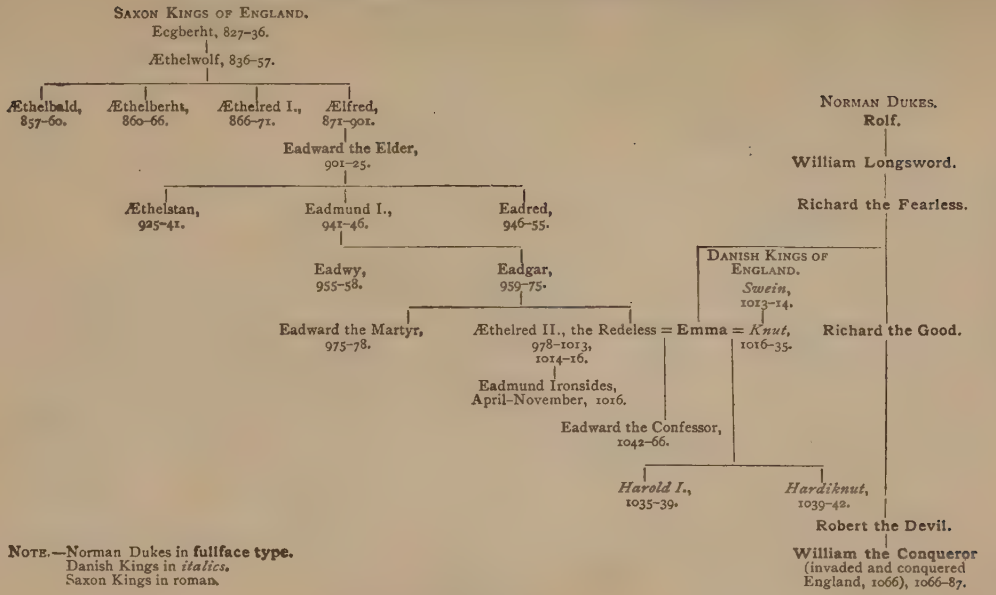

Karl the Great, 768–814.
Karl, + 810.
Pippin of Italy, + 811.
Bernhard, + 818.
Irmengarde = *Ludwig I., the Pious* = Judith (of the house of Welf of Bavaria). 814–40.
Charles II., the Bald, 840–77. King of West Franks.
Pippin of Aquitaine, + 838.
Lothar I., King of Italy, 840–55.
Ludwig the German, 840–76.
Pippin II.
Lothar II., King of Lotharingia, + 869.
Louis II., King of Italy, 855–75.
Charles, King of Provence, 855–63.
Irmengarde = Boso, King of Provence (879).
Louis the Blind, King of Provence, King of Italy.
Karlman, + 880.
Ludwig the Young, King of East Franks, + 882.
Karl III., the Fat, King of East Franks, 882–87, King of West Franks, 885–88.
Arnulf, 887–99.
Ludwig the Child, 899–911.
Louis II., the Stammerer, 877–79.
Charles the Simple, 898–(923) 929, ruined at battle of Soissons.
Karlman, 879–84.
Louis III. 879–82.

NOTE.—Name of Emperors in Italics.

V.—LATER CAROLINGIANS AND FIRST CAPETIANS (ROBERTINES), SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION AND RIVALRY.

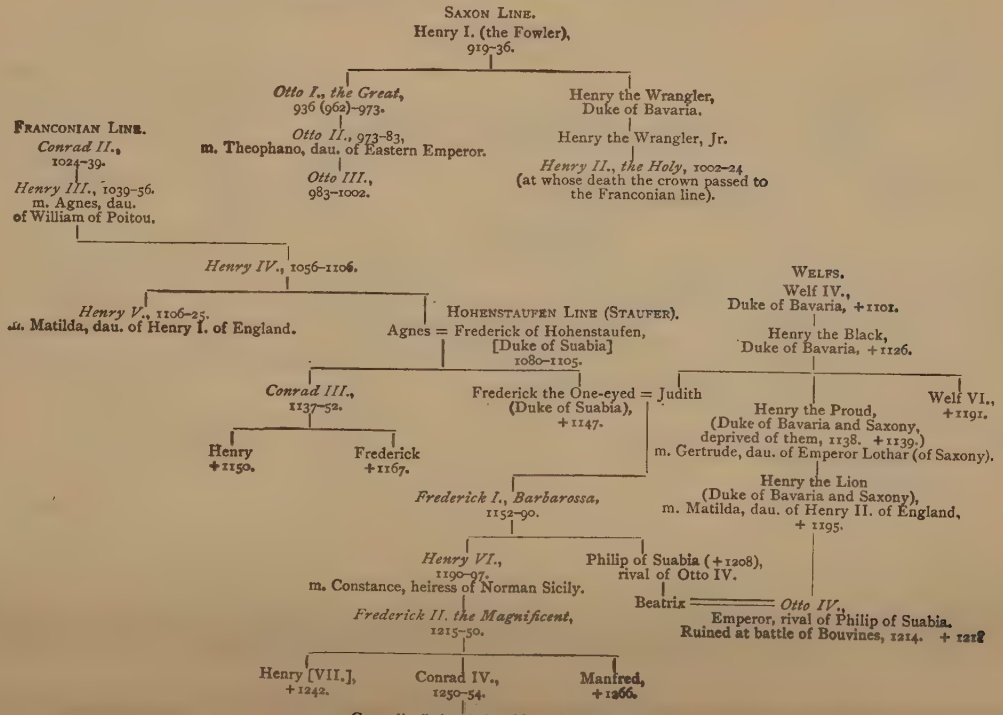

Robert the Strong, Markgraf of Anjou, + 861.
Odo, Markgraf of Anjou, Count of Paris, 879–88. King of West Franks, 888–98.
Robert, Markgraf of Anjou, Count of Paris, 888–922. (Counter King of West Franks, 922–23. Killed at battle of Soissons.)
Rudolph = Emma, Duke of Burgundy, King of West Franks, 923–36.
Hugh the Great, Duke of the Franks, 923–56.
=
Hugh Capet, Duke of the Franks, 956–87. King of France, 987.
Henry I., King of East Franks, 919–936.
Hadwige.
Otto I., the Great, 936–73.
Charles the Bald, 840–77.
Charles the Simple, ruined at battle of Soissons, 923.
Gerberge = Louis IV., d'Outre Mer, 936–54.
Lothaire, 954–86.
Louis V., 986–87 (succeeded by Hugh Capet).

VI.—KINGS OF ENGLAND TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

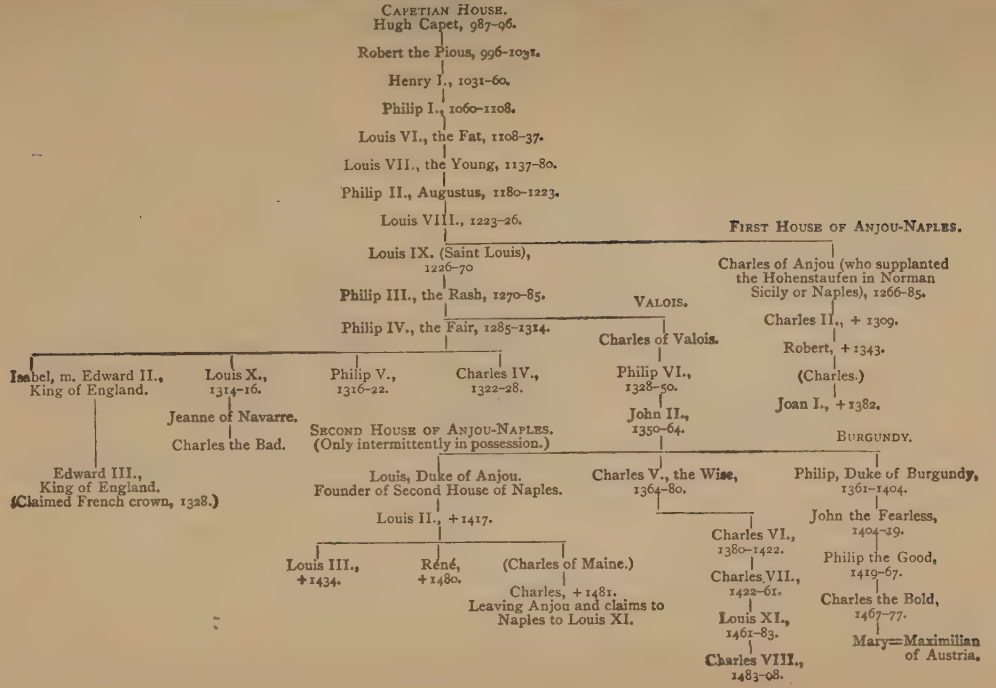


Note.—Norman Dukes in **fullface type.**
Danish Kings in *italics.*
Saxon Kings in roman.

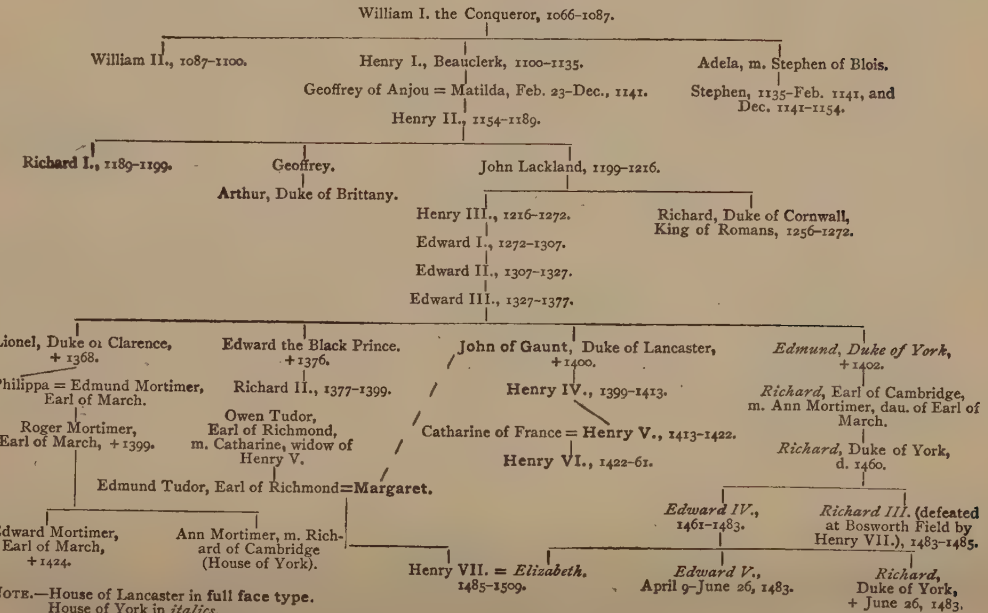
VII.—THE SAXON, FRANCONIAN, AND HOHENSTAUFEN HOUSES: THE WELFS.


Saxon Line.
Henry I. (the Fowler), 919–36.
Otto I., the Great, 936 (962)–973.
Otto II., 973–83, m. Theophano, dau. of Eastern Emperor.
Otto III., 983–1002.
Henry the Wrangler, Duke of Bavaria.
Henry the Wrangler, Jr.
Henry II., the Holy, 1002–24 (at whose death the crown passed to the Franconian line).
Franconian Line.
Conrad II., 1024–39.
Henry III., 1039–56, m. Agnes, dau. of William of Poitou.
Henry IV., 1056–1106.
Henry V., 1106–25, m. Matilda, dau. of Henry I. of England.
Hohenstaufen Line (Staufer).
Agnes = Frederick of Hohenstaufen, [Duke of Suabia] 1080–1105.
Conrad III., 1137–52.
Henry +1150.
Frederick +1167.
Frederick the One-eyed = Judith (Duke of Suabia), +1147.
Frederick I., Barbarossa, 1152–90.
Henry VI., 1190–97, m. Constance, heiress of Norman Sicily.
Philip of Suabia (+1208), rival of Otto IV.
Frederick II. the Magnificent, 1215–50.
Henry [VII.], +1242.
Conrad IV., 1250–54.
Manfred, +1266.
Beatrix = Otto IV., Emperor, rival of Philip of Suabia. Ruined at battle of Bouvines, 1214. + 1218
Welfs.
Welf IV., Duke of Bavaria, +1101.
Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, +1126.
Henry the Proud, (Duke of Bavaria and Saxony, deprived of them, 1138. +1139.) m. Gertrude, dau. of Emperor Lothar (of Saxony).
Welf VI., +1191.
Henry the Lion (Duke of Bavaria and Saxony), m. Matilda, dau. of Henry II. of England, + 1195.

VIII.—KINGS OF FRANCE AND COLLATERAL BRANCHES.

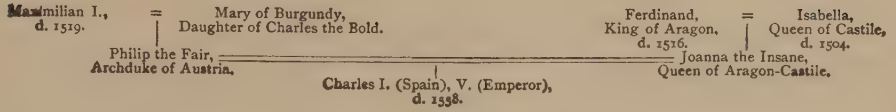

Capetian House.
Hugh Capet, 987–96.
Robert the Pious, 996–1031.
Henry I., 1031–60.
Philip I., 1060–1108.
Louis VI., the Fat, 1108–37.
Louis VII., the Young, 1137–80.
Philip II., Augustus, 1180–1223.
Louis VIII., 1223–26.
Louis IX. (Saint Louis), 1226–70
Philip III., the Rash, 1270–85.
Philip IV., the Fair, 1285–1314.
First House of Anjou-Naples.
Charles of Anjou (who supplanted the Hohenstaufen in Norman Sicily or Naples), 1266–85.
Charles II., + 1309.
Robert, + 1343.
(Charles.)
Joan I., + 1382.
Valois.
Charles of Valois.
Philip VI., 1328–50.
John II., 1350–64.
Isabel, m. Edward II., King of England.
Louis X., 1314–16.
Philip V., 1316–22.
Charles IV., 1322–28.
Jeanne of Navarre.
Charles the Bad.
Edward III., King of England. (Claimed French crown, 1328.)
Second House of Anjou-Naples. (Only intermittently in possession.)
Louis, Duke of Anjou. Founder of Second House of Naples.
Louis II., + 1417.
Louis III., + 1434.
René, + 1480.
(Charles of Maine.)
Charles, + 1481. Leaving Anjou and claims to Naples to Louis XI.
Burgundy.
Charles V., the Wise, 1364–80.
Charles VI., 1380–1422.
Charles VII., 1422–61.
Louis XI., 1461–83.
Charles VIII., 1483–98.
Philip, Duke of Burgundy, 1361–1404.
John the Fearless, 1404–19.
Philip the Good, 1419–67.
Charles the Bold, 1467–77.
Mary=Maximilian of Austria.

IX.—KINGS OF ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO HENRY VII.


William I. the Conqueror, 1066–1087.
William II., 1087–1100.
Henry I., Beauclerk, 1100–1135.
Adela, m. Stephen of Blois.
Geoffrey of Anjou = Matilda, Feb. 23–Dec., 1141.
Stephen, 1135–Feb. 1141, and Dec. 1141–1154.
Henry II., 1154–1189.
Richard I., 1189–1199.
Geoffrey.
John Lackland, 1199–1216.
Arthur, Duke of Brittany.
Henry III., 1216–1272.
Richard, Duke of Cornwall, King of Romans, 1256–1272.
Edward I., 1272–1307.
Edward II., 1307–1327.
Edward III., 1327–1377.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence, + 1368.
Edward the Black Prince. + 1376.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, + 1400.
Edmund, Duke of York, + 1402.
Philippa = Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
Richard II., 1377–1399.
Henry IV., 1399–1413.
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, m. Ann Mortimer, dau. of Earl of March.
Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, + 1399.
Owen Tudor, Earl of Richmond, m. Catharine, widow of Henry V.
Catharine of France = Henry V., 1413–1422.
Richard, Duke of York, d. 1460.
Henry VI., 1422–61.
Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond = Margaret.
Edward IV., 1461–1483.
Richard III. (defeated at Bosworth Field by Henry VII.), 1483–1485.
Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, + 1424.
Ann Mortimer, m. Richard of Cambridge (House of York).
Henry VII. = Elizabeth. 1485–1509.
Edward V., April 9–June 26, 1483.
Richard, Duke of York, + June 26, 1483.

NOTE.—House of Lancaster in **full face type.**
House of York in *italics.*
The broken line indicates that Margaret is a descendant of John of Gaunt, and that Henry VII. is therefore by his mother a Lancastrian.

X.—THE HAPSBURG-BURGUNDIAN AND HAPSBURG-SPANISH MARRIAGES.


Maximilian I., d. 1519.
=
Mary of Burgundy, Daughter of Charles the Bold.
Ferdinand, King of Aragon, d. 1516.
=
Isabella, Queen of Castile, d. 1504.
Philip the Fair, Archduke of Austria.
Joanna the Insane, Queen of Aragon-Castile.
Charles I. (Spain), V. (Emperor), d. 1558.

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